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HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER.

FROM A WATER-COLOUR BY HERBERT MARSHALL, R.W.S., R.E.

The Century Edition of CASSELL'S HISTORY of ENGLAND

VOL. VIII.
FROM THE BRITISH OCCUPATION OF EGYPT TO
THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT, 1895

THE TEXT REVISED THROUGHOUT, AND PROFUSELY
ILLUSTRATED WITH NEW AND ORIGINAL DRAWINGS
BY THE BEST ARTISTS, AS WELL AS WITH REPRO-
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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

PAGE

The Beginning of 1884: Liberal and Conservative Views of the Extension of the Franchise—Opening of Parliament: Egyptian Difficulties—The First Vote of Censure—The Second Vote of Censure—The Financial Conference and the Third Vote of Censure—Progress of the Franchise Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Lord Salisbury at Lillie Bridge, and Quarrels among the Conservatives—The Bill in Committee—The Bill in the Lords—Lord Salisbury's Speech—Mr. Gladstone at the Foreign Office—Attempts at a Settlement—Other Events of the Session—The Summer Agitation—Specimens of the Rival Arguments—Lord Cowper's Compromise—Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign—Moderate Speeches, and the Offers of Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain—The *Standard's* Redistribution Scheme—The Eve of the Autumn Session—Meeting of Parliament—Re-introduction of the Franchise Bill—The Compromise—The Redistribution Bill—Termination of the Crisis. 1

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Mr. Bradlaugh again—His Re-election for Northampton—The Attorney-General *v.* Bradlaugh—Lord Rossmore—Catholic and Orange Processions—Mr. Trevelyan's Retirement—The Dynamite Faction—Attempt on the London Railway Stations—Conviction of Daly and Egan—More Explosions—The London Bridge Affair—The Maamtrassna Murders discussed—Toynbee Hall and Overcrowding—The Artisan and Agricultural Classes—The Skye Crofters—The Over-pressure Controversy—Losses at Sea—The Army Estimates and the Budget—The Naval Estimates—Lord Salisbury and Lord Northbrook—"The Truth about the Navy"—Lord Carnarvon and the Coaling-stations—The New Naval Programme—Obituary of the Year—The European Situation—Bismarck's Overtures to France—The French in Madagascar and Tonquin—Undeclared War—Bismarck's Colonisation Schemes—Angra Pequena—The Berlin Conference—The Russian Occupation of Merv—The Anglo-Russian Frontier Commission—Lord Ripon's Resignation—The *Nisero* Affair—The Abolition of Slavery and Imperial Federation—Lord Derby and New Guinea—Australian Federation—Canada and South Africa—Boer Aggressions 20

CHAPTER III.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Situation in Egypt—Views of Lord Granville and Sir E. Baring—Cherif Pasha's Note—The Opinions of Sir S. Baker and General Gordon—Peril of Khartoum—Gordon's Instructions—His Proceedings at Cairo—A Remarkable Memorandum—Arrival at Khartoum—Father Ohrwalder's Statement—Massacre of Baker's Expedition—Peril of Suakin—The Battle of El Teb—The Battle of Tamai—The Opportunity neglected—Fall of Berber—Dongola relieved—Gordon's Difficulties and Proposals—Zebehr demanded—Refusal of the British Government—Gordon's Anger—The Defences of Khartoum—Colonel Stewart's Navy—The Situation in March—An "Indelible Disgrace"—Appeal to the Millionaires—The Silence of Khartoum—Lower Egypt—Sir E. Baring's hopeful Report—Egyptian Finance—A Conference proposed—Lord Granville and M. Waddington—M. Ferry's Assumptions—Failure of the Conference—Lord Northbrook's Mission—News from Khartoum—A temporary Relief—Provisions falling short—A Relief Expedition demanded—Lord Wolseley's Letter—The Vote of Credit—Conflicting Rumours—Lord Wolseley's Instructions 35

CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Wolseley to the Front—The Nile Route adopted—Arrival at Dongola—Gordon's ominous Letter—Advance of Stewart and Earle—Gordon's last Message—The Gakdul Wells occupied—Battle of Abu Klea—The Zereba by the Nile—Battle of Metammeh and Death of Sir H. Stewart—Gordon's Steamers arrive—The Rush to the Rescue—Gordon's Fate ascertained—The return Journey—Lord Charles Beresford's Valour—Events at Khartoum—Battle of El Fun—Departure of the *Abbas*—Deaths of Colonel Stewart and Power—The Steamers sent down—Bordeini Bey's Journal—

Arrival of the Mahdi—Fall of Omdurman—Famine in Khartoum—Bordeini Bey's last Interview with Gordon—The Arabs enter Khartoum—Farag Pasha's Conduct—Gordon's last Hours—The Massacre—Father Ohrwalder's Account—Khartoum and Sebastopol compared—The Mahdi to be "smashed"—Buller retires to Korti—The Nile Column—The Arabs defeated and Death of Earle—Brackenbury withdraws to Medawi—Graham's Advance from Suakin—The first Engagement—McNeill's Zereba—Berber within reach—Withdrawal from the Soudan announced—Dongola evacuated—Lord Wolseley's Despatch—The Khalifa succeeds the Mahdi—Battle of Ginnis—The Welter of the Soudan 48

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1885—Gloominess of the Situation—Renewed Dynamite Outrages—The Fall of Khartoum announced—Meeting of Parliament—The Queen's Speech—The Votes of Censure—The Redistribution Bill—Tory Revolt—Progress of the Bill—The Registration Bills—The Army and Navy Estimates—The Vote of Credit—Mr. Childers's Budget—Reported Dissensions in the Cabinet—The Land Purchase Bill—The Whitsuntide Holidays—Defeat of Government—A Prolonged Crisis—A Demonstration against Sir Stafford Northcote—The Conservative Government—Marriage of the Princess Beatrice—Visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ireland—Remainder of the Session—The Ashbourne Act—The Labourers' Bill—The Second Budget—Housing of the Working Classes Bill—Medical Relief Bill—The Maamtrassna Inquiry—The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Parnell—The Dublin Archbishopric—The Election Campaign—Mr. Chamberlain's unauthorised Programme—Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Salisbury—Mr. Gladstone's Manifesto—The Irish Manifesto—Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian—The Result of the Polls—A startling Announcement—Its Reception by the Press and Politicians—Labour Disputes—Obituary of the Year 68

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Bismarck on the Cameroons—Settlement of the Dispute—The New Guinea and Samoa White Books—A Tirade against Lord Granville—Bismarck on Egypt—The French Financial Proposals—The *Bosphore Egyptien*—Issue of the Loan—The Italian Agreement—Deadlock on the Afghan Frontier—Advance of the Russians—Lord Granville's Remonstrance—The Durbar at Rawul Pindi—M. de Giers' Assurances—The Collision at Penjeh—Mr. Gladstone's Declaration—The "Solemn Covenant"—The Vote of Credit—Arbitration accepted—"Bankrupt or Swindler"—Resumption of Negotiations—The Boundary Commission at Work—The Bulgarian Revolution—Hesitation of the Porte—Lord Salisbury's Comment—Indignation of Greece and Servia—The Constantinople Conference—War between Servia and Bulgaria—The Turkish Delegates—The Armistice—Sir H. D. Wolff's Mission—Treaty between France and China—Lord Dufferin and the Native Indian Princes—Sir F. Roberts's Reforms—Indian Finance—Theebaw's Misdeeds—Occupation of Mandalay—Annexation of Upper Burma—The New South Wales Contingent—Australian Defences—The Riel Rebellion—Fisheries Questions—Australian Federation—The Germans in Africa—The Berlin Conference—The Warren Expedition at the Capé 76

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

A Sensational New-Year's Day—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Balfour—Home Rule in Print—Mr. Childers and Mr. Morley—The Ulster Deputation—Meeting of Parliament—End of the Bradlaugh Controversy—Lord Carnarvon's Resignation—Mr. Smith's Mission—Oracular Explanations—The Queen's Speech—The Debate in the Lords—Mr. Parnell's Speech—Mr. Smith's Decision—Mr. Jesse Collings's Amendment—Defeat of the Government—Mr. Gladstone's Third Administration—The Trafalgar Square Riot—London in a Panic—Mr. Childers's Committee—Minor Measures of the Session—Lord Hartington's Declaration—Lord Randolph on the War Path—His Ulster Campaign—Captain O'Shea—The Iddesleigh Banquet—The Home Rule Bill Postponed—Resignations of Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Chamberlain—Mr. Chamberlain's Letter—Bye-Elections—The Bill Produced—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Agrarian Crime—A Statutory Parliament—The Constructive Proposals—Finance—The Peroration—Speeches of Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Parnell—Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hartington—Mr. Morley, Lord R. Churchill, and other Speakers—Mr. Gladstone's Reply—The Land Purchase Bill—Mr. Chamberlain's Criticism—The Meeting at Her Majesty's Theatre—Meetings of the Recess—Mr. Chamberlain's Attitude—The Debate on the Second Reading—The Liberal Seeders—Lord Salisbury's "Hottentot" Speech—Progress of the Debate—Mr. Gladstone's Offer—His Speech in Reply—The Division 90

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Dissolution announced—Lord R. Churchill's Manifesto—Election Speeches—Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone—Questions at Issue—The Elections—The Belfast Riots—The final Figures—Lord Hartington's Refusal of the Premiership—Lord Salisbury's Ministry—Lord Hartington's Explanation—The National Liberal Federation—Ministerial Declarations—Sir M. Hicks-Beach's Policy—Mr. Parnell's Amendment—Mr. Parnell's Tenants' Relief Bill—The Plan of Campaign—Its Enforcement—The Landlords retaliate—Mr. Dillon's Crusade—Arrests of Irish Members—Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—Lord R. Churchill at Dartford—The Leeds Conference—Hints at Reconciliation—The Liberal Rally—The Guildhall Banquet—Trafalgar Square again—Lord Randolph's Resignation—The People's Palace—Obituary of the Year	109
---	-----

CHAPTER IX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition—Sir Frederick Roberts and the Frontier—The Afghan Boundary—Disorder in Burma—The Canadian Fisheries Question—The Extradition Convention—The New Hebrides—The Zululand Protectorate—Quarrels in Mauritius—Agreements with Germany—The Rise of Boulanger—The German Septennate—The Decline of Mahdism—Moukhtar Pasha's Plan—Progress of Reforms in Egypt—The Disturbances in the Balkans—Greece refuses to Disarm—Lord Rosebery's Policy—Remonstrances to Greece—The "Pacific Blockade"—End of the Crisis—A Despatch of Lord Rosebery's—Servia makes Peace—Modification of the Organic Statute—The Anger of the Czar—Alarm of the Porte—Abolition of the Free Port of Batoum—Correspondence between Lord Rosebery and M. de Giers—The Kidnapping of Prince Alexander—His Triumphal Return—His Telegram to the Czar—His Abdication—Perplexities of the Regency—Lord Iddesleigh's Line of Conduct—The Kaulbars Mission—The Bulgarian Elections—Nekliudoff's Threats—Departure of Kaulbars—Lord Iddesleigh and M. de Staal—English, Austrian, and Italian Declarations—Wanted, a Prince—The Spanish Commercial Treaty	122
---	-----

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of the Jubilee Year—Reconstruction of the Ministry—Death of Lord Iddesleigh—Mr. Goschen's Defeat at Liverpool—Mr. Chamberlain's Overture—The Round Table Conference—The Article in the <i>Baptist</i> —Rupture of the Conference—Lord Hartington's Attitude—Sir G. Trevelyan's Explanation—State of Ireland—Baron Palles's Pronouncement—A Coercion Bill threatened—Mr. Balfour becomes Chief Secretary—The Queen's Speech—The Debate on the Address—Mr. Parnell's Amendment—The Foreign Office Meeting—The Procedure Rule—The Ratepayers' Defence Association—The Estimates and the Budget—"Parnellism and Crime"—Another Foreign Office Meeting—Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham—Preliminary Skirmish on the Crimes Bill—Mr. Balfour's Speech—Progress of the Debate—The First Reading carried—Opinion Out of Doors—Scenes in the House—Sir Charles Lewis's Interposition—Mr. Gladstone's Suggestion—The Facsimile Letter—The Bill in Committee—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright—The Bill carried by Closure—The Report Stage—The Third Reading—Lord Cadogan's Land Bill—Report of the Cowper Commission—The Fall in Prices—The "Dispensing System"—Provisions of the Bill—The Second Reading in the Commons—A Liberal Unionist Protest—The Bill altered—The Allotments Bill—The Coal Mines Regulation Bill—Miss Cass and Lipski—The State of Parties	136
--	-----

CHAPTER XI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Preparations for the Jubilee—The Colonial Delegates at Windsor—Opening of the People's Palace—The Jubilee Day—The Guards of Honour—The Royal Processions—The Queen and her Escort—Inside the Abbey—Arrival of the Queen—The Service—The Illuminations and Beacon Fires—The Celebration Abroad—The Children's Jubilee Festival—The Women's Jubilee Offering—The Queen's Letter to the Nation—The Volunteer Review—The Founding of the Imperial Institute—The Aldershot Review—The Naval Review—The Manœuvres—The Welsh Anti-Tithe Agitation—The Scottish Crofters—Report of the Commission—The Crimes Act in Force—The National League Proclaimed—Mr. Gladstone's Motion—The Mitchelstown Disaster—Finding of the Jury—Mr. O'Brien in Tullamore—The Murder of Wheelahan—"Remember Mitchelstown"—Lord Hartington's Comments—Mr. Gladstone and Colonel Dopping—Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, and Mr. E. Harrington—Other Imprisonments—Unionist Speakers in Ireland—Revival of Fenianism—Oratory of the Recess—Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury—Mr. Balfour on Sir G. Trevelyan—Mr. Gladstone at Dover—The Unemployed again—The Lyons Incident—"Bloody Sunday"—Mr. Gladstone's Letter—Collapse of the Movement—Obituary of the Year	152
---	-----

CHAPTER XII.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Colonial Conference—Its Composition—Lord Salisbury's Address—Mr. Dibbs's Protest—Discussion on the Defences—The Naval Defences Bill—Projects of Union—Mr. Hofmeyr's Resolution—The New Hebrides—The French Convention—The Defences Bill rejected by Queensland—West Australia—Tariff Reforms—New Zealand and Samoa—Mr. O'Brien's Visit to Canada—The Fisheries Commission—The Convention rejected by the American Senate—The *Modus Vivendi*—Events in Africa—Sir H. D. Wolff's Convention—Its Rejection by the Sultan—The Suez Canal neutralised—Lord Dufferin's Jubilee Speech—Manifestations of Loyalty—The Indian National Congress—Finance—Burma and Afghanistan—Disquiet of Europe—The Coburg Candidate in Bulgaria—The German Army Bill—The Schnaebelé Affair—The Boulangist Excitement—Bou langer under Arrest—Further Diplomatic Bickerings—The Decorations Scandal—Resignation of Grévy and Election of Carnot—Signor Crispi's Declaration—Pacific Assurances—The Scare renewed—Prince William's Speech—Lord Salisbury at Derby 167

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887.

Significance of the Victorian Era—Increase of the Population—The Census Returns—The "Natural Increment"—Immigration and the Foreign element—Emigration—Its Objectives—The Area and Population of the Empire—British India—Australasia—Canada—South Africa—Distribution of the Population—The Townward Movement—Its Results in 1861—Rural and semi-urban Counties compared—A general Summary—London—The Countryward Movement—Liverpool and Manchester—Registration London and the Outer Ring—Evidence of the Census Commissioners—Scotland—Ireland—Good Healths and Long Lives—Increase of Wages—Decline of Prices—The Consumption per Head—Pauperism—Savings Banks—Income-tax Returns—Probate—Schedule D—Aggregate Prosperity of the United Kingdom—National Indebtedness—Local Indebtedness—The Imperial Revenue—Lesson of the Budgets—Imports and Exports—The Necessaries of Life—Quantities imported—Wheat—Raw Materials—Manufactured Imports—Character of Exports—Food-stuffs—Raw Material—Manufactured Articles—Cotton and other Goods—Metallic Manufactures—Miscellaneous—Trade of the Empire—Indian Revenue—Its Sources—Australasian Prosperity—Indebtedness of the Colonies—Public Works—Canada—South Africa—West Indies—Inter-Imperial Trade 177

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

Mechanical Science—Railway Enterprise in 1837—Brunel and the Broad Gauge—Primitive Devices—The Railway Commissioners—The Railway Mania—Mileage in the United Kingdom and the Empire—Brunel's Bridges—The Tubular Bridges—Robert Stephenson's Record—The Forth Bridge—The Severn Tunnel—The Underground Railway—London Termini—Steep Gradients—Improved Engines—Increase of Speed—Signals and Brakes—Accommodation and Increased Traffic—Tramways—Beginnings of Steam Navigation—The Screw—The *Great Eastern*—Improved Engines—The *Umbria* and the *Etruria*—The Carrying Trade—British Tonnage—The Suez Canal—The Royal Navy—Armour *v.* Artillery—Subsequent Improvements—Armstrong and Whitworth—The Navy in 1887—The Telegraph—Cooke's Patent—Telegraphs acquired by the State—Post Office Revenue—Submarine Telegraphy—Multiplication of Lines—The Atlantic Cable—Improved Appliances—Increase and Cheapness of Trans-Oceanic Cables—The Telephone—The Phonograph 199

CHAPTER XV.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

The Coal Age—The Energy represented—Increase and Value of the Output—Its Use—Economies effected—Depletion of the Supply—Sir W. Armstrong's Opinion—Jevons's Treatise—The Commission of 1866—The Output of Pig-Iron—Blast-Furnaces—The Bessemer Process—Sir Henry Roscoe's Discovery—Basic Processes—The Steam-Hammer and other Machines—Superiority of the Bessemer Process—The Siemens Process and its Developments—Uses of Pig-Iron—The Cotton Industry—Its Development—Improved Machinery—Sources of the Cotton Supply—The Cotton Famine—Continued Preference for American Cotton—The Factory System—Trades Unions—Arbitration and Provident Societies—The Factory Acts—The Unskilled Trades—Calico-Printing—New Dyes—Bleaching—The Linen Industry in Ireland—Silk Manufactures—The Wool Trade—Jute and Alpaca—Saitaire—Shoddy and Mungo—The Sewing-Machine—Its Use in the Boot Trade—The Salt Industry—Agriculture—Decline of the Wheat Crop—Yeomen and Tenant Farmers—Scientific Farming—Artificial Manure and the Rotation of Crops—Improved Breeds—New Machinery—Legislative Interference—Condition of the Agricultural Labourer—The Navy—The Army—A Period of Stagnation—The Crimean War—The Volunteer Movement—Mr. Cardwell's Reforms—Existing Shortcomings 214

CHAPTER XVI.

PAGE

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

Education in 1837—The Education Committee—Scotland and Ireland—Inspectors appointed—The Battersea School—The Religious Difficulty—The Minutes of '46—The Revised Code—Its Modification—Mr. Forster's Act—The Scottish Education Act—Cost of Education and its Statistics—Criminals and Paupers—Intermediate Schools—Commissions of Inquiry—The Act of '69—Examining Bodies—High Schools for Girls—Intermediate Education in Scotland and Ireland—The Public Schools—University College and King's College, London—The London University—The Victoria University—Welsh University Colleges—Durham University—Teaching at Oxford—The Act of '54—The Cambridge Commission—New Colleges and Unattached Students—Legislation of 1877—Mansfield and Women's Colleges—The Scottish Universities—Mr. Inglis's Act—The Executive Commission—Irish Universities—Education in India—Colonial Education—The Church at the Queen's Accession—The Oxford Movement—Tractarianism—Secessions to Rome—The Gorham Judgment—"Essays and Reviews"—Broad Church and Low Church—Ritualism—The Public Worship Regulation Act—Revival of Convocation—New Dioceses—Sisterhoods—Position of Nonconformity—The Wesleyan Bodies—The Agitation—Wesleyan Statistics—Congregationalism—The Baptists—Other Denominations—The Salvation Army—The Ten Years' Conflict in Scotland—The Veto Act—The Claim of Right—The Establishment after the Secession—The Free Church and the United Presbyterians—The Irish Temporalities Act—The Tithe Commutation Bill—The Disestablishment Act and its Results—Roman Catholicism in Ireland—Religious Progress in the Colonies	237
--	-----

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

The Advance of Science—Sir John Herschel's Discoveries—Adams and Leverrier—Spectrum Analysis—Balfour Stewart and Professor Stokes—The Chemistry and Structure of the Heavenly Bodies—Colour and Photography—Conservation of Energy—Joule, Tyndall, and Thomson—The Kinetic Theory and Electro-Magnetism—Developments of Electricity—The Atomic Theory—Mathematics—Biology and Embryology—Lyell and Owen—Darwin and Wallace—The Darwinian Controversy—The Origin of Man—Applications of the Evolutionary Idea—Herbert Spencer—Arctic Exploration—Discoveries in Africa—Livingstone and Stanley—Travels in Asia—Australia and America—Physical Geography—Ordnance Surveys and Hydrography—Medicine and Surgery—Contagious Diseases—The Stethoscope and the Localisation of Disease—New Instruments—Conservative Surgery and Anæsthetics—Position of the Medical Profession	261
--	-----

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

Victorian Literature—Philosophy and Psychology—Dr. Bain and the Scottish School—Herbert Spencer and Materialism—Carlyle and Macaulay—Minor Historians—Burton and Froude—The Later School—Ancient, Foreign, and Military History—Archæology—Biography—Autobiography and Memoirs—Historical Documents—Political Economy and Philosophy—Travel—Philology—Criticism—Matthew Arnold—Scholarship—Dickens—Thackeray—Charlotte Brontë and Mrs. Gaskell—Kingsley—Bulwer Lytton, and Disraeli—Minor Novelists—"George Eliot"—Wilkie Collins, Anthony Trollope, and Others—Meredith and Hardy—The later Writers of Fiction—Indian and Colonial Novelists—The Young Generation—Writers for Boys and Girls—Tennyson—Browning—Mrs. Browning and Matthew Arnold—Minor Poets—The Irish School—Coventry Patmore—Rossetti, Swinburne, and William Morris—W. B. Scott, "Owen Meredith," and Others—Later Verse—Mr. Buchanan and his Contemporaries—The Drama in 1837—Bulwer Lytton—Charles Reade and Tom Taylor—Boucicault and Byron—Gilbert, Wills, and Others—Periodical Literature—Journalism, Weekly and Daily	274
---	-----

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*concluded*).

English Music—The Composers Bennett, Bishop, Balfe, and Wallace—Sims Reeves, Jenny Lind, and their Successors—Musical Training—Church Music—Choirs and Concerts—The Royal College of Music—Stainer, Sullivan, and their Contemporaries—The Painters of '37—Water-Colour Painters, Caricaturists, and Engravers—Mr. Ruskin—The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood—Millais, Watts, and Leighton—The Modern English School—Water-Colours, Engraving, and Illustration—The Newlyn School and Whistler—The Sculptors of '37—Foley and Stevens—Woolner, Boehm, and their Contemporaries—Barry and the Houses of Parliament—The Gothic Revival—Pugin—Scott and Street—Blomfield and Pearson—Waterhouse and Norman Shaw—Male Costume—Black Cloth and Tall Hats—The Working Class Dress—Female Fashion—The Crinoline and the Chignon—Later Changes—Dress in the Provinces—Duelling and the Prize Ring—The Turf—Hunting and Shooting—Cricket—Football—Rowing and Athletic Sports—Cycling—Lawn Tennis—Dancing—Indoor Amusements—The Social Position of Women	293
---	-----

CHAPTER XX.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Socialism and the Unemployed—The Trafalgar Square Debate—The Irish Landlords—Approach of the Session—Lord Salisbury at Derby—The Queen's Speech—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell—The Debate on Mr. Parnell's Amendment—Mr. Gilhooly's Arrest—The Sweating Committee—The Procedure Resolutions—The Oaths Bill and Bills dealing with the Peers—National Debt Conversion—The Budget—The Wheel Tax and the Death Duties—Lord Wolseley on the Army—The Defences Bills—The Local Government Bill—Its Financial Provisions—Its Reception—The Second Reading—The Licensing Clauses—Alterations in Committee—Irish Debates—The Papal Rescript—Mr. Balfour on his Administration—Cumulative Sentences and Mr. Morley's Vote of Censure—O'Donnell *v.* Walter—Mr. Parnell's Statement—A Committee refused—The Charges and Allegations Bill—Lord R. Churchill's Protest—Mr. Gladstone's Writings on the Irish Question—Welsh and Irish Problems—"Jack the Ripper"—The Autumn Session—The Education Estimates—The Land Purchase Bill—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Morley—Mr. Gladstone at Limehouse—Political Prospects—Obituary of the Year 309

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Rosebery and Imperial Federation—Australian Festivities—Sir Henry Blake's Appointment—Chinese Immigration—The Rabbit Pest—Canada and the United States—Annexations and a Customs Union in South Africa—The East Africa Company—Egypt and the Mahdists—Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty—Campaigns in Burma and Tibet—The Black Mountain Expedition—England and Italy—Bismarck and Bulgaria—Death of the Emperor William I.—Death of the Emperor Frederick—Mr. Gladstone's Eulogy—Accession of William II.—Boulangism in France—Reaction in Russia—The Czar and Bulgaria—The Russians in Central Asia—Lord Salisbury on Foreign Affairs 330

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1889—County Council Elections—Extra-Parliamentary Oratory—Administration of the Crimes Act—The Olphert Estate—Liberal Protests—The Queen's Speech—Mr. Morley's Amendment—The Naval Defences Bill—The Budget—The Parnell Commission—Debates on the Crimes Act—The Scottish Local Government Bill—Amendments in Committee—The Scottish Universities Bill—Welsh and Irish Legislation—English Bills—The Technical Education Bill—The "Dear Sugar" Bill—The Royal Allowances Bill—The Irish and Liberal Alliance—The Birmingham Election—Mr. Gladstone in the West—Signs of the Times—Visits of the Shah and the German Emperor—Labour Conferences—The Dockers' Strike—Its Extension and Methods—Questions at Issue—Cardinal Manning's Arbitration—Effects of the Strike—Other Revolts of Labour—Platform Speeches and Bye-Elections—Lord Salisbury on Assisted Education—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Morley, and Mr. Parnell—Death of Mr. Bright—Obituary of the Year 341

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Salisbury and Mr. Goschen on Foreign Policy—The Morier Incident and "Outidas"—Russia and the Triple Alliance—Suppression of Boulangism—French Opposition in Egypt—Advance of Wad-en-Nejumi—His Defeat at Toski—The Balkan Peninsula—The Trial of Moussa Bey—The Cretan Rebellion—A Colonial Conference suggested—Sir Henry Parkes's Scheme—The West Australian Constitution—Samoa—Canada and the United States—Africa and the Brussels Conference—Disputes with the Portuguese—Annexation of Mashonaland—The British South Africa Company—The Future of South Africa—The Indian Frontier—Indian Finance 359

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Parnell Commission and its Causes—Mr. Parnell's Libel Actions—Particulars produced—Opening Speech of Sir R. Webster—Captain O'Shea—The Procuring of the Letters—Agrarian Outrages—Two False Witnesses—Delaney and Farragher—Major Le Caron—His Conversation with Mr. Parnell—The Clan-na-Gael—The Report on Le Caron—Mr. Soames and Mr. Macdonald—Mr. Houston—Pigott's Story—The Letters—Sir Charles Russell's Cross-examination—Pigott's Flight and Death—The *Times*' Withdrawal—Conclusion of the *Times*' Evidence—Sir Charles Russell's Speech—Mr. Parnell's Evidence—Archbishop Walsh and the Irish Members—Mr. Michael Davitt—Retirement of Sir Charles Russell from the Case—The Land League Books—Termination of the Evidence—Mr. Davitt's Statement—Sir Henry James's Reply—End of the Inquiry—The *Times*' Apology to Mr. Parnell—Appearance of the Report—Its Account of the Land League Movement—The First Charge—The "English Garrison"—Mr. Parnell and the Invincibles—The Pigott Forgeries—Incendiary Journalism—Incitement to Crime—Assistance from Advocates of Dynamite—Cost of the Commission 368

CHAPTER XXV.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Influenza in 1890—The Eight Hours Question—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Labouchere—The Queen's Speech—The Facsimile Letter again—Amendments to the Address—The Report of the Parnell Commission—Debate on Mr. Gladstone's Amendment—The Jennings-Caine Amendment—Weakness of the Ministry—The Irish Land Purchase Bill—Mr. Parnell's Motion of Rejection—Speeches of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Goschen—An Autumn Session announced—The Tithes Bill—The Allotments Bill—The Hartington Commission—The Budget—The Licensing Clauses—The Bill in Committee—The Speaker's Ruling—The Clauses abandoned—The Barrow Election—Mr. Matthews and Mr. Monro—Strike of the Police—The Life Guards and the Letter-Sorters—Abandonment of Bills—Accusations of Obstruction—Sir William Harcourt's Reply—Mr. Stanley's Return—The Royal Military Exhibition—The Bisley Meeting—The Naval Manœuvres—The Trades Union Congress—The Southampton Strike—Railway Strikes—The Agrarian Campaign in Ireland—New Tipperary—The Court-house Riot—Partial Failure of the Potato Crop—The Trial at Tipperary—Flight of Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien—Political Speeches—The Parnell Divorce Case—Committee Room No. 15—Mr. Gladstone's Letter—Mr. Parnell's Appeal to the Irish People—Mr. Gladstone's Reply—Mr. Parnell and Mr. Morley—The Struggle in the Committee Room—Progress of the Session—The Tithes Bill—The Land Bill—Relief of Irish Distress—The Kilkenny Election—"In Darkest England"—Criticisms on the Scheme—Mr. Loch's Pamphlet—The Baring Crisis—Opening of the Forth Bridge—The Scottish Railway Strike—Its Collapse—Obituary of the Year	385
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Brussels Conference—The French and German Conventions—The Witu Expedition—The Emin Relief Expedition—Tippoo Tib—Arrival at Lake Albert—Emin appears—His Officers mutiny—The Rear Column—Evacuation of Equatoria—Selim Bey's Treachery—Geographical Discoveries—Sequel of the Expedition—Lord Salisbury and the Portuguese—The Ultimatum—Surrender of the Portuguese Government—The <i>Modus Vivendi</i> —Occupation of Mashonaland—Capture of Massikessé—The Swazi Convention—Lord Salisbury on Egypt—India—The McKinley Tariff—The Melbourne Conference—The West Australian Constitution—Strikes in Australia—France and Italy—The German Emperor and Labour—Bismarck's Resignation—Austria and Bulgaria—Turkey and Armenia	409
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Beginning of 1891—Mr. Parnell at Boulogne—Versions of the Negotiations—Conservative Jubilations—The Hartlepool Election—Mr. Morley at Newcastle—The Tithes Bill—Party Strife in Ireland—Irish Distress—Strikes—The Factories and Workshops Bill—The Labour Commission—Futile Debates—Remedial Measures for Ireland—The Irish Land Bill—The Bill in the Lords—The Budget—"Free Education"—A "Small General Election"—Sir W. Hart-Dyke's Resolution—Mr. Acland's Amendment—The Bill in Committee—Its Progress in the Lords—The Dynamiters—The Baccarat Scandal—A Question of Discipline—Lord Salisbury at the Union Club—The German Emperor's Visit—His Speech in the City	420
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Salisbury at the Mansion House—Suspension of the Crimes Act—Mr. Parnell's Campaign—The Carlow Election—Death of Mr. Parnell—Mr. Redmond succeeds Him—The Cork and Waterford Elections—Renewed Vigour of Liberalism—Strikes in London—The Trades Union Congress—The Agricultural Labourer—The Newcastle Programme—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—A Gloomy Autumn—The Wapping Strike—Death of Mr. Smith—Ministerial Changes—Mr. Chamberlain and Government—Mr. Goschen's Currency Scheme—The Church Congress at Rhyl—The South-molton Election—Mr. Chamberlain and Compulsory Insurance—Lord Salisbury at Birmingham—The Agricultural Labourer—Lord Hartington becomes Duke of Devonshire—Mr. Chamberlain takes his Place—His Alarming Declaration—Criticism of the Army—Illness of Prince George of Wales—Engagement of the Duke of Clarence—Obituary of the Year	430
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIX.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Salisbury on Foreign Affairs—Bickerings between France and Germany—The Cronstadt Demonstration—The French Squadron at Portsmouth—The Dardanelles—M. de Giers's Mission—Central Customs League—British Occupation of Egypt—Speeches of Mr. Morley and Mr. Gladstone—Lord Salisbury's Reply—Repulse of Osman Digna—Order restored in Tokar—Judicial Reforms in Egypt—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain on Africa—Mr. Rhodes and the Boers—Collisions with the Portuguese—Lord Salisbury's Ultimatum—The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty—Other African Affairs—The Age of Consent Bill in India—Indian Finance—Famine in Burma and Madras—Colonel Yonoff in the Pamirs—Restoration of the Maharajah of Cashmere—The Hunza-Nagar Confederacy—Despatch of an Expedition—The Thum's Ultimatum—Capture of Nilt—Peace Concluded—The Black Mountain Expedition—Manipur—Its Revolution—Mr. Quinton's Expedition—Attempt to Capture the Senapatti—The Residency Attacked—The Parley—The Retreat—Lieutenant Gurdon's Story—Lieutenant Grant at Thobal—The Punitive Expedition—Dissensions in Parliament—Outrages against Missionaries in China—Imperial Federation again—The Sydney Conference—The Federation Bill dropped—Dissolution of the Canadian Parliament—Death of Sir John Macdonald—Official Corruption—Mr. Mercier—The Canadian Census—The Newfoundland Fisheries—The Behring Strait Question . . . 439

CHAPTER XXX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1892—The Influenza Epidemic—Death of the Duke of Clarence—Messages of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Queen—The Funeral—Death of Cardinal Manning—The Rossendale Election—Mr. Chamberlain on Old Age Pensions—Mr. Chaplin, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Fowler—The Queen's Speech—Debate on the Address—The Irish Local Government Bill—Its Reception—The Debate on the Second Reading—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Balfour—Abandonment of the Bill—The Agricultural Holdings Bill—Its Peaceful Progress—The Irish Education Bill—The Scottish Education Bill—The Clergy Discipline Bill—The Indian Councils Bill and other Measures—The Estimates and the Budget—Private Members' Bills—Out-of-door Oratory—Lord Salisbury and Ulster—The North Hackney Election—The London County Council—The Whitsuntide Recess—The *Freeman's Journal* Squabble—The Ulster Demonstration—Preparations for the Election—Unionist Addresses—Mr. Morley and Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Gladstone and the Irish Leaders—The Electoral Campaign—The Borough Elections—The Counties—The Final Result—The Election Petitions—Meeting of Parliament—The Queen's Speech—The Debate in the Lords—Re-election of Mr. Peel—Mr. Asquith's Amendment—Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Redmond—Mr. Gladstone's Reply—Mr. Balfour—Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Healy—The Division . . . 456

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Mr. Gladstone's New Ministry—The Cabinet—Minor Appointments—Mr. Labouchere's Revelations—The Newcastle Election—Lord Houghton's State Entry—The Evicted Tenants' Commission—The Opening Proceedings—Release of the Gweedore Prisoners—A Christmas Eve Outrage—The Trades Union Congress—Mr. Chamberlain's Programme—Home Rule Contributions—Mr. John Morley's Hint—Sir Edward Reed's Manifesto—Two Speeches from Mr. Gladstone—The Agricultural Conference—Bimetallism—Lord Kimberley at Guildhall—Mr. Fowler and the Unemployed—The Aged and Deserving Poor—The Report on General Booth's Scheme—Hadleigh Farm—Failure of the Liberator Building Society—Run on the Birkbeck Bank—Obituary of the Year . . . 478

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The International Monetary Conference—The Rupee—The Herschell Commission—Famine Relief—The Indian Councils Act—The Opium Controversy—Frontier Expeditions—The Ameer's Troubles—A Mission Proposed—Egyptian Affairs—The Euan-Smith Mission to Morocco—West Africa—The Cape Franchise Bill—The Natal Deputation—Mr. Johnston in Nyassaland—The East Africa Company—The Railway Scheme—The Vote for a Survey—Mr. Jackson and Dr. Peters—The Lugard Expedition—A Protectorate Proclaimed—Defeat of Kabba Rega—Lugard enlists the Soudanese—Disorder at Mengo—The French Priests—Hostilities and Flight of the King—Restoration of Peace—Evacuation Determined—Lord Rosebery's Decision—The Portal Mission—Australia in Difficulties—The Crash in Victoria—Sir George Dibbs's Finance—Separation in Queensland—Mr. Ballance and Lord Glasgow—Canada and the United States—Russia and the Porte—The Balkan States—The German Army Bills—Panama and Panamino . . . 487

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1893—Irish Politics—The “Pure Scotchman”—Lord Winchilsea’s Agricultural Union—The Independent Labour Party—Home Rule Rumours and Comments—The Queen’s Speech—The House of Lords on Home Rule—The Debate in the Commons—The Release of Egan—The Breach of Privilege Debate—The Home Rule Bill Introduced—Mr. Gladstone’s Speech—The Irish Parliament—Retention of the Irish Members—Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bryce, and Lord R. Churchill—End of the Debate—Bills Introduced—The Welsh Disestablishment Bill—The Local Veto Bill—The Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission—The Estimates and the Budget—Party Meetings—Anti-Home Rule Deputations—The Second Reading Debate—Mr. Gladstone and Sir M. Hicks-Beach—Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. McCarthy, and others—The Last Night—The Division—Speeches out-of-doors—The Albert Hall Demonstration—The First Clause—Clause II.—Lord Salisbury in Ulster—The Third Clause—Mr. Sexton’s Resignation—The Financial Arrangements—The Closure Debate—Heated Discussions—The “In-and-Out” Clause Withdrawn—Mr. Conybeare and Mr. Sexton—The Financial Statement and the Civil Service—Ireland’s Contribution—The Fight—The Apologies—The New Clauses—The Report Stage Closed—The Third Reading Debate—The Division—The Duke of Devonshire at Otley—The Bill in the Lords—Earl Spencer and the Duke of Devonshire—Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury—Lord Kimberley’s Reply—Rejection of the Bill—Manifesto of the National Liberal Federation—End of the Session	499
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Marriage of the Duke of York—The Processions—The Religious Ceremony—The Archbishop’s Address—The Progress through London—Opening of the Imperial Institute—Loss of the <i>Victoria</i> —Account of the Catastrophe—The Court-Martial—The Relief Fund—The Cholera—The Cotton Strike—The Hull Strike—The Coal Strike—Ultimatum of the Masters—Reply of the Miners’ Federation—The Joint Conference—The Strike Begins—The Featherstone Riot—Distress in the Midlands—The Sheffield and Birmingham Conferences—Mr. Gladstone’s Letter—Lord Rosebery’s Arbitration—The Featherstone Commission—Speech-making of the Recess—The Rival Irish Parties—Meeting of Parliament—The Parish Councils Bill—Mr. Fowler’s Speech—The Bill in Committee—The Employers’ Liability Bill—“Contracting Out”—The Third Reading—The Two Houses at Issue—Lord Dudley’s Amendment—Its Reception in the Commons—The Close of the Year—The Naval Scare—The Topic in the House—Obituary of the Year	522
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Toulon Demonstration and its Sequels—Panama and Anarchism—German Politics—Austria and Italy—Russia and Eastern Europe—The Durand Mission—Riots in India—The Herschell Committee on the Closure of the Mints—The Loan Bill—Lord Elgin becomes Viceroy—The Siamese Crisis—M. Waddington’s Proposal—His Modified Plan—Lord Rosebery’s Views—Action of French Agents—The Ultimatum—The Treaty and Convention—The Neutral Zone—Lord Rosebery’s Despatch—Sir Edward Grey’s Remark—The Khedive’s <i>Coup d’État</i> —Simmering Disaffection—Riaz Pasha and the Legislative Council—Sir Elwin Palmer’s Report—East and Central Africa—The Weena Affair—South Africa—Raids of the Matabele—Action decided upon—Strength of the Expedition—Junction of the Victoria and Salisbury Columns—Battle of the Shangani—The Second Engagement—Occupation of Buluwayo—The Goold-Adams Column—Death of the Indunas—Another Battle—Forbes in Pursuit—The Wilson Patrol—The Last Stand—Death of Lobengula—Settlement of the Country—The Australian Crisis—Canada—The Behring Sea Tribunal—The Award	537
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1894—The Parish Councils Bill in Committee—The Third Reading—A Popular Budget—The <i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> ’s Announcement—The Parish Councils Bill in the Lords—Lord Dudley’s Amendment again—The Parish Councils Bill Re-modelled—The Employers’ Liability Bill dropped—Dispute between the Lords and Commons—Mr. Gladstone’s Resignation—His Last Speech—End of the Session—The Rosebery Ministry—Anarchism in England—The Foreign Office Meeting—The Queen’s Speech—“The Predominant Partner”—A Government Defeat—Mr. Gladstone and Sir John Cowan—The Scottish Grand Committee—The Navy Estimates—The Budget—Its Reception—The Second Reading—The Duke of Devonshire at Buxton—Progress of the Bill—The Bill in the Lords—Measures abandoned—The Registration and Welsh Church Bills—Sir William Harcourt’s Statement—The Scottish Local Government Bill—The Equalisation of Rates Bill—The Evicted Tenants Bill—The Second Reading—The Committee Stage Closed—The Bill in the Lords—Its Rejection—End of the Session—Prospects of the Ministry	553
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PAGE

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Birth of the Heir to the Throne—The Tower Bridge—The Opening Ceremony—The Manchester Ship Canal—The Opening by the Queen—The Miners' Board—The Albion Colliery Explosion—The Cab Strike—Mr. Asquith's Diplomacy—The Scottish Coal Strike—The Labour Commission—The Minority Report—Other Memoranda—Associations of Employers and Workmen—The Majority Report—Review of the Evidence—Trades Union Legislation—Conciliation and Arbitration—The Recommendations—The Leicester Election—The Norwich Congress—The Leeds Conference—The Hyde Park Demonstration—The Cheque Episode—Lord Rosebery at Bradford—A Resolution Proposed—The Glasgow Speech—Its Reception—Lord Salisbury at Edinburgh—Mr. Balfour and the Duke of Devonshire—Mr. McEwan—Party Proposals—Forfarshire and Brigg—The London Unification Report—Its Criticism—The School Board Elections—District and Parish Council Elections—Obituary of the Year—The Chelford Accident	569
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Anarchism in France—Murder of President Carnot—Election of M. Casimir-Perier—Captain Dreyfus—Death of Alexander III.—Succession and Marriage of Nicholas II.—The Russo-German Commercial Treaty—Resignation of Count von Caprivi—Prince Hohenlohe succeeds Him—Austria and Italy—Fall of M. Stambouloff—Rumours of Armenian Atrocities—Lord Kimberley's Action—Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden—Egypt—War between China and Japan—Sinking of the <i>Kowshing</i> —A Sensational Cabinet—British Intervention—Lord Rosebery's Explanation—China Sues for Peace—Commercial Conventions—The Ameer and the Waziris—Indian Finance—The Ottawa Conference—Lord Jersey's Report—Canada—Australia—Mr. Rhodes—"Commandeering"—The Swazi—West Africa—The Portal Mission—Sir Gerald's Report—The Uganda Settlement—The Anglo-Congo Convention—The Italians at Kassala	588
---	-----

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*concluded*).

Opening of 1895—Mr. Healy's Demonstration—Address of Irish-Americans to Mr. Gladstone—Hints of the Coming Session—A Worthless Rumour—London Reform—The Harmony of the Unionists—The National Liberal Federation—Sir William Harcourt at Derby—The Evesham Election—Death of Lord Randolph Churchill—The Queen's Speech—The Debate on the Address—Mr. Jeffreys' Amendment—Mr. John Redmond's Amendment—Wrongs of the People of India—Irish Grievances—Mr. Chamberlain's Amendment—The Division and Disposal of the Address.	601
--	-----

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE		PAGE
New Palace Yard, Westminster	1	Map showing Density of Population within the London Registration Area	185
The Right Hon. G. J. Goschen	5	Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Giffen	192
Interior of the House of Lords	9	Cotton Mills, Miles Platting, Manchester	193
Reform Demonstration in Hyde Park	13	Great Engineers	197
Balmoral Castle, from Craig Nordie	17	The Down "Dutchman" (on the right) passing Acton at the rate of Sixty Miles an Hour (Great Western Railway)	200
The Right Hon. Earl Spencer	21	The Forth Bridge, from the south-west	201
West and East: A Party of Slummers	24	Launch of the <i>Great Eastern</i>	205
Hawarden Castle, from the south-west	25	The <i>Great Western</i> and the <i>Campania</i> —a Contrast	208
Jules Ferry	29	Types of the Navy of Great Britain and Ireland during Queen Victoria's Reign	209
Teste Island, New Guinea	33	Sir William Thomson (afterwards Lord Kelvin)	213
Arrival of Gordon at Khartoum	37	Map of the Coal-fields of the British Isles	217
General Gordon	41	The Bessemer Process—the "Cast" and the "Blow"	220
The Fight at Kalakala	45	Great Inventors	221
Sir Herbert Stewart	49	The Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G.	225
The Governor-General's Palace, Khartoum	53	The old Manor-house, Morley, Birthplace of Sir Titus Salt	229
Gordon's Last Stand	56	Uniforms in the British Navy	232
General Gordon	57	Uniforms in the British Army	233
Buckingham Palace, from St. James's Park	61	Uniforms in the Volunteers	236
Mr. Labouchere	65	Dr. Arnold of Rugby	241
The Royal Visit to Ireland: The Procession passing over Parnell Bridge, Cork	68	London University, Burlington House	244
Lord Houghton	73	The University, Edinburgh	248
The National Liberal Club, London	77	Leaders of Thought in the English Church	252
Russian Encounter with the Afghans at Pul-i-Khisti	80	Leading English Nonconformists	257
Lord Salisbury	81	Lord Melbourne	260
The British Forces entering Mandalay	85	The Observatory, Greenwich	261
Houses of Parliament, Cape Town	89	The Lecture Room at the Royal Institution, London	265
Mr. W. H. Smith	93	Leaders in Science	268
Mr. Morley	97	Sir John Lubbock	269
Introduction of the Home Rule Bill: Mr. Gladstone delivering his Peroration	101	Royal College of Surgeons, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London	272
Mr. Chamberlain	105	The Record Office, London	277
Devonshire House, Piccadilly, from the Drive	109	Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey	281
Rioting in Belfast	112	Great Writers of the Queen's Reign	285
Thomas Sexton	113	Women Writers of the Queen's Reign	289
Royal Irish Constabulary protecting a Government Reporter at a Plan of Campaign Meeting	117	Covent Garden Theatre, London	293
The People's Palace, London	120	Great Painters of the Reign	297
Sir Walter Besant	121	The National Gallery, London	301
Hoisting the French Flag in the New Hebrides	125	Women's Costumes in the Queen's Reign	304
The King of the Hellenes	129	Lord's Cricket Ground: Headquarters of the M.C.C.	305
Prince Alexander of Bulgaria signing his Abdication	132	Old Scotland Yard	313
Lord Idlesleigh	137	Lord Wolseley	317
The Constitutional Club, London	141	Fight at Ennis between National Leaguers and Police	321
Mr. A. J. Balfour	145	The Royal Palace of Justice, London	325
The Members' Lobby, House of Commons	149	Lord Randolph Churchill	329
Queen Victoria's Jubilee: Escort of Princes in the Royal Procession	153	Government House, Melbourne, from the Botanical Gardens	332
Queen Victoria's Jubilee: The Thanksgiving Service in Westminster Abbey	156	Sir Henry Parkes (New South Wales)	333
Queen Victoria in her Jubilee Year	157	Affray with Arabs at Suakim	337
The Square, Mitchelstown	161	Frederick III., the German Emperor	340
"Bloody Sunday": The Life Guards holding Trafalgar Square	165	Surrender of Patrick O'Donnell	345
Some of the Jubilee Coins	169	Sitting of the Parnell Commission: Pigott under Cross-examination	349
General Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States	173	Herbert Henry Asquith	353
Prince William of Prussia addressing the Hussars	176	John Burns addressing a Meeting of Dockers on Tower Hill	357
On Board an Emigrant Ship	181	General Boulanger	361

	PAGE		PAGE
The Eiffel Tower, Paris	364	Maguire's Attack on the Slave-dhows	492
Battle of Toski : The Arab Chief's Last Rally	365	Captain Lugard	493
Reduced Facsimile of the Letter published in the <i>Times</i> alleged to have been written by Mr. Parnell	373	The White House, Washington	497
Sir Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Chief Justice Russell of Killowen	377	The Cabinet Council Room	500
O'Connell Street, Dublin	381	The Right Hon. James Bryce	501
Cork	385	The Archbishop of Canterbury at the Demonstration in the Royal Albert Hall	505
Sir James (afterwards Lord) Hannen	389	The Conference Room, Foreign Office	508
Wellington Barracks, London	393	Mr. Balfour in Dublin : Torchlight Procession	509
Mr. Speaker Peel	397	Hatfield House	513
The Princess of Wales firing the First Shot at Bisley	400	Mr. Mellor	517
Justin McCarthy	405	Marriage of the Duke of York : The Royal Procession passing St. Paul's Cathedral	524
Opening of the Forth Bridge by the Prince of Wales	408	The Imperial Institute, South Kensington	525
Henry Morton Stanley	413	Admiral Sir George Tryon	528
The British South Africa Company's Pioneers in Mashona- land	416	Featherstone Riots : The Soldiers firing on the People	529
Sydney Harbour, from the South Head	417	Mr. John Burns, M.P.	533
Miss Balfour's Visit to Ireland : A Mission of Mercy	424	Towing H.M.S. <i>Howe</i> into Ferrol Harbour	536
Meeting of Washerwomen in Hyde Park	425	Religious Faction Fights in Bombay	540
The Right Hon. Sir Henry Hartley Fowler	429	Lord Kimberley	541
Town Hall, Newcastle	433	Tombs of the Mamelukes and the Citadel, Cairo	545
Dr. W. A. Hunter	437	On the Track of Lobengula	549
The French Fleet at Cronstadt : Visit of the Czar	441	The Ceremony of the Royal Assent : The Dutiful Com- mons at the Bar of the House of Lords	553
Attack on the British Residency at Manipur	448	Sir William Vernon Harcourt	556
Mrs. Ethel St. Clair Grimwood	449	The Houses of Parliament, London	557
Houses of Parliament, Ottawa	453	The Cathedral, St. David's	565
The Duke of Clarence and Avondale	457	The "Ship" Tavern, Greenwich, where the Ministerial Whitebait Dinner is held	568
The Custom House, Dublin	461	Baptism of Prince Edward	569
Interior of the House of Commons	465	The Tower Bridge, London	573
Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Hutton	468	Lord Rosebery	577
Great Unionist Demonstration in Belfast	469	The Municipal Buildings, George Square, Glasgow	581
The General Election of 1892 : Announcing Results at the National Liberal Club	473	Meeting of the London County Council	584
Sir James Mathew	481	Robert Louis Stevenson	585
Public Meeting in Trafalgar Square in commemoration of "Bloody Sunday"	484	Funeral of President Carnot	589
Hadleigh Castle and the Salvation Army Home Farm, Essex	488	Battle of the Yalu : Chinese Warship <i>King-Yuen</i> on fire and sinking	593
		The Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes	597

COLOURED PLATES.

THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, WESTMINSTER. (<i>By Herbert Marshall, R.W.S., R.E.</i>)	Frontispiece
THE DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON. (<i>By George W. Joy</i>)	To face p. 54
THE TOWER OF LONDON. (<i>By T. B. Hardy</i>)	62
ST. GEORGE'S HALL AND LIME STREET, LIVERPOOL	120
THE QUEEN'S PROCESSION ON THE WAY TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY, JUBILEE DAY, 1887. (<i>By R. Dudley</i>)	153
A FRIENDLY POWER IN EGYPT. (<i>By Walter C. Horsley</i>)	172
THE CUNARD LINER "CAMPANIA" AT THE LANDING STAGE, LIVERPOOL	206
THE FORTH BRIDGE, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST	406
THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, FEBRUARY 13, 1893: MR. GLADSTONE INTRODUCING THE SECOND HOME RULE BILL. (<i>By R. Ponsonby Staples</i>)	503
VIEW ON THE MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL—MOUNT MANISTY	570
PARLIAMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA	594



NEW PALACE YARD, WESTMINSTER.

CASSELL'S ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Beginning of 1884: Liberal and Conservative Views of the Extension of the Franchise—Opening of Parliament: Egyptian Difficulties—The First Vote of Censure—The Second Vote of Censure—The Financial Conference and the Third Vote of Censure—Progress of the Franchise Bill—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Lord Salisbury at Lillie Bridge, and Quarrels among the Conservatives—The Bill in Committee—The Bill in the Lords—Lord Salisbury's Speech—Mr. Gladstone at the Foreign Office—Attempts at a Settlement—Other Events of the Session—The Summer Agitation—Specimens of the Rival Arguments—Lord Cowper's Compromise—Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian Campaign—Moderate Speeches, and the Offers of Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain—The *Standard's* Redistribution Scheme—The Eve of the Autumn Session—Meeting of Parliament—Re-introduction of the Franchise Bill—The Compromise—The Redistribution Bill—Termination of the Crisis.

By the beginning of the year 1884 Liberal politicians, taken as a party, had fixedly determined to have the Franchise Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. Mr. Albert Grey, indeed, at Hexham, expressed himself as disposed to vote against a Franchise Bill, if introduced without a Redistribution Bill, on the ground that the latter

would certainly be a bad one, and as influenced in favour of the minority vote if secured on a principle of proportional representation. Mr. Goschen also spoke dubiously of the extension of the franchise in Ireland, until it was known how redistribution would be applied there; in England he was in favour—and Mr. Forster shared his

opinion—of subdividing the great boroughs, and of enlarging the smaller ones by including the country districts in them. Nevertheless, the *Pall Mall Gazette's* census showed that out of the 175 Liberal Members who answered its questions, 85 per cent. were in favour of making redistribution a separate measure, and 95 per cent. in favour of enlarging the Irish franchise. Meanwhile, the experts of the party were not long in giving their followers some clue as to the lines it would be desirable to follow. A practical Redistribution Bill, in the opinion of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, would give eighteen additional Members to London, and twenty-two to Lancashire and Yorkshire; fifty or sixty seats would be taken from the smaller boroughs, while others would be grouped or extended until they reached a minimum of about 20,000 persons. Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in company with Mr. Bright at Birmingham towards the end of January, declared that Government were going to interfere as little as possible with existing arrangements. "We shall have to put a stop to faggot-voting, by which persons with no interest either of property or responsibility in the constituencies are brought in on the day of election to swamp the votes and nullify the action of the real electors of the place. But even the Tories do not defend this particular abuse. Why, then, should they oppose our modest little Bill?" The Tory reply was twofold: extremer Conservatives proclaimed with Lord Randolph Churchill that any enlargement of the franchise was "playing chuck-farthing with the Constitution;" but the ex-official Conservatives declared that unless the Franchise Bill was accompanied by a measure of redistribution, there was no security that the constituencies would not be "gerrymandered," that is, manipulated—an Americanism for the introduction of which into English politics Lord Salisbury was responsible—in the interests of a particular party. Such was the argument of an extremely vigorous speech made by Mr. W. H. Smith at Dublin on the 24th of January, though he was also opposed to extension of the franchise in Ireland; and Lord Salisbury hinted not obscurely at the method that he proposed to adopt in order to defeat Government. Speaking at Dorchester on January the 16th, he warned his hearers that the Bill would be strenuously opposed, because it only intended to secure to the Liberals the accidental majority of 1880, because it would be unaccompanied by a Redistribution Bill, and because it would include Ireland, and therefore make separation inevitable. He believed it would

not pass this year, and declared that the Tories need not fear a dissolution because the victories of 1880 had everywhere been won by small majorities.

Parliament opened on the 5th of February, when, as had been expected, the Queen's message referred to the Franchise Bill, the Local Government Bill, and the London Municipal Reform Bill, as the most important proposals for the session. "The experience," it ran, "gained during half a century warranted the belief that again, as heretofore, the result of a judicious extension of the franchise will be a still closer attachment of the nation to the throne, the law, and the institutions of the country." It was many days, however, before Mr. Gladstone could introduce the measure, for the Egyptian and Soudanese policy of the Government gave the Opposition a fair ground for attack, of which they were not slow to avail themselves. Their assault, entrusted to Mr. Bourke, was a failure on the occasion of the debate on the Address, owing to the sudden collapse of the discussion through Sir Charles Dilke's refusal to speak in the dinner hour—a refusal which Lord Randolph Churchill declined to regard as accidental; but on the 14th of February they had their opportunity, when the first of several votes of censure upon Government was moved in both Houses. The resolution described the conduct of Government as vacillating and inconsistent, and there was ground for Lord Salisbury's scathing comments upon "the miserable apathy, the timid repudiation of responsibility, the abandonment of gallant men to an inevitable doom, the giving up of 1,000 women and children to all the hideous horrors of an Oriental victory." The theme of the Opposition may be summarised as follows:—They declared that the government of Egypt was now completely in British hands; and that the "advice" given to the Khedive to withdraw his garrisons from Khartoum and the other Soudanese fortresses had been followed by the prompt resignation of Cherif Pasha's Ministry—on the ground that Egypt was being governed from Downing Street instead of from Cairo—and by the appointment of Nubar Pasha in his place, to carry out British ideas. Although, therefore, they urged, Lord Granville could not pretend that what had happened was all the fault of the Khedive, Baker Pasha's feeble army had been allowed to go to certain destruction in the vain attempt to relieve Sinkat and Tokar, and after this useless bloodshed Sinkat had been abandoned to massacre. Further, they asserted that it was only after the popular clamour against

the ignominy of leaving Khartoum to its fate had grown too loud to be resisted with impunity, that the Ministry had consented to send General Gordon thither in order to effect, if possible, the withdrawal of the garrison and of the Christian population; that it was now trying to make that gallant officer a scapegoat for its offences, and that he had been allowed to start upon his hazardous ride across the desert without adequate protection. Lord Granville's reply was to the effect that Government did not disclaim the responsibility of giving advice to the Khedive on all important questions, and that the disasters attendant upon Hicks Pasha's and Baker Pasha's expeditions were unavoidable. The motion of censure was carried by 181 votes to 81. In the House of Commons Government came out of the debate more creditably. Animated by the cheers of his followers, the Prime Minister replied with vigour to Sir Stafford Northcote's mild reproaches. He declared that the Opposition were ready enough to blame Government, but that they absolutely refused to bind themselves to any policy whatever; he defended Baker Pasha's expedition on the ground that it had been declared by competent judges to be thoroughly adequate for the relief of Sinkat and Tokar; he pointed out that the delay in sending General Gordon had been due to the reluctance of the Khedive to accept his services; that his mission was a peaceful one, and had in it no idea of reconquest. After a lively two nights' debate the motion was negatived by 311 votes to 262—a majority of 49. By far the most damaging attack on Government was that of Mr. Forster, who, with Mr. Goschen, upbraided Ministers roundly, but nevertheless voted for them. The reason for this curious course of action was that Government had in the meantime begun to act with vigour.

Before passing to the Franchise Bill, it will be well to take a connected view of the course of the Egyptian-Soudanese *imbroglio* during the session. The Opposition did not lose heart after their first defeat, and after a continuous fire of questions in both Houses had failed to extract much information from Government, a second vote of censure was moved by Sir M. Hicks-Beach on the 12th of May. During the interval the situation had changed considerably for the worse. General Graham's expedition into the eastern Soudan resulted only in much useless effusion of blood. Tokar was not relieved for the simple reason that it had surrendered on the 21st of February before any help could come, and the two battles of El Teb

and Tamai were but barren victories won at some cost over the recklessly courageous troops of Osman Digna, their only possible use—the opening up of the path across the desert *via* Berber to Khartoum—being neglected by Government, although the occupation of Berber was urged upon them both by Sir E. Baring and Sir E. Wood. Meanwhile despatches from General Gordon had made it clear that he held different ideas as to the purpose for which he had been sent out from those entertained by Lord Granville. His contention was that he had been despatched to the Soudan first to rescue the garrisons, and next to set up some kind of rule in place of the Egyptian Government, and that he would have military support if necessary. His proposal that Zebehr Pasha, the notorious slave-trader, should be appointed Governor of Khartoum was certainly a startling one, and Lord Granville's refusal to countenance such a step was upheld. Still it was thought by some that Government acted timidly in informing him that his mission was simply one of inquiry; that if he could bring the garrisons away he was to do so, if he could not, he was to come away alone; and that the only contingency which Government would recognise as saddling them with responsibility was his being shut up by the Mahdi in Khartoum without power of leaving it. That possibility seemed indeed imminent, although Gordon's situation was not thought to be as desperate as was actually the case, and already the leader of the Opposition, at the instigation of Lord Randolph Churchill, had, on the 3rd of April, raised a debate on the subject. The fiery indignation of Mr. Gladstone at what he described as the obstructive and unconstitutional conduct of the Opposition for the moment swept all before it, but no clue was given to the intentions of Government; and the powerful appeal of Sir M. Hicks-Beach, on the 12th of May, for “a free hand” and military support for the General, produced nothing more definite from Mr. Gladstone than a declaration that Government had entered into a covenant with Gordon that on reasonable proof of his danger he would be assisted. So disappointing was the speech that, in spite of Lord Hartington's efforts to minimise its chilling effects by assurance of the readiness of Government to send aid to Khartoum, if necessary, it was not supported by a single non-official Liberal during the two nights' debate, and Government were saved only by the considerably reduced majority of twenty-eight—275 for the motion and 303 against it.

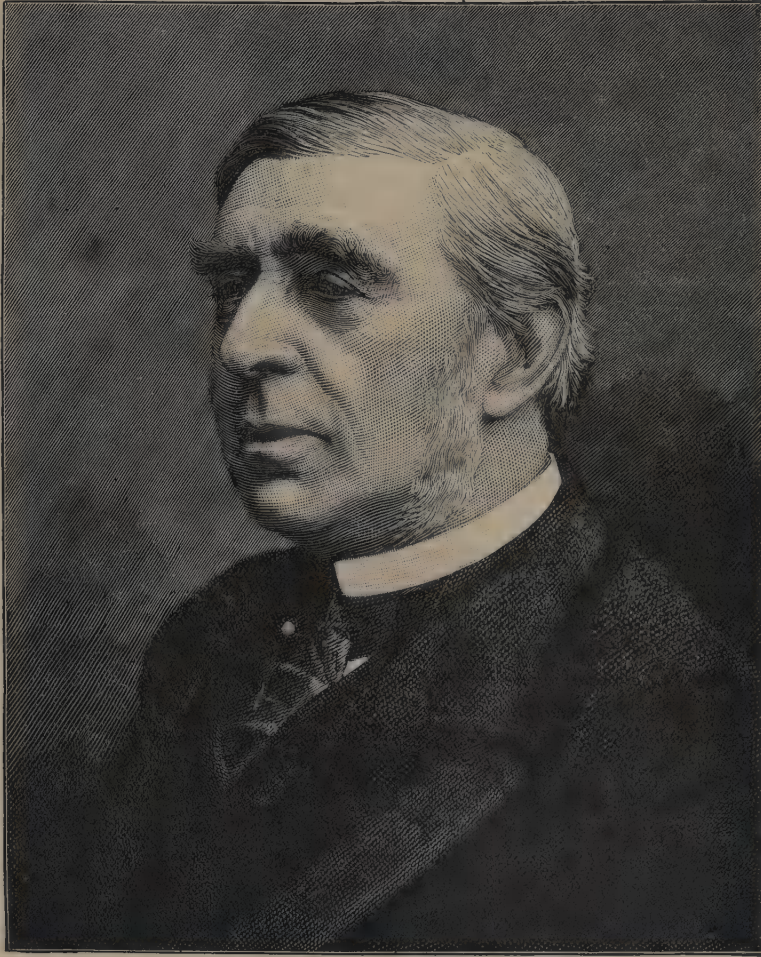
Despite the complete uncertainty as to the fate of Khartoum and its beleaguered inhabitants, and despite the continual refusal of Government to pledge themselves definitely to the despatch of a relief expedition, from May and onwards the civil side of Egyptian affairs became a more frequent subject of discussion than the military. Government determined to summon a Conference of the Powers on the subject of Egyptian finance, their contention being that the time had come for altering the Law of Liquidation with the object of reducing the interest upon the Egyptian debt. An authoritative announcement of the intentions of the Cabinet made in the House of Commons, on the 9th of June, forthwith gave rise to alarming rumours to the effect that Great Britain, at the demand of France, had consented to place Egypt under the control of an International Commission, to limit the period of her occupation, and to act as the executive of the commission as long as that occupation lasted. To the fate of this project we shall allude later. It is enough to say here that its terms were made the occasion of a third vote of censure, moved by Mr. Bruce on the 30th of June. Ministers were, however, saved from the discussion by the unexpected intervention of Mr. Goschen, who, purely on his own responsibility, opposed a direct negative to Mr. Gladstone's motion—made in accordance with precedents, for the postponement of the orders of the day so that the debate should take place—and was successful in the division of the House.

Meanwhile the Franchise Bill had been progressing with uneven keel along its storm-tossed course. Owing to various delays, the Prime Minister's introductory statement was not made until the 28th of February. The measure, he said, was intended to redeem a pledge made by the Liberal party at the general election, and secondly, to satisfy a desire for the suffrage among those to whom it was addressed. But above all it was intended to add strength to the State. The anomalies of the present system of representation were pointed out; it was assumed that both sides were agreed on the principle of the household franchise, and it was proved how well it had worked already in what were nominally boroughs but in reality rural districts. All three kingdoms were to be included in the measure, and equal terms were to be dealt out to them. No one was to be disfranchised, although precautions were to be taken against the creation of faggot-votes for the future, and in the boroughs a new franchise was to be created, called, for the want of a better phrase, the

Service Franchise, to be enjoyed by caretakers and other tenants of buildings, which they occupied as part of the conditions of their service. In the county constituencies there were to be the same four franchises as in the boroughs, namely, a household franchise, a lodger franchise, a £10 clear annual-value franchise, and a service franchise. The old property franchises were to stand untouched, but fictitious votes, created chiefly by the subdivision of hereditaments, were no longer to be tolerated. Redistribution was to be treated separately for various reasons; first, because a thorough Franchise Bill would occupy the whole attention of the House; again, because it was impossible until there was a new registration to form any idea of the new electorate; and, thirdly, because the franchise appealed to national, while redistribution touched only local, feelings. Nevertheless, Mr. Gladstone acknowledged that legislation or redistribution ought to follow in the next session, and sketched his own views on the subject. He should wish it to be a large measure—approaching nearer to that of 1832 than to that of 1847—but he objected to equal electoral districts as being unnecessary and not desired by the country. At the same time very densely populated districts, like London, should not have quite their proportional share of representation, and distant and scattered populations, like those of Scotland and Ireland, should be favoured rather than those which were dense and near the political centre. Historical constituencies were to be preserved as far as possible, and, above all, the representation of the county was to be kept distinct from that of the town. "If I may presume to tender advice it is this—ask yourselves whether the measure is worth having, what does it do, and what does it do in comparison with what has been done before. In 1832 there was passed what was considered a Magna Charta of British liberties. But that Magna Charta of British liberties added, according to the estimates of Lord John Russell, half a million; and, according to the results, considerably less than half a million to the entire constituency of the three countries. In 1866 the whole constituency reached 1,136,000. By the Bills passed between 1867 and 1869 that number was raised to 2,448,000, and now, under the existing law, the constituencies have reached, in round numbers, what I may call 3,000,000. What is the increase we are going to make? The best results I can attain are these. The Bill, if it passes as we present it, will add to the British constituency over 1,300,000. It will add to the Scottish

constituency—Scotland being better provided for in this respect than either of the other countries—over 200,000, and to the Irish constituency over 400,000; or, in the main, to the present aggregate constituency of the United Kingdom, now taken at 3,000,000, it will add 2,000,000 more, nearly

the place of Sir Henry Brand, who resigned that arduous post, and retired to the Upper House, with the title of Viscount Hampden; and by the triumphant return of Mr. Marriott, Q.C., at Brighton, a re-election called for by the change of that Member's views since 1880 from Liberal to



THE RIGHT HON. G. J. GOSCHEN. (From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

twice as much as was added since 1867, and more than four times as much as was added in 1832.

Let us hold firmly together, and success will crown your efforts. You will, as much as any former Parliament that has conferred great legislative benefits on the nation, have your reward and read your history in a nation's eyes; for you will have deserved all the benefits you will have conferred."

The debate which followed was not of much interest, and attention was chiefly occupied by the election of the new Speaker, Mr. Arthur Peel, in

Conservative. Complaints were not infrequent from the Conservative benches, notably from Mr. Gibson, of the desertion by Government of the loyal minority in Ireland; but the Franchise Bill was read a first time without a division, Mr. Goschen giving it his approval with certain qualifications, because the artisans had proved thoroughly worthy of the privileges of citizenship. In reality the Opposition were in all probability looking to that appeal to the people for which Lord Salisbury was sedulously preparing their minds, his argument, as expressed to a mass meeting at Lillie Bridge,

being that the general election had not turned to any considerable degree on the franchise question, and that the constituencies could not be said to have had it before them. For the present the time of the House was taken up by Supply, and the debate on the second reading did not begin until the 23rd of March, when Lord John Manners moved a resolution to the effect that the House declined to pass judgment on the Franchise Bill without seeing the whole reform plan of Government. The debate was remarkable chiefly for Mr. Raikes's avowal that he considered the agricultural labourer unfit for the franchise, for an unexpectedly warm commendation from Mr. Forster of the principles of the measure, for the exhortations of Mr. Gladstone to the Opposition to oppose the Bill boldly, and for Mr. Goschen's somewhat unexpected announcement that he intended to vote against the Bill because Government had not given him the pledge he wanted, namely, that minorities should be represented in the Redistribution Bill. On the 7th of April Lord John Manners' amendment was rejected by the enormous majority of 130—for, 210 votes; against, 340.

So far the prospects of the Bill seemed most satisfactory, at any rate in the Lower House, and a few days afterwards Sir William Harcourt introduced his long-promised London Municipal Reform Bill, which was received with general approval, though its career was to be brief and unfortunate. Its main feature was that a Common Council of 240 should be elected by the householders of 39 districts into which the metropolis was to be divided. Each district was to have a district council, the duties of which were to be delegated to it by the Common Council, the expenses being met by a local rate, to be approved by the Common Council, and added to the general City rate. There were to be no more aldermen. The Bill, after a convincing speech by the Home Secretary, was read a first time without opposition. This new proposal, and the uncertainty that still hung over the fate of General Gordon and his comrades at Khartoum, Colonel Stewart and Mr. Power, again caused the Franchise Bill to fall into the background, although Mr. Jesse Collings did his best to attract attention to it by a stirring speech at Leamington to 6,000 unenfranchised labourers. One of the most noteworthy incidents of the time was the rapid conversion that Lord Randolph Churchill was undergoing. In the second week of April he addressed a meeting of Conservatives at Birmingham, and then boldly

declared himself to be in favour of Caucuses and of the Franchise Bill; he had been compelled to vote against it because it was unaccompanied by Redistribution. Further, he ridiculed the Conservatism of the occupants of the front Opposition bench, who, said he, preserved "a prudent, perhaps an over-prudent, reticence." This declaration was followed by a rather sharp outburst of dissension between the noble lord and Lord Salisbury, caused by the attempt of the former to place the National Union of Conservative Associations on a more popular basis. Lord Randolph met a somewhat hostile vote passed against him by the council of the Union by a prompt resignation, but after a mysterious correspondence in the *Standard* he was reinstated, and it was understood that the difference had been healed.

Mr. Raikes was deputed to lead the next attack in force, and towards the end of April he moved that it be an instruction to the committee on the Bill, "that they have power to make provision for the redistribution of seats between the existing constituencies, and for the representation of those populous urban sanitary districts at present unrepresented." A vigorous debate followed, in the course of which Mr. Raikes quoted, concerning Mr. Gladstone, Pope's well-known lines—

"Thy hand, great anarchy, lets the curtain fall,
And universal darkness buries all;"

while Mr. Gladstone retorted by describing as obstructive the revival in a more sweeping form of an argument that had already been rejected by the House. The best speech on the Conservative side was made by Mr. Edward Clarke, who said that the Prime Minister always declared that discussion should be either past or future, as Alice in Wonderland had "jam to-morrow, jam yesterday, but never jam to-day." Mr. Raikes's instruction was rejected by 174 to 147—the division being unexpected by both sides. Then the Lord Mayor, Mr. Fowler, withdrew an amendment he had placed on the paper, calling upon the House of Lords to secure an appeal to the country; and after Mr. Gladstone had eloquently defended the concession of an extended franchise to Ireland, the House got into committee without a division.

There was an unreality about the debates in committee, since it was evident that the Conservatives, disheartened by their previous defeats, were looking to the House of Lords to deliver them from the Franchise Bill, and they therefore concentrated their efforts on the Soudanese policy of Government—a course of action which received the warm approbation of the independent press,

notably of the *Times*. The best discussion was on Mr. Brodrick's amendment in favour of the exclusion of Ireland from the Bill, which, however, was defeated by 332 votes to 195. Lord Randolph Churchill on this occasion again appeared in open revolt against his leaders, praising Government for their statesmanship in including Ireland in the measure, and declaring that there was less difference between the cottage of the English agricultural labourer and an Irish mud cabin, than between the abode of Mr. W. H. Smith and "the humble dwelling that sheltered from the storm and tempest the humble individual that was now addressing the House." Colonel Stanley's amendment, by which the Act was not to come into operation until after the passing of a Redistribution Bill, was defeated, several members of his party expressing a wish that he should withdraw it in favour of an amendment of Mr. Albert Grey's in the same sense. During the second week of June the clauses proposed to be added to the Franchise Bill were under consideration. Mr. Woodall's expressed desire that the franchise should be extended to women was rejected by a large majority, in which there was a good deal of cross-voting, after Mr. Gladstone had announced that he should consider its success fatal to the Bill. Mr. Grey's amendment, proposing to fix the 1st of January, 1887, as the date at which the Franchise Bill should come into operation, was withdrawn in favour of a more satisfactory Government compromise, namely, the 1st of January, 1886, suggested in the first instance by Mr. Henry Fowler. The third reading of the Franchise Bill was carried on the 26th of June, *nem. con.*—although two Conservative Members, Mr. Pell and Mr. Read, were afterwards very indignant because their "noes" were not recorded—after Mr. Gladstone, in what Sir Stafford Northcote complained was a "theatrical" speech, had solemnly warned the House of Lords of the serious consequences of a quarrel between the two Chambers. He quoted the famous lines—

"Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,
Bear't that the opposed may beware of thee."

The crisis might, he declared, be by far the most serious that had occurred since the abolition of the Corn Laws.

The majority in the Upper House—an assembly which had just rejected Lord Rosebery's suggestion that it stood in need of reform—promptly held a meeting, and resolved, in spite of the ominous misgivings of one or two Moderates, to nail its colours

to the mast. So when Lord Kimberley moved the second reading of the Bill on the 7th of July, he was met by an amendment of Lord Cairns's, to the effect that the House, while prepared to consider a well-digested and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise, did not think it right to assent to a Bill which was unaccompanied by redistribution, and which contained no security that it should not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme. The debate was business-like, and excellent speeches were made on both sides, foregone though the conclusion was. Lord Cairns, in a weighty argument, pointed out the dangers of separating franchise and redistribution; the present Bill, he declared, by enormously swelling the county constituencies, without giving them any larger proportion of Members, would only increase the anomalies of the representative system, and there was great danger of a dissolution taking place after the passing of one measure and before the passing of another. The Duke of Argyll replied with some force that the Bill was a very moderate and reasonable one, and that even if the general election were to take place before the passing of a Redistribution Bill the new constituencies would, nevertheless, return a Parliament which would be favourable to the party that relied on the country districts for support. The debate was resumed by Lord Carnarvon, who avowed that he disliked the modern Reform Bills, although he did not distrust the democracy, and seemed to hint that the Conservative leaders might not be unwilling to accept a compromise. Lord Derby's thoughtful defence of the Bill was followed by Lord Rosebery, who, having defended Mr. Gladstone from the charge of having threatened the House of Lords, pointed out how feeble would have been their conduct if, on a future occasion, they accepted a measure which they were now rejecting. Later, Lord Salisbury, coming soon after the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had pleaded the cause of the working man, put in a vigorous protest for the Opposition's course of action. "The statements of the most reverend prelate were," he said, "admirable in themselves, but were wholly unconnected with the issue before the House. We, too, have the same admiration for the working man that he has; we, too, believe that with a due and proper consideration for that redistribution, that allotment of power which alone can furnish a fair and true representation of the people, they may with perfect safety to the great interests of this country be entrusted with the franchise if they desire it. But the issue turns on

a totally different question. The question is, how is political power to be so distributed that all classes may receive their due position in the State, that all interests may be respected, that a true mirror of the actual numerical condition of opinions in this country may be introduced within the walls of the other House of Parliament, that minorities may be able to receive that just power of expressing their opinions which is essential to the just protection of their interests, and which belongs, as one of its characteristics, to the first idea of true and genuine representation? Never before has any Government dealt—never before, at all events, has any Government succeeded in dealing—with the question of the extension of the franchise without dealing at the same time with the question of redistribution, and never before have we been asked to admit a number of new voters within the pale of the Constitution without provision being made for the redistribution of the power so conferred upon them. From the first creation of our Parliamentary system there has been a broad and strong distinction between counties and boroughs, and between the rural and the urban parts of the country, and you are going to give the urban portions this additional representation at the expense of, and to the destruction of, the rural element. Another result of your action will be this. There has always been great difficulty in highly developed representative systems to secure the adequate representation of minorities. But this Bill altogether overlooks the representation of minorities. By minorities I do not mean the rich or the landowners merely, but the middle classes. The tenant-farmers as an electoral class will cease to exist politically. Well, is not the interest of the tenant-farmers, who have done more than any other class to give England its character for solidity, worthy to be protected? Moreover, the measure, in its present incomplete form, had, among other things, the disadvantage that it seriously menaced the integrity of the Empire. As to putting an amendment into the Bill preventing it from taking effect until the passing of another Bill, Lord Salisbury said they had had considerable experience in that House of what came of amendments of that nature. "The Government entirely decline to admit any such clause into their Bill. We know it from the emphatic language of the Prime Minister. He said that any such proviso would end in giving ashes instead of fruit to the population we are intending to enfranchise. Their action will end, as ours will do, in the failure of the Bill. And do

they really believe that when it comes to discussion in the country any one of those demagogues of whom we hear so much and of whom so many persons profess to be afraid, will draw a distinction between the House of Lords destroying the Bill by a resolution and the House of Lords destroying it by adhering to an amendment which the Government have beforehand announced that they are absolutely resolved to reject? The distrust of any such measure in committee is too strong on this side to allow of any hope that such proposals, if they were made, would pass in committee." Lord Salisbury went on to argue that if the Bill were passed they might possibly not be any better off, for what was wanted was not only a Redistribution Bill, but a Redistribution Bill that they could handle; something which, if unjust, they would be able to modify. Lord Salisbury and Lord Cairns were supported by a considerable majority; the numbers being 146 for the second reading, and 205 for the amendment.

Mr. Gladstone promptly summoned a meeting of the Liberal party at the Foreign Office, and found it more disposed to applaud Mr. Bright when he declared that means must be taken to prevent a repetition of legislative breakdowns, than Mr. Goschen when he implored his audience not to use the language of menace. The Prime Minister himself was in no melting mood. He scouted the pretensions of the House of Lords to force an appeal to the country whenever they wished, as an entire innovation. He proceeded to state that even at the last moment an offer was made to the Tory party in the Lords, but was rejected. "It was an offer that both Houses should, on the responsibility of the Government, be invited to pass identical resolutions, in which it should be set forth that each House had passed the Franchise Bill in reliance on the pledges of Her Majesty's advisers to introduce the Redistribution Bill next year, and to make the passing of that redistribution measure the great object of their efforts. It was proposed that this resolution should be presented by a joint address to the Crown, by which the matter could be formally accepted, so that there would be the concurrence of the three bodies which gave the authority of law, and although it would not have the form it would yet have all the moral authority of law, and make certain, if anything future can be, the devotion of the next session of Parliament to the settlement of this question of Redistribution. That offer was rejected because the leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords said he could not discuss Redistribution

with a rope round his neck. A rope round his neck? That used to be a penalty inflicted on innovators who failed. At least, it was a warning applied to innovators who failed in certain ancient Republics, and the warning was sometimes applied in a manner more effective than agreeable. But what is this rope round his neck? It is the prospect of a large addition to the franchise." Finally, Mr. Gladstone announced that the session would be cut as short as possible, and that the Franchise Bill would be passed again in an autumn session.

"with a rope round his neck;" and upon the more delicate point whether Mr. Gladstone had been guilty of a breach of confidence in making known the fact that the Opposition had refused a compromise offered them by Government, Lord Salisbury and Lord Cairns both distinctly declared that they had understood the offer which was made by Lord Granville to Lord Cairns to have been made in a private and confidential manner. Lord Granville denied that he had used the words "private and confidential," but allowed that he did



INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS. (From a Photograph by Valentine and Sons, Dundee.)

This speech was the subject of severe comment in both Houses, and certainly on more than one point it was of a regrettable character. In the House of Commons a scene of furious recrimination took place, in which Lord Randolph Churchill was well to the front, declaring that Mr. Gladstone had "traduced and falsely misrepresented opponents," and the Prime Minister retorted by accusing his adversary of "foul language." In the Upper House, however, the proceedings were worthier of a great assembly. It appeared from the mutual explanations that Lord Salisbury had never used the expression attributed to him by Mr. Gladstone concerning his dislike to discuss Redistribution

regard his conversation with Lord Cairns as private. The discussion thus ended somewhat academically.

The next personage to come prominently into notice was the Earl of Wemyss, who gave notice he would move a resolution declaring that if the House of Lords took up the Franchise Bill again, a session should be held in the autumn for the purpose of discussing Redistribution. A meeting of the Conservative party was promptly convened by Lord Salisbury at the Carlton Club to consider this well-meant proposal, but it was understood that no one had much to say in its favour. At any rate, when it came on for discussion on the

17th of July, Lord Salisbury scouted both it and an amendment of Lord Cadogan's, which was in the shape of a resolution that it would be desirable that Parliament should reassemble in the autumn for the purpose of considering the Franchise Bill and Redistribution Bill together. He quoted with considerable effect a recent saying of Mr. Gladstone's, that "the goodwill on the part of the Opposition, which we require in order to give a Redistribution Bill a chance, cannot be had unless they know that an extension of the franchise is to take place, and that if they cannot have it with Redistribution they must have it without;" and said that the only way in which the case had altered since the House had decided not to pass an incomplete scheme of reform was through this assertion, which meant that the Redistribution Bill was to pass both Houses, under terror of a dissolution, utterly regardless of the wishes of the Opposition. Lord Salisbury was followed by a majority of fifty; and later attempts at conciliation, the most important of which was Lord Redesdale's, a proposal virtually the same as that of Lord Cadogan, naturally fell extremely flat. In fact all interest had evaporated from the question as discussed inside St. Stephen's, and politicians found more congenial occupation in delivering their roundest periods and choicest phrases at the great demonstrations and counter-demonstrations that were being organised all over the land. The session dragged wearily on until the 14th of August, when the Queen's Speech announced a very meagre list of measures, namely, the Act for Lightening the Burden of the National Debt by the Conversion of Stock, the Municipal Corrupt Practices Act, which extended the principles of the Parliamentary Corrupt Practices Act of the previous year, the Act for Restricting the Importation of Cattle, which had been forced on Government by the Duke of Richmond, and over which Mr. Chaplin had given them a heavy fall, and the Act for Extending the Hours of Polling in Boroughs. Sir William Harcourt's London Municipal Reform Bill and Mr. Chamberlain's Merchant Shipping Bill died a violent death at the hands of Mr. Gladstone on the day when he announced that there would be an autumn session. In any case it may be questioned whether Government had not overloaded their programme to begin with, and the attitude of the President of the Board of Trade towards the representatives of the shipping interest had not been the most conciliatory. Subsequent disclosures showed that Mr. Chamberlain was so mortified that he wished to

resign, but Mr. Gladstone dissuaded him from that extreme step. The last weeks of the session were spent in discussing questions of supply; nor did the weary Opposition seem capable of rousing themselves sufficiently to support with any appearance of unanimity Sir Stafford Northcote's attempt, on the 11th of August, to extract from Mr. Gladstone some definite promise that the Multiple Control would not be revived. At the same time the Premier explained that the object of the mission upon which, as had been recently announced, Lord Northbrook was to be sent, was to avert the impending dangers of a national bankruptcy in Egypt, and to suggest the means of rescuing her from her financial embarrassments.

Disappointing though the session must have been to the Radical legislator, it was not unproductive of much that was positively beneficial, and of more that was decidedly interesting. The outcome of the agitation raised during the previous autumn by the pamphlet, "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," was a motion by Lord Salisbury, on February the 22nd, for the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the working classes in populous places. The proposal, extended by the omission of the words "in populous places," was accepted by Government, and the Commission, which was gazetted on the following day, consisted amongst others of Sir Charles Dilke, as Chairman, the Prince of Wales—who had supported it in his first speech in the House of Peers—Cardinal Manning, Lord Salisbury, Lord Shaftesbury, the Bishop of Bedford, and Sir Richard Cross. The House of Lords, however, was not equally ready to accept Lord Rosebery's proposal, which was supported by a remarkably clever speech, that it should inquire into the best means for promoting its own efficiency. Complaint was made by Lord Granville that to accept such a motion would be to admit the inefficiency of the House of Lords, and he proposed to add definiteness to it—although Lord Rosebery had indicated clearly in his speech the lines on which improvement might be made—by the addition of the words, "by life peerage or otherwise." Both the amendment and the original motion were, however, rejected. In the Commons the most interesting discussions were those raised by Mr. Willis on the desirableness of removing the Bishops from the House of Lords, which, after a militantly orthodox speech from Sir William Harcourt, was defeated by 148 to 137 votes; and on Mr. Broadhurst's Bill for the Enfranchisement of Leaseholds. The latter was

rejected by 168 votes to 104, but not before Lord Randolph Churchill had announced his conversion to the doctrines of the Radical-Socialist platform, and had scattered dismay among the Opposition benches by his denunciation of the accumulation of land in a few hands. The estimates were not productive of very novel suggestions, and Sir John Hay, Mr. W. H. Smith, and others, cavilled at the condition of the iron-clad navy, which they declared to be wholly insufficient to protect the country and its commerce. It was not until the autumn, however, that the subject was brought prominently before the public. Irish affairs were but little canvassed, and a well-intentioned proposal of Mr. Trevelyan's to enlarge and modify the purchase clauses of the Land Act of 1881, so as to enable tenants to become owners of their holdings, fell flat.

The truth of the matter was, as has been said, that long before the close of the session the energies of politicians were absorbed in agitation for and against the Franchise Bill, and neither they nor their audiences had appetite for much besides. As soon as the Prime Minister by his speech to the Liberal Party at the Foreign Office had thrown down the gage of battle, the demonstrations and counter-demonstrations began; and every day during an exceptionally hot summer numerous meetings were held over the length and breadth of England and Scotland, at which excited speakers denounced or praised the House of Lords, and at which enthusiastic audiences cheered and groaned. Of these demonstrations the most imposing was that held in Hyde Park on the 21st of July, which, when marshalled upon the Thames Embankment, was found to consist of some 26,000 or 30,000 artisans and labourers, who marched in orderly fashion through the streets to the Park, where resolutions were passed with acclamation demanding the extension of household suffrage to the counties, and condemning the action of the House of Lords. Conservative newspapers, commenting upon the affair, declared that it was easy enough to collect a certain number of labourers together at so much per head; while the Liberals in turn poked legitimate fun at the Conservative "picnics," which were held at Nostell Priory and other great country seats, where they declared that the oratory of even the most effective speakers, such as Lord Carnarvon, was not appreciated unless supplemented by the attractions of fireworks and brass bands. It could not be denied that the Liberal meetings were far more numerous and far better attended than those of the opposite side;

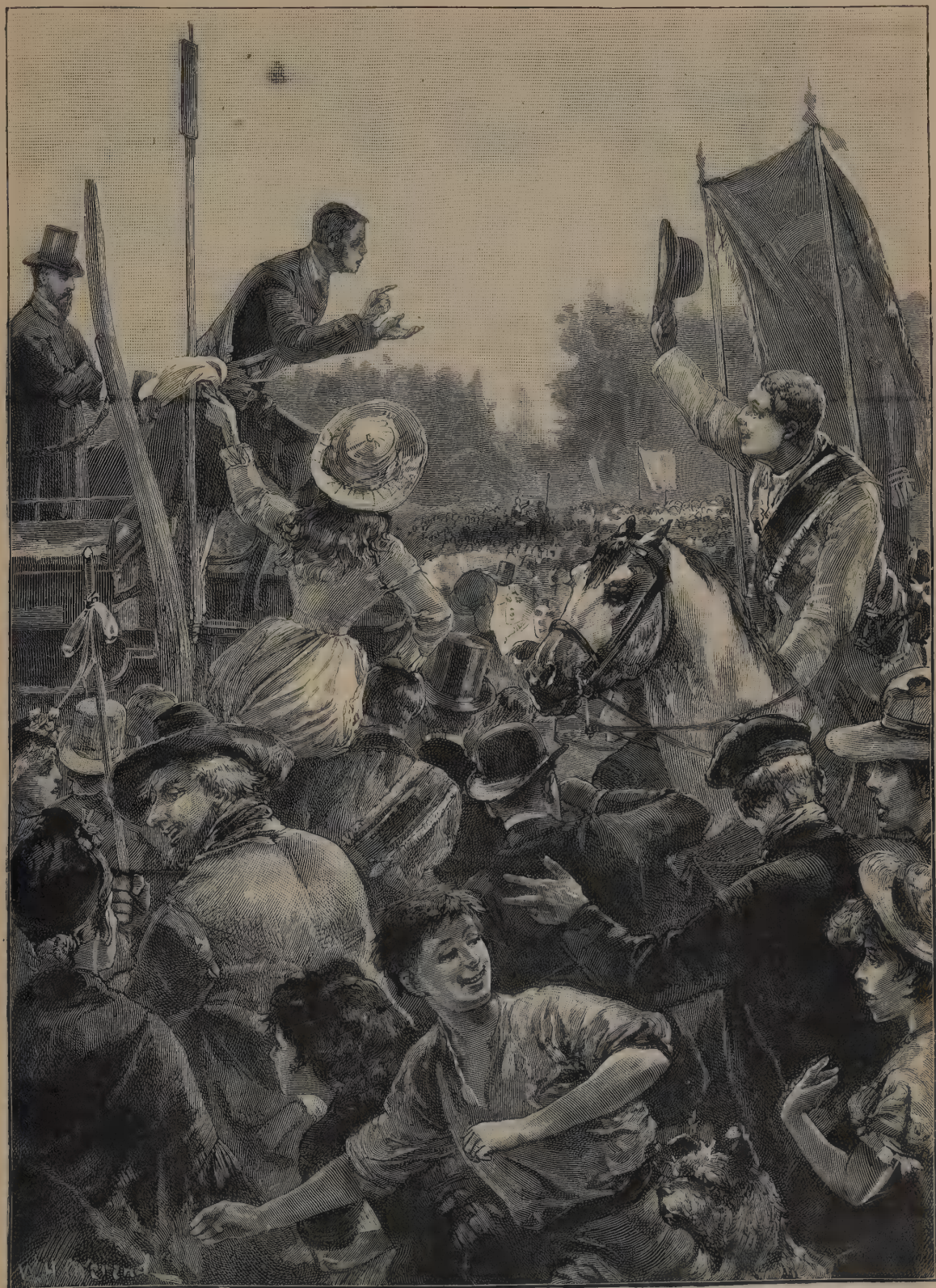
indeed, a record carefully kept during the recess by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, showed that 1,277 public assemblies were held in England, and 235 in Scotland, in condemnation of the House of Lords, and 184 in the former, and 11 in the latter, country in its favour. It was of course impossible to estimate the attendance at these meetings with certainty; but perhaps a fair guess at the respective figures of the *plébiscite* would be: Liberals two millions, Conservatives about five hundred thousand. Against this vast preponderance of numbers might be set the fact that although the Conservatives were of one mind, and ready if necessary to settle the question definitely, as Lord Salisbury demanded, by an appeal to the country, the Ministerial camp was divided; for while Liberals of the stamp of Lord Hartington wished to confine the question strictly to the Franchise Bill, Radicals, like Mr. Labouchere, were desirous to call in question the necessity for the continued existence of the Upper House, and to declare with Mr. John Morley that the Second Chamber must be either "mended or ended."

To enter into a detailed analysis of the thousands of speeches that were poured forth *ad nauseam* in the east, west, north, and south, would of course be impossible, and indeed all that is necessary is to give a fair specimen of the different classes of argument that were submitted to the public. Lord Hartington's speech at a great demonstration of some 30,000 persons, held at Manchester on the 26th of July, may be taken as a very favourable example of the views of the moderate Liberals. After taunting the Conservatives with their sudden conversion to the principles of the Franchise Bill, which they had persistently voted against when in office, he continued—"Lord Salisbury and his party have lately been seized with a great fear that, in the Redistribution Bill which has been promised by the Government, some process is to be adopted which they call 'gerrymandering,' which in some mysterious manner is to be made the means of perpetuating the powers of the Liberal party in the constituencies of this kingdom. I believe that we are quite innocent of any such design of 'gerrymandering' the constituencies. We believe that for many years past we have been, that we are now, and that we are likely to continue, in a large majority in this country; and, if that is the case, there is no necessity for us to resort to unfair or artificial means to produce a Liberal majority, believing, as we do, that any fair and real representation of the people will, under ordinary circumstances, and in ordinary times,

produce a Liberal majority in Parliament. But what security have we that the Tory party, who are generally in a minority, may not themselves desire to try their hands at this art, which they are so much afraid of our using against them? And what security have we that what they call a fair Redistribution Bill, which is to be the condition of their passing the Franchise Bill, will not be a 'gerrymandering' measure, designed to retain in the hands of the minority that undue share of influence which they have so long possessed, and to keep out of the hands of the people that power which they ought to possess, and which they have now been forced to admit they shall possess? If that is the strategy which we have to meet, how are we to meet it? We must meet it by the policy which has been recommended to you by the Government, and adopted by the Liberal majority in the House of Commons, of securing the passage of a Franchise Bill before we entangle ourselves in all the difficulties of a Redistribution. We are as anxious—I believe more anxious—than our opponents to see a Redistribution Bill passed, and I personally—and I believe the great majority of the party in the House of Commons—are desirous of seeing it passed in the next session." Lord Hartington then proceeded to protest against the assumption of the House of Lords that they had the right to dictate to Government the time when the appeal to the people should be made. "I believe that the claim is an unprecedented claim in our unwritten enactments, and we are very slow to form new precedents or to depart from old ones. But not only is this claim supported by no precedent, but it is, in my judgment, one which is altogether opposed to the spirit of our constitution. Responsibility is the essence of our system. It is by the possession of the confidence of the House of Commons that Governments are formed, and that Governments exist, and it is by the loss of that confidence that Governments fall. But the possession of the confidence of the House of Lords is not essential to the existence of a Government. In fact, no Liberal Government has ever possessed that confidence. . . . This is not a time when new and revolutionary precedents can be wisely initiated by anybody, especially by a body which occupies the position of the House of Lords; and if the precedents of our Constitution are to be disregarded, and if new and revolutionary doctrines are to be introduced, I fear that they will not be in the direction which may be desired by the Members of the majority of that House. I know very well that the vast number among you

have another object in view, and are of opinion that this opportunity should not go by without its being made the occasion for some constitutional changes which will limit the power that has been so often and unfortunately exercised by a majority of the House of Lords to obstruct and delay—never, I am glad to think, ultimately to defeat—the desires of the majority of the people. I am sure you will bear with me if I say that in my opinion it would be imprudent and unwise at this time, at this stage of the controversy, to give such an extension to this movement."

Mr. John Morley, on the other hand, the representative of philosophic Radicals, spoke at the Conference of the National Liberal Federation in the following strain:—He said that "the Lords pleaded the necessity of a Redistribution Bill, in order to remedy the injustice of the Franchise Bill; but the Conference denied that there was any injustice in it at all. They wanted Redistribution, not to remedy the injustice of the Franchise Bill, but to complete and to realise and to make effectual the justice of the Franchise Bill. But then the Lords went to the labourer, and they said, 'Pray don't misunderstand us. We rejected the Franchise Bill, it is true, but it was in order that the three millions of county voters might not be out-represented by the two millions of borough voters, and therefore, believe us, we are fighting the Liberals in the interest of the agricultural labourer.' Well, directly after they had said that, they went to the farmers and they said, 'Don't misunderstand us. We insisted upon the Redistribution Bill in order that we might, by getting hold of it, prevent your votes from being swamped, and in order to neutralise this new admission of your labourers.' What were they to think of the honour of a party that went round—to its dupes, he was going to say—with pleas of such hollowness and such insincerity? The meeting knew very well what the feeling at the centre of that fine-spun web really was. The Lords hated the Bill. In spite of all their pretensions, they had a profound distrust of their own fellow-countrymen, and, like bad actors playing a feigned part, they could not conceal their own feelings when they ventured foolishly, ventured infatuatedly, to talk of the people of that country as mobs, as scum, as like a lot of 'Whitechapel bird-catchers,' and, as they would probably call the members of the Conference, next day, a number of dirty boys assembled together to throw stones at their betters. He believed, however, that they had enough of the fibre of their forefathers who had won those great



REFORM DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE PARK. (See p. 11.)

battles of Reform, not to be deterred by being called bad names. Whether they liked it or not, and in spite of the just and necessary reserve of the Ministers of the Crown, and the exhortations from quarters which they respected to be calm, they might be sure that no power on earth could separate henceforth the question of amending the House of Commons from the other question of mending or ending the House of Lords. It was all very well to tell them not to mix up the questions. If any one present had a cart which had been upset for the hundredth time in a dilapidated road, and had remarked to his neighbour that it was about time that the road was put in order, he would not think that neighbour a very wise or helpful man if he were to reply, 'Get your cart out of the rut; pick up your scattered load, and prepare to go through it all again to-morrow; but for Heaven's sake don't mix up the questions.' Now, they were told that the House of Commons ought to concern itself first of all with the reform of its own procedure. But let them tell him what was the good of their perfecting their machinery if when they had done so it was as liable as ever to be spoiled, to be pulled to pieces, and to be contemptuously flung out of window by the Hereditary Chamber? The Conference did not envy the Lords their rank or station. They did not want change for the sake of change, or attack for the sake of attack. They delighted in all that was ancient and venerable in their history. But would anybody tell him that there was anything to venerate in the House of Lords now? Would anybody tell him that they had ever been on the side of freedom and justice? Would any one tell him when they had not been against it? They need use, and he hoped they would use, no violent or unjust language. The most pointed invective fell far short of the coldest and most accurate reports of their legislative performances during the last forty or fifty years. It was the ideal of a Second Chamber that it should represent the ripe wisdom and the judicial impartiality of the land; but who would talk of the ripe wisdom of an assembly which resisted without courage, which obstructed without straightforwardness, which assented without approval, and which gave way without conviction?"

It must be confessed that in moderation of language at any rate Lord Salisbury had the advantage over his opponents. His very important defence of the Opposition was made at a most successful counter-demonstration held at Manchester early in August. He remarked: "The arraignment against us is that we have stopped the

Bill for enfranchising 2,000,000 voters. Have we stopped it? It is even now in the power of the Government, if they chose to do it, to pass that Bill. We have attached a condition to the passing of it—namely, that it shall be made complete, and if it is made complete we shall pass it with pleasure. The Bill is still alive. If the Government choose they might, instead of proroguing, adjourn the Houses and bring up a Redistribution Bill in the autumn, and when the Bill had passed the House of Commons it would join this Bill, which is remaining in the House of Lords, and both would pass into law. Though undoubtedly it is not usual to substitute an adjournment for a prorogation, yet it has been done. It was done only the other day in order to pass those new rules, what are called the *clôture*, which have done so little for the House of Commons. Or, if the Government wish, instead of wasting next session as they propose, by repeating exactly the mistakes of the session that has passed by, they might introduce a Redistribution Bill first, and when that Redistribution Bill had passed I venture to assure you I am quite certain that an Enfranchisement Bill would have no difficulty in passing through both Houses. But they have a more summary and a more complete method than that. They have simply to dissolve. I will venture to say that if they obtain a verdict substantiating and approving what they now propose, they will meet with no further difficulty from the House of Lords. But are they sincere? Do they really want to pass a good and equal Redistribution Bill? Well, why don't they bring it in? They have many shortcomings, but in Parliamentary strategy they have not their equal. And when they have heaped mistake and blunder upon mistake and blunder, they have an extraordinary power of evading the decision of the tribunal before which they are to be condemned. . . . They talk in very melting language of their two million brethren who are excluded from the franchise, and whom they say we, the House of Lords, are excluding because we may cause the delay of a single year. But if the House of Lords is so guilty for having caused the delay of a single year, they must be at least four times more guilty, because they have caused the delay for four years. Their one object has been this—so to alter the constituencies, either by having no redistribution scheme, or by having one exclusively in their own interest, that they shall come before judges who have no experience of their promises, who are unacquainted with the issues, and that they will be able to snatch a

verdict which the old constituencies would refuse to give. When people tell you that the present House of Commons represents the people, in a formal manner—I admit that for ordinary purposes it is true, but as a matter of prosaic fact it is not true. The House represents the people as they were some five years ago. And do not imagine that that is a mere trivial difference. In this city alone I find that of 61,000 electors who were on the register in 1880 only 32,800 are on the register now. Why, that is only one-half, and if Manchester is similar to the rest of the country the House of Commons in point of fact only represents about half of those who elected it in 1880. As to the other half, we have no information as to what their opinions are until we seek it by a dissolution. Believe me, this whole agitation is a mere red herring drawn across our path. . . . As to the present controversy, in reality the attack on the House of Lords has nothing to do with it. Whatever the defects of the House of Lords may be, they have existed for two hundred years, and the Liberals have never thought it worth while to call attention to them; but they cry out the moment the House of Lords opposes the Liberal Government by determining that Parliament shall be free, that it shall examine each case independently, that it shall not be put under compulsion by a Minister, and by showing that if a Minister attempts to dictate to Parliament, the proper court of appeal is the people at their polling-booths. In asserting these things, I say unhesitatingly—and I am sure you will agree with me—the House of Lords has deserved well of their country.”

Shortly before this, Lord Salisbury had replied to Lord Hartington's argument that the House of Lords have no right to force on a dissolution, by saying that “as a matter of constitutional law, the person who dissolves Parliament is Her Majesty the Queen, and that is one of the few cases in which, necessarily by hypothesis—the Ministers being supposed to be in issue with the people—the Sovereign cannot abandon her will absolutely to the guidance of her advisers. Well, I think that any such claim on the part of the House of Lords simply would not be justified by the Constitution. But the House of Lords has a right to say this—‘We do not approve the measure that you bring before us. If you like to accept this rejection, well and good; if you object to its rejection, your remedy is to go to the people.’ We do not admit that under the Constitution there is no other remedy but that. But with respect to the right, not only of the House of Lords, but of all of us, of

pressing for a dissolution of Parliament, I admit that, if it was to be done with respect to ordinary measures of controversy upon which we have to decide, it would be a matter of considerable inconvenience if you were to interfere with the discretion which is ordinarily reposed in the advisers of the Crown. But the fundamental fallacy of all the reasonings of Ministerial arguers upon this point is that they ignore the fact that this is no common question of legislation. It is a vital question. It is a question of the revision of the Constitution.”

Although, as the weeks went on, the controversy assumed a more and more acrimonious turn, a peaceful settlement of the strife was not regarded in many quarters as absolutely impracticable. A possible method of getting over difficulties had been mooted by Lord Cowper in a letter to the *Times* on the day of the prorogation of Parliament—namely, that Government should present a redistribution scheme in the autumn—but it failed for the moment to attract much attention. Nevertheless, it was made the subject of not altogether unfavourable allusion by Mr. Gladstone during a brief Midlothian campaign undertaken towards the end of August. “Lord Cowper,” he said, “has not been able to assure us that the Tories are ready to enter into that bargain. I don't know whether the Liberals would be ready to enter upon it; but at any rate, you will excuse me for saying that, in the view of moderate men, it would be at least premature on my part to consider it, until I see whether the same large section, at any rate, of the Tory party—a considerable share of the majority which had destroyed our Bill in the House of Lords—is ready to accept that method as a sort of satisfaction to its honour.” It was noticed also that the Prime Minister was careful, despite the evident animus of his audiences, to confine their attention to the promotion of the speedy passage of the Franchise Bill. On one occasion he remarked that the “effectual stoppage” of that Bill by the Lords had suggested to the minds of a vast portion of the people of England the inquiry, “whether the time had come when it would be necessary to study the means of making an organic change in the constitution of the House of Lords.” It was not the intention of Government to enter into that question. If the passing of the Bill were delayed the field of controversy would doubtless become wider; but at present what was wanted was “a national expression of opinion in the constitutional modes familiar to this country” upon the issue whether two millions of

Englishmen were to be admitted to a share in political and Parliamentary power. For himself, Mr. Gladstone looked with reluctance to entering upon questions of organic change in the Constitution unless and until the necessity was undeniable, and he still believed it possible that the House of Lords "might go back—and might go back with dignity and honour."

Throughout a most triumphant tour which, owing to various pleasure engagements, was prolonged through September, Mr. Gladstone expressed himself with the same studious reserve. At the same time a peaceful termination of the dispute seemed rather remote, while Mr. Trevelyan at Glasgow was starting the far-fetched argument that Lord Salisbury, by declaring that the opinion of the constituencies was the only opinion for which the Lords care, was deliberately insulting the unenfranchised householders; and while Mr. Morley was declaring himself in favour of "shortening the arm and clipping the pinions" of the Upper House in the event of a second rejection of the Bill. On the other side, politicians like Mr. James Lowther were doing their best to embitter the struggle by the importation into it of personal attacks on the Prime Minister, and Lord Randolph Churchill was fleshing his sword upon Sir William Harcourt with much incisiveness of phrase.

Nevertheless, moderation was on the whole the order of the day. Mr. Forster, speaking at Batley on the 29th of September, declared that he was not going to attack the House of Lords, who had a technical right to vote as their conscience dictated; Mr. Fawcett, in an address to his constituents at Hackney, emphatically followed the Prime Minister's line of argument; and the Duke of Argyll, in the *Times*, urged reconciliation. The Conservative chiefs were actuated by a similar spirit. During a counter-campaign to Mr. Gladstone's, Sir S. Northcote declared at Edinburgh that if Government would lay their whole scheme before Parliament it would receive the most candid consideration on the part of Conservatives; and Lord Salisbury, who had published a most liberal redistribution scheme of his own in the October number of the *National Review*, made it clear, during a campaign in the south-west of Scotland, that he was open to a fair arrangement. He suggested that Palmerston or Russell would have introduced the Redistribution Bill in the autumn session while the Franchise Bill was going through the House, and would then have sent up both Bills for the House of Lords "to deal with

them together." That proposal was characterised by Lord Hartington at Rawtenstall on October 4th as a surrender, not a compromise; nevertheless, he made an important counter-offer that the Redistribution Bill should be brought into the House of Commons, so that the Lords might satisfy themselves that it was drawn on fair principles irrespective of party considerations, on condition that the Lords should then take up and dispose of the Franchise Bill, and join Government in consideration of the Redistribution Bill. To everyone's surprise, Mr. Chamberlain at Hanley took up the same position, and without paying any attention to Lord R. Churchill's taunts about "chucking up the sponge," declared himself in favour of an amicable settlement, and hoped that attention would be paid to the desire of the moderate Tories to see the redistribution scheme.

While everyone was waiting to see what the Tory reply to these overtures would be, the situation was entirely altered by the appearance in the *Standard* of what professed to be the Ministerial scheme of redistribution. It turned out, however, according to Lord Hartington's explanation, to be merely a scheme "which had been prepared for the use of a committee of Members of the Government"—namely, Sir C. Dilke, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and himself—"which had been appointed to consider the question," and it had evidently been obtained by a process, characterised by Mr. Forster as "paying a man for committing a breach of duty." The virtuous *Daily Telegraph* had, according to its own account, resisted the temptation, which was understood to have come from one of the employés of Messrs. Spottiswoode, the Queen's printers. The features of the rough draft were (1) Boroughs under 10,000 in population were wholly disfranchised and merged in the counties; (2) Boroughs between 10,000 and 40,000 were to have only one member each; (3) Fifty-four new members were to be given to the counties, and (4) Forty-seven to the towns, twenty-five of which were allotted to London; (5) Three-cornered constituencies were to be extinguished everywhere except in the City of London; (6) Where constituencies returned four or six members they would be divided into wards, each returning two members.

At first it was hoped that this unexpected revelation would produce an immediate cessation of strife. A visit of Mr. Gladstone to the Queen was followed by the summons of the Duke of Richmond to Balmoral, by vague communications through him with the Cabinet, and by a

consultation of Conservative leaders, consisting of the Duke, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Cairns, to decide on the course to be taken in the House of Lords. Nevertheless, the air was not perceptibly clearer. A disgraceful riot in Aston Park, Birmingham, where, owing to the disorderly conduct of certain Radical "chuckers-out" of the baser sort, Sir S. Northcote and Lord R. Churchill were unable to obtain a hearing, showed how embittered

It remains only to be seen whether Government, by laying on the table of the Commons a Redistribution Bill which impartial men will pronounce to be constructed on fair lines, may be able to detach any considerable number of Conservative Peers from their leaders. But it must be remembered that Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill have already attacked the draft scheme, published by the *Standard*—which, with whatever alteration



BALMORAL CASTLE, FROM CRAIG NORDIE.
(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co.)

popular feeling in some quarters had become. Lord Hartington, speaking a few days before the autumn session, declared that a deadlock was very near, and in the same week the *Guardian* summed up the situation, as far as it could be interpreted from recent utterances, as follows:—"New arguments are now impossible on either side, but the one fact of interest which emerges from the chaos of talk is that the Conservative chiefs appear to have made up their minds to reject the compromise offered by the Government. They will not be content with seeing the Redistribution Bill in the Commons; they insist on hanging up the Franchise Bill, until they can 'handle'—it is Lord Salisbury's word—that and the Redistribution Bill together.

of details, undoubtedly represents the general lines on which the Government will work—as unfair and 'gerrymandering;' and that Sir Stafford Northcote has even thrown out a hint that the Franchise Bill itself may not have an easy passage through the Commons. 'The House,' he said at Liverpool, 'will do their duty in discussing the Bill.' Obviously it is a duty which may prove conveniently tedious. It is suggested that the Lords will send the Bill back with a clause added delaying its operation till a Redistribution Bill has passed, and so throw the *onus* of rejection on the Commons."

In these inauspicious circumstances Parliament met on October 23rd for the autumn session.

The Queen's Speech referred to the shortness of the recess, which was declared to be due to the necessity of further consideration "of the great subject of the representation of the people." Allusion was, of course, made to Lord Northbrook's mission to Cairo, and to the expedition which, under the command of Lord Wolseley, was at last on its way up the Nile—for that was the route selected by Government, rather than the more obvious one of Suakim and Berber—hastening to the relief of Khartoum and General Gordon; and to a second expedition, which had been despatched under Sir C. Warren, to Bechuanaland, in order to settle affairs in accordance with the Convention, which had been signed on February the 27th, and to protect the natives against the Boers. The debate on the Address was protracted in the Commons by the Irish Members, who discussed at great length the supposed miscarriage of justice in the trial of the Maamtrassna murderers; by Sir Henry Holland, who, in a telling speech, exposed Lord Derby's procrastination in South Africa; and by Mr. MacIver, who broached the fruitful topic of industrial depression. As yet a compromise seemed far off, and fuel was even added to the fire of party animosity by charges and counter-charges produced by Lord R. Churchill and Mr. Chamberlain against one another of using undue violence of language, and, in the case of the latter, of complicity in the Aston Riots, which resulted in the acquittal of the President of the Board of Trade by a small majority (214 votes to 178). Mr. Chamberlain relied upon the affidavits of various "chuckers-out," but these documents were decidedly discredited when one "Larry Mack" was condemned for perjury, though the Birmingham Conservative Association pleaded for leniency. Meanwhile Mr. Gladstone had introduced the Franchise Bill, and it was read a first time without discussion. The Prime Minister's speech, however, in moving the second reading of the measure, pointed most clearly to compromise. He offered to avail himself of the assistance of the Conservatives in framing a Redistribution Bill, provided that they would consent to a large measure, based chiefly upon population, and declared that he was ready to subordinate his own prepossessions to "the prospect of harmony and peace, and the immense advantage of carrying in a great legislative change the largest body of friendly and contented opinion." To Sir C. Dilke's demand that the Opposition should make clear what they wished to secure, Sir R. Cross put forward the extremely moderate request for a guarantee

that the same Parliament should deal with both questions—the Franchise and Redistribution; and although Mr. Chaplin spoke with much feeling, and Lord R. Churchill severely trounced his follower, Mr. Gorst, for "prostrating himself before the Prime Minister," it was evident that the crisis was over. The Bill was read a second time by 372 votes to 232, and four days afterwards it passed through committee in a single afternoon. For the moment, the triumphant return of Mr. Sampson Lloyd for South Warwickshire by a majority of over a thousand had inspired some of the Opposition with a desire to continue the contest, to which Mr. Lowther gave expression in a fighting speech, while Sir S. Northcote explained away Sir R. Cross's offer of the olive-branch as a mere *obiter dictum*. This warlike demonstration proved, however, a mere flash in the pan, and Colonel Stanley's solitary amendment was speedily rejected.

We learn from Sir Stafford Northcote's biography that the first definite step towards conciliation was taken by Mr. Gladstone, who wrote to Lord Norton (Sir Charles Adderley), referring to a conversation they had held at Grillion's Club in July or August, when the Prime Minister asked what it was that the Conservatives wanted—if it was that the urban element should be kept as much as possible out of the counties, he agreed with them. He also borrowed a hint from public expressions of Lord Carnarvon's, and "suggested some kind of intermediaries who might draw the scheme of redistribution." On October the 26th Lord Norton hurried to town, called on Sir Stafford, and they both went to Lord Salisbury's house in Arlington Street. "The whole matter was very vague," and there ensued conferences between the two peace-makers and Sir Erskine May, who had been in communication with Mr. Gladstone and Sir Charles Dilke, conversations between Sir Stafford and Lord Tollemache, and letters between Lord Hartington and Sir M. Hicks-Beach. However, the solution appears to have come from yet another quarter—namely, Mr. Algernon West and Mr. Walter Northcote, Sir Stafford's eldest son. The latter was empowered to transmit to Lord Granville Sir Stafford's personal opinion that "if the Government would introduce the Redistribution Bill, all would go right." Thereupon came the suggestion that Sir Stafford "should meet Mr. Gladstone for a short conversation either at West's house, or Lord Granville's, or elsewhere." On November the 13th at 11 p.m. Sir Stafford, with Lord Salisbury's consent, repaired to Mr. West's house in St. James's Place,

and held half an hour's conversation with the Premier, and, after yet further negotiations, Government consented to submit to the leaders of the Opposition the details of the Redistribution Bill.

It was known that for some days important negotiations were being carried on behind the scenes, and on the 17th of November, Lord Granville in the Lords, and Mr. Gladstone in the Commons, announced the terms to which they were ready to consent. They would bring in the Redistribution Bill, and engage to prosecute it with all possible speed, and to make its passing a vital question for themselves, on receiving adequate assurance that they would thereby secure the passing of the Franchise Bill before Christmas. After a night's delay, during which further explanations were made by mediators from both sides, the offer was formally accepted by Lord Salisbury, and all possible misconceptions were removed by the agreement between Ministers and the Opposition leaders to draft the Redistribution Bill in concert. The Franchise Bill was accordingly read a second time in the Lords without a division; and the committee stage postponed for a fortnight, in order to allow a sufficient number of conferences between Lord Salisbury and Sir S. Northcote on the one side, and the committee of the Cabinet that had charge of the Bill on the other. Mr. Labouchere attempted to turn the interval to account by bringing forward his familiar proposal for the abolition of the House of Lords; and Mr. Mundella, Mr. John Morley, and other Members went down to the country to disabuse their followers of the impression that Liberal humiliation was involved in the peaceful settlement.

Sir S. Northcote, in a speech at the Beaconsfield Club, on November the 24th, warned his audience that the proposals of the Redistribution Bill would be large and startling; and the justice of his estimate was confessed by both sides when, after a week's adjournment, Mr. Gladstone, on the 1st of December, presented to the House of Commons the result of his negotiations with Lord

Salisbury. The measure proved far more thorough than the draft scheme which had been published in the *Standard*. Its provisions were: (1) all boroughs with a population under 15,000 were to be disfranchised; (2) those with a population under 50,000, and the two counties of Rutlandshire and Herefordshire, would cease to be represented by more than one member each; (3) of the 160 seats thus extinguished, 96 were to be added to the counties; (4) England would obtain 18 additional seats, Scotland 12, and Ireland and Wales would remain unaltered in the numbers of their representatives; (5) the system of one-member districts would be carried out everywhere, except in the City of London—which, however, was deprived of two of its members—and towns between 50,000 and 165,000 in population. That so large a scheme could escape criticism altogether was not to be expected. The upholders of the system of minority representation were much disappointed at the total disregard of their wishes, and Mr. Leonard Courtney felt it incumbent upon him to resign his office of Financial Secretary to the Treasury; it was complained also that the division of cities into single-member wards would result in the election of "vestry-men" to Parliament. Others urged that the increase of the members of the House, already too numerous for concise discussion, was a serious mistake. But, upon the whole, the measure was regarded as a statesmanlike attempt to conquer difficulties of the most diverse character, and it was hailed as a way of escape from something very like a deadlock. The Franchise Bill passed rapidly through its remaining stages in the House of Lords; and when, on December 5th, it was read a third time without a division, the great question, which had for so many months separated politicians into two bitterly hostile camps, was finally solved, through the happy possibilities of reconciliation which distinguish party life in England so honourably from that of other countries. A conspicuous landmark had also been reached in the onward march of the British democracy.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Mr. Bradlaugh again—His Re-election for Northampton—The Attorney-General *v.* Bradlaugh—Lord Rossmore—Catholic and Orange Processions—Mr. Trevelyan's Retirement—The Dynamite Faction—Attempt on the London Railway Stations—Conviction of Daly and Egan—More Explosions—The London Bridge Affair—The Maamtrassna Murders discussed—Toynbee Hall and Overcrowding—The Artisan and Agricultural Classes—The Skye Crofters—The Over-pressure Controversy—Losses at Sea—The Army Estimates and the Budget—The Naval Estimates—Lord Salisbury and Lord Northbrook—"The Truth about the Navy"—Lord Carnarvon and the Coaling-stations—The New Naval Programme—Obituary of the Year—The European Situation—Bismarck's Overtures to France—The French in Madagascar and Tonquin—Undeclared War—Bismarck's Colonisation Schemes—Angra Pequena—The Berlin Conference—The Russian Occupation of Merv—The Anglo-Russian Frontier Commission—Lord Ripon's Resignation—The *Nisero* Affair—The Abolition of Slavery and Imperial Federation—Lord Derby and New Guinea—Australian Federation—Canada and South Africa—Boer Aggressions.

So entirely had the Franchise Bill and Government's Egyptian policy absorbed public attention, that many events worthy of notice were of little regard during the Parliamentary session of 1884. There was the protracted Bradlaugh controversy, to which a new turn had been given by the judgment delivered on February 9th in the case of *Bradlaugh v. Gosset*. This action was brought against the Serjeant-at-Arms for excluding Mr. Bradlaugh by the direction of the Speaker, and the Court decided that, so far as acts within the House were concerned, the Commons have absolute command over their own discipline, and can interpret absolutely and without appeal those statutes which are passed for the regulation of discipline and procedure. In spite of this adverse opinion, Mr. Bradlaugh, two days afterwards, presented himself in the House of Commons and went through the form of taking the oath, after which he voted in two divisions. Scenes of riot and confusion followed, Mr. Labouchere arousing considerable wrath by saying that to his colleague the words of the oath were "as complete trash as any African Mumbo-Jumbo," a speech for which he was rebuked by Mr. Forster, the Opposition wrangling with the Speaker, whom they endeavoured to force, but in vain, to prevent the record of Mr. Bradlaugh's vote. Finally, Sir Stafford Northcote's motion prohibiting Mr. Bradlaugh from going through the form of taking the words of the oath was carried by 280 votes against 167, and another resolution excluding Mr. Bradlaugh from the precincts of the House, till he should engage no further to disturb its proceedings, was carried by 228 against 120. The undaunted "Iconoclast" applied, nevertheless, for the Chiltern Hundreds, and, after Lord R. Churchill had made an ineffectual attempt to stop the issue of the writ, was returned by a largely increased majority over his

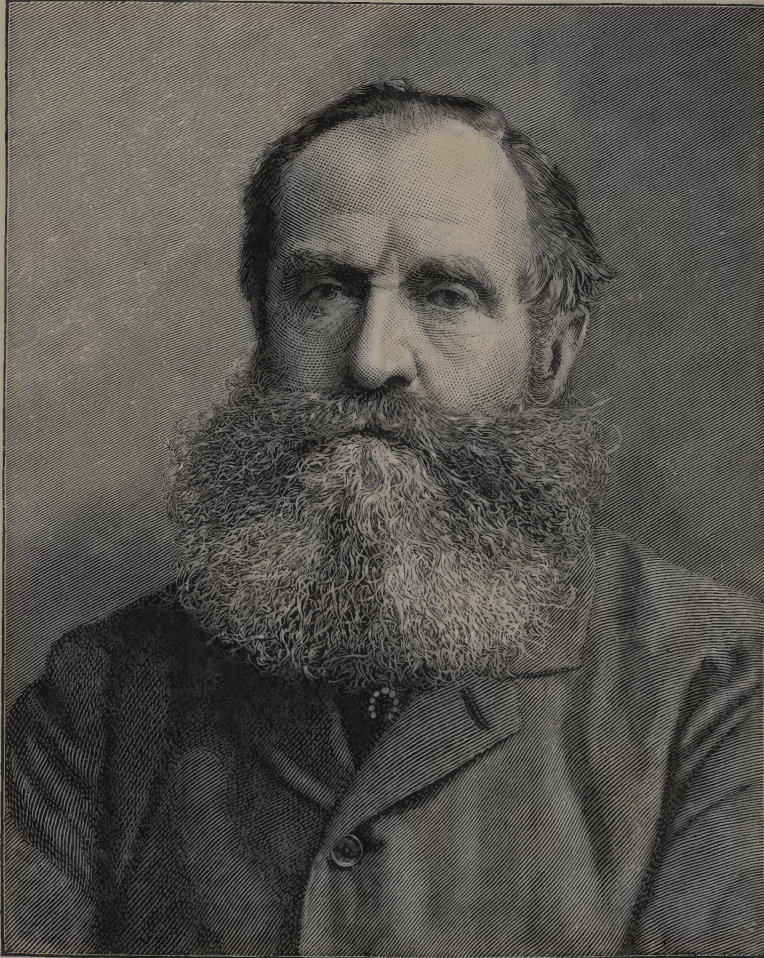
Conservative opponent, Mr. Richards (4,032 votes against 3,664). Thereupon he wrote to the Speaker, declaring that he did not intend to present himself to take the oath until the Law Courts had decided his liability to the penalty incurred for his recorded votes. Notwithstanding this straightforward declaration, Sir Stafford Northcote moved his former resolution for the exclusion of Mr. Bradlaugh from the House, and, in spite of an impressive warning from Mr. Gladstone, a majority of 53 followed him into the lobby. Later in the year the case of the Attorney-General *v.* Bradlaugh, which was tried before Lord Coleridge, Mr. Justice Grove, and Baron Huddleston, resulted in the imposition of three penalties of £500 each on the Member for Northampton for sitting and voting in the House of Commons, and his motion for a new trial was refused.

The deep division, which continued to sunder Protestant and Catholic in Ireland, was early brought to the notice of Parliament by some acrimonious discussions in both Houses on the dismissal of Lord Rossmore from the magistracy in Ulster for refusing to obey the orders of the resident magistrate at Rosslea in the matter of an Orange demonstration marching by a particular road. Lord Dunraven even moved a resolution condemnatory of Lord Spencer's administration of Ireland, but the debate collapsed after Lord Carlingford had amply defended the administration on the plain facts of the case. Later, these faction feuds spread to England, and during the annual Orange demonstrations of July disturbances took place at Cleator Moor, a mining district in West Cumberland, in which a Protestant processionist was shot dead and several others were badly hurt. The affray was brought before the notice of Parliament by Mr. Sexton, who, in conjunction with Mr. Parnell, urged upon Government the

duty of protecting the Irish in England. A few weeks previously Government had been compelled to draft 1,500 troops into Newry to prevent an Orange counter-demonstration to a large Nationalist meeting, and even so a certain amount of rioting took place. Ireland, however, was

were marked by a brief recrudescence of rick-burning, cattle-maiming, and firing at obnoxious farmers.

If the condition of Ireland was generally satisfactory, the malignity of the dynamite faction in America was not diminished by one jot. "I go



THE RIGHT HON. EARL SPENCER.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

fairly pacific, and Mr. Trevelyan, though disappointed in carrying his measure to facilitate the sale of land to the Irish peasantry, was able, before his retirement from the Secretaryship at the end of the year—when he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster with Cabinet rank—to pronounce that there had been, on the whole, a remarkable diminution of agrarian outrages. The actual figures were 762 in 1884 as against 870 in 1883, and 4,439 in 1881. To this happy state of affairs the month of September was an unfortunate exception, for the autumn evenings

in for dynamite," raved the wretch Rossa at Brooklyn, "with the loyal Irishmen in England, who are ready to do the work. It only remains for us to put up money enough to assist them, and London will have ceased to be a city. Tear down English cities; kill the English people. It is open warfare now, and to kill and massacre and pillage is justifiable in the sight of God and man." As in the previous year, judges and Cabinet Ministers went guarded by policemen in plain clothes, and the public buildings were carefully watched. In spite of these precautions, a diabolical attempt to

wreck the principal railway stations of London occurred towards the end of February. At Victoria, Charing Cross, Paddington, and the Ludgate Hill Station of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway were deposited in the cloak-rooms portmanteaux containing large charges of "Atlas" dynamite of American manufacture, with clockwork detonators arranged to go off simultaneously. Fortunately the machinations of the miscreants were clumsily contrived, and, with one exception, the alarms finished their motion without producing an explosion. At Victoria, however, about 1 a.m. of the 26th, a terrific upheaval took place, the luggage-room, waiting-room, and booking-office being shattered, while a fire broke out from a broken gas-pipe. Fortunately the station was clear of passengers, so that no lives were lost, and the damage done was confined to some £4,000. The perpetrators of this crime were traced to the Waverley Hotel in Great Portland Street, whence they had issued on their deed of infamy.

At first the police were at fault, and some six weeks elapsed before any arrests were made. In the interval there was a loud cry for a revision of the extradition laws, but no definite overture on the subject was made to the American Government, and it was understood that the New York detectives were in constant communication with their *confrères* in England. President Arthur also took a popular step in directing the Government officials to enforce the existing law with regard to explosives. At length, on April 12th, a man named Daly, of Fenian antecedents, was arrested at Birkenhead railway station, and was found to have in his possession two bottles of explosives and five infernal machines. On the same day a man called Egan, at whose house in a Birmingham suburb Daly had been a lodger, was arrested. In the garden were found buried a quantity of explosives, and much compromising correspondence was seized, particularly a letter written by Egan which announced that on February 25th Ireland would be avenged. On August 1st the prisoners, in company with one Macdonnell, were put on their trial for treason-felony at the Warwick Assizes, with the result that Daly was sentenced to penal servitude for life, Egan to twenty years, while Macdonnell, against whom little evidence of recent conspiracy was produced, was ordered to appear for judgment when required.

Meanwhile the scare continued; and on the 30th of May three explosions occurred, while a black bag, containing some dynamite cakes and an extinguished fuse, was discovered at the base of the

Nelson column. Two of these were in St. James's Square: the first in the area of the Junior Carlton Club, the second in the area of Sir Watkin Wynn's house, which the desperadoes were supposed to have mistaken for Adair House, the seat of the Military Intelligence Office. Some female servants were injured at the Club, windows were broken, and masonry was disturbed. A few minutes later (about 9.10 p.m.) a still more daring attempt resulted in the wrecking of the offices of the Criminal Investigation Department in Scotland Yard, while a public-house opposite, the "Rising Sun," was greatly damaged, and a policeman and some cabmen were slightly injured.

Minor outrages, of which the most formidable was an attempt to blow up Royton Town Hall, near Oldham, occurred during the following month, and the villainy even spread to Canada, where dynamite cartridges were discovered in the Parliament building at Toronto. It was not until the 13th of December that a *coup* on the grand scale was attempted, when an explosion took place under the second arch of London Bridge on the Surrey side. Evidence went to show that shortly after dark three men put out in a boat to place the dynamite, of which, from the damage done, they must have possessed at least twenty pounds. Their intention was to insert the infernal machine in the cavity at the base of one of the buttresses; but fortunately the authorities, either forewarned or naturally apprehensive, had covered these holes with iron gratings, and the scoundrels were, in consequence, forced to tie their evil engine to the bars. The result was that the upheaval, which took place about 5.45 p.m., instead of totally destroying the arch, merely displaced the granite masonry, and smashed to pieces the heavy balks of timber embedded near the foundation. A reward of £5,000 was offered by the Court of Common Council, but withdrawn at the instance of the Home Secretary. The perpetrators of the crime were never discovered, though the name of one of them was believed to have been Luby. At first it was thought that they escaped to Belgium; but the more probable story is that they perished in their own handiwork of ruin. Three days afterwards a case labelled "tea," and addressed "Aden," but containing 2 cwt. of dynamite, was discovered among the goods landed at Dover from Calais.

It is only just to point out that these brutish misdeeds were now and again condemned by the Irish members, notably by Mr. John Redmond, who declared, on his return from Australia, that the commission of crime would alienate from

Ireland the sympathies of other nations. Meanwhile Lord Spencer and the Irish administration were being assailed with reckless abuse, and finally branded as murderers, who had, in the language of Mr. Harrington, "with a full knowledge of the facts before their minds, endeavoured to hang ten innocent men upon evidence which they knew to be false." The allusion was to the trial of the Maamtrassna assassins in 1882, upon which Mr. Harrington declared that a new light had been thrown by the subsequent statement of Casey, one of the informers, that he had been forced by fear of capital punishment to swear away the life of Miles Joyce. Mr. Harrington also alleged that the depositions of two of the murdered children were withheld from the counsel for the defence. The question was raised on October 23rd in the form of an amendment to the Address, when Mr. Trevelyan pointed out with much cogency that Casey was a thrice-perjured man, and that Lord Spencer was entirely justified in declining to reopen the case. After a debate of three nights, the amendment was negatived by 219 votes to 48, the Irish members being reinforced by a somewhat heterogeneous collection of Englishmen—namely, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Edward Clarke, Mr. MacIver, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Cowen, and Mr. Storey.

The condition-of-the-people question, as Disraeli styled it in "Sybil," received, as has been mentioned in the previous chapter, an important impulse from the appointment of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Poor, in support of which the Prince of Wales made his maiden speech in the House of Lords. Similarly, on the 24th of May, Prince Albert Victor addressed his first audience, a meeting of graduates and undergraduates, at the Guildhall, Cambridge, in support of the Oxford and Cambridge settlement in the East of London. This establishment, founded in memory of Arnold Toynbee, became known as Toynbee Hall, with the Rev. Samuel Barnett, of St. Jude's, Whitechapel, as its warden and guiding spirit. The society undoubtedly did good, particularly in the promotion of boys' clubs; but there was not a little insincerity about the "slumming," which became fashionable among the well-to-do classes, concerning which it may be said that whatever its effect upon the "slummed," the "slummer" was apt to become dogmatic and priggish in disposition. Behind this amateur philanthropy lay the dark fact that good works and legislation had utterly failed, in some districts, to cope with overcrowding and filth. Thus Sir

Charles Dilke, the President of the Local Government Board, visited a small district near St. George's, Southwark, and reported it to be so crammed through clearances in the neighbourhood that life was well-nigh unendurable. Rooms, 6 feet by 7 feet, were let furnished with a few sticks at 5s. 9d. a week, though the windows were bulging out, the floors rotting, and sanitary arrangements non-existent. The lanes, sometimes only 3 feet broad, were covered with filth, whole families lived in one room, and no clergyman or missionary, except the Roman Catholic priest, ever visited them.

In spite of the squalid condition of the extremely poor, the artisans appeared to be fairly contented with their lot. In April, indeed, there were serious riots in Kidderminster, which had to be suppressed by the military, but they were due to a common irritant, the importation by the employers of workmen—in this instance weavers—to take the places of hands on strike. Later in the year came reports of great distress on Tyneside, where thousands of labourers were thrown out of work by the closure of ship-building yards, and ships laid up for want of freight. Charity promptly came to the rescue, and the subscription lists opened at Newcastle, Sunderland, and Hartlepool were speedily filled. As for that unknown quantity, the agricultural labourer, it is improbable that the exposition of Mr. Henry George's views on the nationalisation of land as delivered in St. James's Hall on the 9th of January had much effect upon his somewhat circumscribed intelligence. A good deal more to the point was an address delivered by Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden to his tenants on the same day, in which the Prime Minister urged the farmers to supplement their incomes by paying attention to the producing of eggs—of which no less than 750,000,000 had been imported in 1880—and jam, which, owing to the rise in the price of butter, was being largely consumed. In consequence of the exertions of Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Charles Dilke, the peasantry were beginning to turn their attention to the question of allotments, but the "three acres and a cow," as they were derisively styled by the Conservatives, did not become a party cry until the following year. But already the grievances of the Scottish crofters were being forced into prominence. These unfortunate tenants, dwelling for the most part on the island of Skye and the adjacent mainland, found themselves reduced to starvation by the letting of their grazing-lands to large farmers, besides being

menaced by ejection notices for inability or refusal to pay a largely increased rent. Government had recourse to the usual device of perplexed Administrations—a Commission of Inquiry; but meanwhile it appeared as if a collision would occur, as the police were powerless, and strenuous preparations were made to resist a force of 250 marines, which was drafted into one of the most disaffected districts. Owing, however,

Thereupon Earl de la Warr took up the cudgels, and, in a speech in the Lords delivered on June 27th, urged that the mischief was due to payment by results, in virtue of which stupid children were forced beyond their powers. In reply the Bishop of Exeter, while admitting that over-pressure did to a certain extent exist, declared that its chief victims were the masters and pupil-teachers, and pointed out that the result-system had at least the



WEST AND EAST: A PARTY OF SLUMMERS. (See p. 23.)

to the exertions of a Free Church minister, the Rev. A. C. Macdonald, the idea of an appeal to force was abandoned, and the demonstration marched across the island, scarcely encountering a human being.

Closely connected with the welfare of the labouring classes was the controversy on over-pressure at the national schools which was being waged both inside and outside Parliament during the summer months. The Vice-President of the Council, Mr. Mundella, early instituted an inquiry under his own superintendence, and meanwhile, with characteristic prudence, refrained from raising the subject in his speech on the estimates.

merit of forcing the master to pay equal attention to all his pupils, instead of concentrating himself upon the cleverer children. A new turn to the discussion was given later by the attempt of the Vice-President to withhold the report of Dr. Crichton Browne, a lunacy expert, who by permission of Mr. Mundella had examined some national schools in Walworth and Kennington and the Training College at Stockwell. At length, on the demand of Lord George Hamilton, the report was produced, accompanied, however, by a memorandum from Mr. Fitch, one of the chief inspectors of schools, which somewhat invalidated the conclusions of the learned physician. Certainly the

doctor's methods of examination were somewhat perfunctory, and his deductions therefrom that 46.1 per cent. of the children suffered from habitual headaches, while a habitual sleeplessness prevailed among 41.4 per cent. of boys and 35.9 per cent. of girls, were decidedly sweeping. The only effect of the publication of the report was to relegate the over-pressure theory to the limbo of exploded

the proportion of losses at sea due to unseaworthiness was increasing, for the entries "Foundered" or "Missing" were gaining rapidly upon the other categories. Decidedly Government could not be blamed for neglect of the industrial classes, and in a similar spirit Lord Hartington, in moving the Army Estimates (March 17th), laid stress upon the efficiency of the Medical Service and the Army



HAWARDEN CASTLE, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.
(From a Photograph by Messrs. G. W. Wilson and Co.)

scares, though measures were taken for the relief of pupil-teachers.

On the withdrawal of the Merchant Shipping Bill the question was referred to a Commission of Inquiry, from which during the autumn session an attempt was made to expel Mr. Chamberlain by a resolution, of which Mr. Cowen was to have been the mouthpiece, declaring that the constitution of the Commission was unsatisfactory. The attack, however, collapsed, and at least the President of the Board of Trade had placed on record the startling facts that in a single year 3,500 lives, or one sailor out of every sixty, were lost at sea, whereas in the dangerous occupation of mining only one life was lost in every 315; further, that

Hospital Corps. Otherwise his speech was not particularly noteworthy, though he made one important admission, that the short-service system was being made more elastic, through bounties offered to induce men to remain in India and to prolong their terms abroad. Little novelty again was to be found in Mr. Childers's budget speech (April 24th), in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, being able to announce an estimated surplus of but £241,000, could offer scarcely any remission of taxation. He did, indeed, propose to rectify the deterioration of the gold coinage by the issue of ten-shilling pieces containing only nine shillings' worth of gold, the profit on the issue of the same to be formed into a fund out of which

the cost of the withdrawal of the light gold might be met. So strenuous, however, was the objection of the great banking-houses that the scheme was withdrawn, and Mr. Childers was obliged to content himself with a Bill enabling the holders of three per cent. stock to exchange for two and a half per cents. at 108, or for two and three-quarters per cents. at 102 for each 100 stock. This measure became law after it had been subjected to some unfavourable criticism by Mr. Hubbard.

The Naval Estimates, which were introduced by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, by no means escaped unscathed, and the speaker's optimistic theory, that the ship-building programme of Government was amply sufficient, was challenged by Mr. W. H. Smith, who contrasted the expedition with which French men-of-war were being constructed with the endless delays of the Admiralty, and declared the state of the Naval Reserve unsatisfactory and the returns misleading. In congenial surroundings Lord Salisbury recurred to the much-vexed topic in a speech delivered at Plymouth on the 4th of June. He expressed his regret that a Ministry was in office whose marked peculiarity was that they would not open their eyes to a danger until some disaster happened. It would be too late, he declared, to move votes of censure when we found that the navies of other Powers were greater than our own. Government were bound to provide against the possibility of war, and no reasonable doubt ought to rest upon our capability to resist any enemy that chance might bring upon us. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Northbrook, took the first opportunity to reply to Lord Salisbury's strictures, but his remarks assumed the character of a *tu quoque*. On June 9th he stated in the House of Lords that the Liberals were doing much more to strengthen the navy than their Conservative predecessors. Whereas in the six years between 1874 and 1880 the Conservatives laid down or bought eleven armour-plated ships measuring 85,000 tons in all as against seventeen French armour-plated ships measuring 128,000 tons in all—and that with the aid of a vote of credit for six millions—in the four years of Mr. Gladstone's Government eight armour-plated ships were laid down to four laid down by France. Lord Salisbury said he could not accept Lord Northbrook's statement without critical examination. But the public had grown nervous on the subject, in spite of the recriminations of rival statesmen.

The question might have slumbered, owing to the absorbing interest of the Franchise Bill, had it

not been revived in the autumn by the *Pall Mall Gazette* in a series of able articles entitled "The Truth about the Navy." Therein it appeared that although Great Britain could defeat any single Power, she needed, to face any moderate combination, more ironclads of the second class, more torpedo-boats, more forwardness with repairs, more men, and fortifications at certain important coaling stations, such as Singapore. The writer dwelt in particular on the might of France, which nation he declared was increasing her expenditure while ours was diminishing; her guns were more powerful and heavier than ours, we were totally incompetent to withstand her on the China station. He said that we had but twenty-four first-class torpedo-boats against France's fifty, and but twenty-four fast unarmoured vessels to protect 29,000 merchantmen. Some of our home ports could be destroyed immediately on the declaration of war, and half the coaling stations could be taken by a single battle ship. The charges were supported, in a measure, by the high authority of Sir William Armstrong and Sir E. J. Reed, while Mr. W. H. Smith, in a speech at Newport, declared the navy unequal to its responsibilities, and in a letter to the *Times* urged, not for the first time, the appointment of an independent committee to report on the true state of the case.

On the assembling of Parliament for the autumn session, Lord Carnarvon (November 12th) raised the kindred question of the colonial defences in a calm and well-informed speech. The greater part of his remarks were retrospective and he established a heavy indictment of Government for neglecting the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1881, and for whittling away its estimates by means of a Departmental Committee. He allowed that "the marine quadrilateral of England," Gibraltar, Malta, Bermuda, and Halifax was fairly safe from attack, but many stations recommended for immediate care had been eliminated from the list, until only Aden, Singapore, and Hong-Kong remained, and for these the estimate had been reduced from £891,000 to £347,000. Lord Northbrook's reply awakened a feeling of distrust which was only partially allayed by a non-party speech from the Duke of Cambridge. He promised the immediate fortifying of Simon's Bay, but said that Aden must wait; while for the minor coaling stations he was unable to promise more than £200,000, or a total outlay of more than £900,000. Considering that the original estimate was £2,400,000, and that in the interval the Powers of Europe had armed themselves with

astonishing rapidity, his optimism was regarded as unduly exuberant.

Meanwhile the promised statement of Government as to their naval programme was not made, and rumours of Lord Northbrook's resignation were afloat. The First Lord, however, appeared in his place on December the 2nd, and Sir Thomas Brassey, in the Commons, simultaneously proceeded to allay alarm. Taken together, their explanations amounted to this: that Government proposed to spend £5,525,000, in addition to the estimates, on the navy and coaling stations. Of this sum £25,000 was devoted to fortifications, £1,000,000 to guns, and £3,000,000 to ship-building, which sum was to produce three ironclads of the first class, five belted cruisers, two torpedo rams, ten "scouts," and thirty torpedo boats. The expenditure for the ships, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer subsequently explained, was to be spread over four years; for the coaling stations over five. By some the statement was not thought altogether satisfactory. Why, asked Mr. W. H. Smith, is everything deferred for five years when immediate steps are necessary? But in many quarters the compromise was accepted as fairly reasonable, and Sir T. Brassey succeeded in dispelling the panic inspired by the armaments of France. Thus he showed that in the following year we should have thirty ironclads of 210,000 tons as against nineteen of 127,000 tons of the French; while of ships somewhat out of date we had sixteen, the French twelve. He pointed out, too, that torpedo boats, in which arm the French were strong, were unseaworthy and suited only to coast defence. And with these comfortable assurances the condition of the navy ceased, for the time being, to be a burning topic.

The obituary of the year contained a fairly large number of representative names without exactly including any great leader in the domains of thought or action. In Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, who died very suddenly at Cannes on the 28th of March, the nation mourned one of the most popular members of the Royal Family—one, moreover, who, in spite of chronic ill-health, had already begun to play a prominent part in the promotion of intellectual pursuits. Two diplomats of note passed away: Earl Cowley, to whose judicious conduct of affairs at the Paris Embassy were largely due the peaceful relations between France and England during the Second Empire; and Lord Amphill, better known perhaps as Lord Odo Russell, who filled with firmness and dignity a similar position at Berlin during the critical

period of the Russo-Turkish war. Liberalism mourned Mr. Milner Gibson, an ardent free trader, who eventually became a somewhat inconspicuous member of the Palmerston and Russell Ministries, and Henry Fawcett, who, despite his blindness, displayed much large-visioned insight both as an economist and politician, save when theories—that of proportional representation, for instance—proved too attractive to the professorial mind. Two prominent Conservatives fell out from the ranks—Mr. Henley, a fine specimen of the shrewd, business-like country gentleman; and the Duke of Buccleuch, whose high character, the development of which was watched with affectionate interest by Sir Walter Scott, fully atoned for a certain narrowness of creed. Ireland was the poorer for the loss of A. M. Sullivan, an eloquent speaker and brilliant journalist. Closely connected with politics were Mr. Chenery, who filled the chair of Arabic at Oxford more congenially, perhaps, than the editorial throne of the *Times*; and Abraham Hayward, a good Peelite in his day, though better known as essayist, critic, and *raconteur*. To the Empire at large the loss of Sir Bartle Frere was, perhaps, the most significant of any. He was a born ruler of men, who, whether grappling with mutiny in India or coercing Cetewayo in Zululand, did his duty, as it seemed to him, with a fearless disregard of consequences that occasionally led him into conflict with his superiors.

To turn to foreign affairs—apart from the Egyptian question, which from its importance will be treated separately—the aspect of international relations during the year 1884 must have seemed to Lord Granville, the Minister more particularly concerned, to make decidedly for the general peace. The leading event of the year was the meeting of the three Emperors at Skierniewice in Poland (September 15–17), at which they and their Foreign Ministers held high debate, with the result that the *status quo* seemed firmly secured. It was whispered that this important interview had been convoked at the instance of the new Foreign Minister of Francis Joseph, the Hungarian Count Kalnoky, and Austria accordingly gained greatly in prestige, though the Count's own fellow-countrymen viewed with some displeasure any relaxation of the traditional hostility between Magyar and Slav. At the same time they could not help feeling relieved by the quiet condition of Turkey and the Balkan Peninsula through the cessation of Russian intrigues and Austrian counter-intrigues. Similarly Prince Bismarck, freed from long-standing alarms on the eastern frontier of Germany, was

benignant to his neighbours, particularly the French. In a speech delivered in the Reichstag on June 26th he declared that, so far as human foresight could extend, there was no possibility of a war between Germany and France, and described the attitude of the two countries as one of mutual friendship and confidence. The speech was the more remarkable because a few days previously he had shown himself ruffled by M. Ferry's supposed antipathy to the Teutonic colonial policy. If France, he declared, wronged German subjects beyond sea, then France "which stood at the gates of Metz" would find that "there was a reaction in the region of Metz." On the other hand, the Republic, sorely troubled by her difficulties in China, and piqued by British action in Egypt, received with much cordiality the German Chancellor's friendly overtures. "Never," wrote an observant Frenchman, M. Debidour, "never for very many years had the general peace appeared to rest upon a more solid basis."

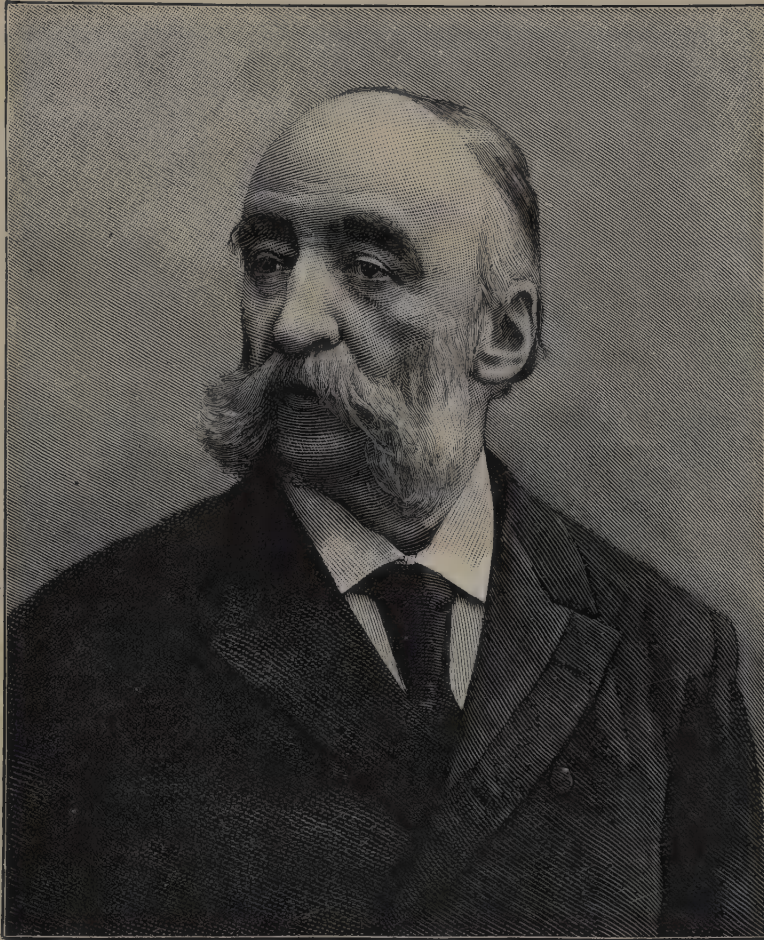
If Europe, however, was at peace, the laying aside of old hatreds could hardly be said to have operated to the particular advantage of Great Britain. Indeed, several of the Powers seemed resolved to vent their superfluous spleen upon perfidious Albion, and, excepting Italy, which State gave valuable co-operation in the Egyptian question, there was hardly a Government with which Britain's relations were not more or less strained. At the close of the year the United Kingdom stood alone, so far as the European concert was concerned, while her scattered dominions abroad appeared to be threatened in more than one quarter by the avowed hostility of great nations. True that, apart from Egypt, the causes of dissension with the French Republic were of no serious character. In Madagascar alone, indeed, relations were sensibly improved through the compensation of Mr. Shaw in the previous year; but British settlers and British missionaries were being rapidly ruined by the squalid war of outposts which M. Ferry's aggressive policy had brought upon his country, and the Hova Government showed little signs of coming to terms. In China and Tonquin the British Government could but play the part of benevolent neutrality, while affairs drifted rapidly from bad to worse. For many months the Celestial Government had watched with alarm the progress of the French expedition, and when on the 12th of March the fortress of Bacninh, which had been pronounced too strong for attack in the previous year, surrendered after a feeble resistance, their consternation was unbounded. Li-Hung-Chang,

the Chinese Commander-in-Chief, hastily agreed to negotiate, and on the 11th of May a treaty was signed at Tien-tsin by which China acknowledged the French protectorate over Tonquin and Anam, and agreed to open her southern provinces to trade. But immediately a hitch arose upon the question of evacuation, and in the interval a French corps was badly beaten by a force of Chinese. A fiery ultimatum, dictated by M. Ferry, was met with counter-charges of the falsification of documents; and, though efforts were made on both sides to minimise the points under dispute, the Republic at the commencement of August found herself committed to war with the Chinese Empire, though the Governments were still nominally at peace. At least the operations of Admiral Courbet were marked by no indecision; he bombarded Foochow, reduced the place in ten minutes, and then fired at it for two hours by way of a salutary lesson; he attacked Formosa, and in four days' time was master of the fort of Kelung. But, in the meanwhile, the French generals barely held their own in Tonquin, and Admiral Courbet's action in proclaiming the whole island of Formosa under blockade was protested against by the British authorities on the ground that it was in contravention of the Treaty of Paris, which declared that a blockade to be respected must be effective. In fact, the irregular state of war was productive of the utmost confusion, British commerce was at a standstill, and the Chinese complained of the injustice of allowing the French to coal and victual at Hong-Kong. In vain the British Government, as representatives of the neutral Powers, attempted to commit M. Ferry to a definite declaration of war, nor were mediatorial attempts successful, whether urged by the American Minister at Peking or by the British Foreign Secretary in London. Li-Hung-Chang, confident in the resources of his country, haughtily declined to negotiate on the basis of the Treaty of Tien-tsin, and the constant demands for reinforcements from Tonquin must have proved even to the optimistic M. Ferry that he had embarked with a light heart upon no light enterprise. Moreover, he declined to face the Chambers, and his unpopularity was hourly on the increase.

It was in 1884 that Prince Bismarck, alarmed at the increase of the Socialist vote in spite of anodynes in the shape of Workmen's Insurance Bills and so forth, first definitely committed the German Empire to a forward colonial policy. Even so he was careful to explain that he would have nothing to do with State colonisation after the French model. German emigrants must go at

their own risks, though they might rely upon the assistance of the mother-country when attacked by natives or other European Powers, and the Government was willing to grant charters after the model of the British charter to the North Borneo Company. Meanwhile, German gunboats were roving

Minister to shame he published in December a "white book" containing the negotiations with regard to Angra Pequena. Certainly the documents as published did not display much firmness of purpose or power of prescience on the part of the British Foreign Office. Ever since the previous year the



JULES FERRY.

(From a Photograph by Charles Ogereau, Paris.)

about seeking what lands they might annex. In the autumn the occupation of New Guinea was followed by the seizure of New Britain and New Ireland, to the intense indignation of the Australians, while the prompt action of Sir Henry Bulwer in hoisting the British flag in St. Lucia Bay on the coast of Zululand was only just in time to save that important station from passing into German hands. It could not be denied that the iron Chancellor was unusually wroth with British statesmen in general and Lord Granville in particular, and by way of putting that amiable

German Government had been endeavouring to extract from Lord Granville some information as to the limits of the British dominions on the west coast of South Africa; in particular, would the coast between the Orange River and the Little Fish River be considered under British authority? Because if so, the German Government would be glad if Herr Lüderitz, a Bremen merchant about to establish a factory there, were placed under British protection. Lord Granville's replies to this definite question were dilatory and vague. He pleaded want of information, now from the

Government of Cape Colony, now from a naval officer who had lately visited Angra Pequena. At one time he declared that "any claim to sovereignty or jurisdiction by a foreign Power between the southern point of Portuguese jurisdiction at latitude 18° and the frontier of Cape Colony would infringe the legitimate rights of Her Majesty's Government;" at another, that "Her Majesty's Government were prepared to recognise the right of the German Government to protect German subjects at Angra Pequena." Finally, the matter was cut short by the hoisting of the German flag at Angra Pequena on the 7th of August, and Lord Granville was left to console himself, as best he might, for a severe diplomatic rebuff.

The partial settlement of another "scramble for Africa" was more satisfactory to Great Britain. For some time there had been a triangular contest for the possession of the banks of the Congo between Portugal, who possessed certain vague historic rights at the mouth of the river, France, whose agent was the explorer, M. de Brazza, and the International African Association, whose guiding spirit was the King of the Belgians, and whose executive was Mr. H. M. Stanley. With Portugal a treaty was concluded on the 26th of February whereby the Portuguese sovereignty was recognised over a large district of coast and inland territory. This arrangement, however, was unpopular with the trading classes in Great Britain, especially with the Manchester Chamber of Commerce; it was regarded with but qualified approval by several neutral Powers, and strenuously objected to by Prince Bismarck, who declared that it was a matter of international concern from which Germany, with her colony in the adjacent Cameroons, could not be excluded. Finally, at the instigation of the Portuguese, an International Conference assembled at Berlin on November 7th to settle the questions not only of the Congo, but also of the Niger, on which river a company, under the presidency of Lord Aberdare, had already established a large and fairly lucrative trade, though it did not receive its charter until 1886. This important body had not concluded its labours when the year came to an end.

Far more formidable than these diplomatic duels was the Russian advance towards Afghanistan. With their usual caution the advisers of the Czar, selecting a moment when Russia had little to fear on her western frontier, and Great Britain was embroiled in the Soudan, gave the signal for the long premeditated move on Merv. Availing himself of a quarrel between the Merv Tekkes and

the Persians as to the ownership of some cattle, General Komaroff, the Governor of the Trans-Caspian Province, despatched Captain Alikhanoff, at the head of a picked expedition, to "the Queen of the World." Arrived at Merv, the Captain, a Mussulman of Darghestan by birth, whose real name was Ali Khan, pronounced nothing concerning the cattle, but that the Mervis must submit themselves without delay to the Czar, under penalty of the occupation of their country by a Russian army. On January 31st accordingly four chiefs appeared at Askabad and swore allegiance, in the presence of General Komaroff, to the Great White Czar. This swoop southwards excited public opinion in England not a little, for the ways of Russian diplomacy were too familiar for much attention to be paid to M. de Giers' intimation to the British Ambassador on February 15th that the submission was "purely voluntary" and that "the officer" sent to administer the Government "would perhaps be accompanied by an escort of Turcomans." The "escort" speedily resolved itself into a force of 12,000 men, who occupied the oasis and forced the inhabitants, now eager enough to resist, to complete their own subjugation by the building of a strong fort, nor was General Komaroff content with this new acquisition. In May Prince Dondukoff-Korsakoff, the Governor-General of the Caucasus, arrived at Merv and received the submission of the Sarik Turcomans dwelling at Youletan, while General Komaroff, moving southwards, formally annexed Old Sarakhs, a position which, though Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice appeared ignorant of its existence, was but five marches distant from Herat. In India the excitement was great. It was reported that General Roberts and other authorities advised an immediate counter-blow, but nothing was done beyond sending guns and money to the Ameer. So extreme, however, was the danger of a collision between Afghan and Russ that an effort was made to solve the difficulty by a joint Anglo-Russian frontier commission, to which the Ameer was invited, but declined, to send an envoy. To this body Sir Peter Lumsden, a member of the Council of India, was nominated in the autumn as the British representative, and in November he arrived on the Afghan borders. Meanwhile the advent of his Russian colleague, General Zelenoi, was delayed through illness and other pretexts, while the Cossack outposts seized and fortified Pul-i-Khatum on the Hari Rud, and Alikhanoff advanced up the Murghab. On their side the Afghans had occupied Penjdeh in the previous July, so that the enemies were face to

face, and the routes to Herat were completely covered. At the end of December a letter appeared in the *Russ* from General Soboleff, late Minister of War in Bulgaria, in which the conquest of India by Russia was represented as politically inevitable.

In the circumstances the state of affairs upon the Indian frontier could hardly be satisfactory. The Ameer Abdurrahman, though acting cordially with Lord Ripon, was harassed by constant revolts in his ill-compacted dominions, while Nepaul was embroiled with Tibet, and in Upper Burma the cruelties and villainies of King Theebaw were producing a state of anarchy that rendered British intervention inevitable at no distant date. Punitive expeditions were, meanwhile, undertaken against the Akka tribes in North Assam and the Pathans of the Zhob Valley, and were attended with complete success. In India itself the financial condition was satisfactory, and public works, particularly railways, were pursued with energy. But the race hatreds inspired by the Ilbert Bill had by no means subsided, as was instanced in the ferment against the Bengali Rent Bill, during which the native press, though opposing the Bill, attacked the Chief Justice of Bengal, who was at issue with Lord Ripon on the measure. With Anglo-Indians the unpopularity of the Viceroy was, if possible, increased by his project for the partial disestablishment of the English Church; while that the Government was hardly of one mind was proved by the transmission of a despatch signed by Lord Ripon and Mr. Ilbert alone, the whole of the other members disagreeing. Altogether the efforts to introduce reform in several branches of the administration of India were hampered in so many ways by the opposition of the official classes that no surprise was felt when Lord Ripon resigned his post. He was succeeded on the 3rd of December by Lord Dufferin.

To the south-east of India lies Sumatra, with which island the British were, during the course of the year, involved in a quarrel. For years the attempts of the Dutch to coerce the Sultan of Achin had created a feeling of intense hatred against the Hollanders in particular and Europeans in general. Accordingly when the steamship *Nisero* was wrecked on the coast of Tenom, the rajah of that province, who was a close ally of the Sultan's, promptly seized the crew and declined to surrender them unless a large ransom were paid. An expedition, organised by the Dutch authorities, whose jurisdiction Great Britain had admitted, returned without success, whereupon

the British Foreign Office broached the idea of joint action between Britain and Holland. The dangers of such a course were obvious; the two nations would go into the undertaking with widely divergent aims, Britain's object being legitimate enough—the rescue of prisoners—that of the Dutch the conquest of a vigorous native state which for twelve years had defied their power. However, after some demur the Government of Holland accepted the British proposal, and an ultimatum was sent to the rajah threatening him with war unless he surrendered the prisoners. But meanwhile the rajah, after considering the matter with truly Oriental deliberation, had come to the conclusion that discretion was the better part of valour, and early in September made a voluntary surrender of the crew of the *Nisero*. Accordingly the difficulties with Sumatra came to an end; but not so those of the Dutch, since piratical junks infested the whole coast, and the blockade of the Achinese ports was reduced to a dead letter.

Perhaps the general unrest was the cause of the various attempts made during the year to bring the scattered members of the British Empire into closer communion. One such was the jubilee of the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies, which was celebrated by a meeting held at the Guildhall, London, on the 1st of August. The Prince of Wales took the chair, and a resolution was moved by Earl Granville, seconded by Sir Stafford Northcote, and supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, expressing gratitude for the anti-slavery work, British and foreign, of the past fifty years. The speeches were admirable in tone, particularly Lord Derby's, who said that "all of us leave a good part of our consciences in our neighbours' keeping; and when one country condemns an institution and makes great sacrifices to get rid of it, others are pretty sure to follow suit." Equally non-party in character was the conference, presided over by Mr. W. E. Forster, which met at the Westminster Palace Hotel two days earlier to consider the advisableness of forming a federation to promote friendly relations between the mother country and her colonies. His biographer, Sir Wemyss Reid, gives an extract from his diary—"A noteworthy event to-day. I took the chair at the Conference on Imperial Federation at the Westminster Palace Hotel—a real success." At this important meeting the speaking was all to the point, Mr. Forster striking the right note by his remark that England's material interests and her moral interests are one, since nothing is proved more satisfactorily than that

trade follows the flag. Lord Rosebery also made the pertinent suggestion that delegates from the chief colonies might be admitted to the House of Lords; and the meeting was all the more successful because no cut-and-dried plan of federation was forced upon the assembly. On the 18th of November, again, another meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. Forster to support the foundation of the Imperial Federation League. Here the objects of the League were defined to be the security of the permanent unity of the Empire without interfering with the existing rights of the component parts, the combination of the resources of the Empire upon an equitable basis for the maintenance of common interests, and the adequate provision for an organised defence of common rights. At this assemblage colonial representatives mustered in large numbers, prominent among them being the Canadian Premier, Sir John Macdonald, and Mr. Murray Smith, the Agent-General of Victoria.

On the whole, the most ardent Federationist could hardly have admitted that the moment was propitious for urging closer schemes of union. In Australia there was much indignation at Lord Derby's refusal to ratify the annexation in the previous year of the island of New Guinea by the Queensland Government, and the disappointment was only partially allayed when it was announced that the Imperial authorities had decided upon the annexation of the southern part of the island to the east of the part claimed by the Dutch, excluding the islands to the north and east. This addition to the British Empire was made in November, and the Australian colonies undertook to be jointly responsible for £15,000 towards the administration of the protectorate by Major-General Scratchley, R.E., who was appointed Special Commissioner. But already Prince Bismarck's cruisers were on the scene, and in December came the startling news that the German flag had been hoisted on the northern coast of New Guinea, and over the archipelago of New Britain. The expressions of indignation at Lord Derby's supineness were long and loud throughout Australia; nor was the extension of the Protectorate over the north-east corner of the island and the Louisiade Archipelago regarded as anything better than a shutting of the stable door after the steed had been stolen. From this event must be dated the rise of a "Young Australian" party in Queensland and New South Wales which reprobated the British connection and urged that Australia should thenceforth depend on herself alone. In

Queensland, Sir Thomas Mellwraith, now leader of the Opposition, the bold statesman who had actually annexed New Guinea, made no attempt to conceal his anger either at the limited annexation or the German swoop. Even Mr. Service, the Victorian Premier, presented a strongly worded memorandum to the Governor, Sir Henry Loch, in which he touched upon "the assurances contained in the despatch of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated May 9th, in which confidence was expressed that no foreign powers contemplated any interference in New Guinea; and on the negative reply given by Mr. Evelyn Ashley in the House of Commons on October 24th regarding the reported understanding with Germany. Moreover, Lord Derby, on July 2nd of last year, announced in the House of Lords that any attempt on the part of a foreign power on the coast of New Guinea would be regarded as an unfriendly act."

Fortunately, the evil consequences of Lord Derby's *laissez faire* did not affect the politics of the early part of the year, and meanwhile Australasia, with the exception of New Zealand, where the administration was paralysed by a prolonged parliamentary crisis, had done something to strengthen their mutual relations. Victoria in particular was examining her defences with the aid of military officers from England, and the colonies were of one mind as to the necessity of protecting themselves from the undesired advent of French *récidivistes*, or time-expired convicts from New Caledonia. In the circumstances, the idea of Australian Federation which had been broached at the Sydney Convention of the previous year began to gain ground, and several of the parliaments voted addresses to the Crown in favour of an enabling Act to establish a Federal Council. But old-standing jealousies could not be dissipated in a day, and when a similar resolution was submitted to the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, it was negatived by a bare majority of one, whereby Free-Trade Sydney snubbed Protectionist Melbourne. It was officially declared that in the opinion of New South Wales the presentation of the draft Bill of the Sydney Convention in London had been wholly premature, and that the representatives of Victoria had been unduly active in the capital of the Empire. With this decisive expression of disagreement the question closed, though Lord Derby attempted to mitigate difficulties by suggesting a clause providing for the retirement of any colony from the Federal Council.

In Canada affairs were pacifically prosperous

enough, and the Dominion viewed with favour the election of a democrat, in the person of Mr. Cleveland, to the Presidency of the United States, in the hope that the long-deferred victory of his party might possibly lead to a relaxation of the hostile tariffs of America. Meanwhile a scheme for connecting Canada with the West Indies either by customs-union or actual annexation was vaguely discussed but did not advance beyond the

raids into the Orange Free State. However, the mounted police were soon on the track of the turbulent, and though President Brand was perpetually sending alarmist telegrams to the High Commissioner, the condition of the district at the close of the year gave no cause for special anxiety. Not so that of Bechuanaland, into which Boers from the Transvaal poured throughout the year, lifting cattle and grabbing land as theretofore. It



TESTE ISLAND, NEW GUINEA.

region of mere academic controversy. Matters in South Africa were hardly so peacefully uneventful. In the first place there was a deficit in the Budget; in the second, the Cape Premier, Mr. Upington, somewhat scandalised the British population by proclaiming himself a leader of the Dutch party, with motto, "Africa for the Afrikanders." There were also troubles in the Kimberley diamond fields owing to the rioting of miners on strike; nor was the aspect of the native population in Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Zululand by any means satisfactory. The first territory was taken over from the Cape authorities by the Home Government in March; but meanwhile the natives profited by the interregnum to engage in civil war and make

will be remembered that a Boer deputation, consisting of President Kruger and Messrs. Smit and Du Toit, had proceeded to London in 1883 for the purpose of obtaining some modification of the Pretoria Convention. Substantial advantages they did gain: the frontier was rectified in their favour, their debt was reduced, the British Resident was given the unimportant status of a consular officer, the Transvaal, now styled the South African Republic, was free to make treaties with native potentates and the Orange Free State. But the British Government declined to desert the Bechuanas, and in order to counteract Boer aggression established a Protectorate over the country, with the Rev. John Mackenzie as British Resident.

His position was, however, soon discovered to be untenable; the Boer immigrants disregarded his authority, plundered the Bechuanas, and even murdered an Englishman, Mr. Bethell, who was manager for one of the chiefs. So outrageous a violation of the Convention could not, of course, be tolerated, whether President Kruger could not, or would not, restrain the filibustering Goshenites, as the immigrants Biblically styled themselves. At the intimation that their acquisitions would be taken from them by force, if necessary, President Kruger and Mr. Uppington hastily patched up a scheme of restitution; but in view of the very dubious attitude of "Uncle Paul" public opinion in England strongly supported the British Government in obtaining during the autumn session a vote of three-quarters of a million for the despatch of an expedition under the command of Sir Charles Warren. "We are determined," said Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons, "at all hazards to use our whole strength, if necessary, to maintain the obligations into which we have entered in Bechuanaland."

Similarly Boer acquisitiveness was the origin of troubles and bloodshed in Zululand. There the death of Cetewayo, whom at his restoration his turbulent subjects had declined to receive, and who died in exile at Ekowe on February 9th, was followed by a civil war, in which the belligerent parties were the Usutu tribe under the leadership of Cetewayo's son Dinizulu; and

the chief Usibepu, who under Lord Wolseley's abortive settlement had received a strip of territory in northern Zululand. In an evil hour for his country Dinizulu petitioned for Boer assistance, and with the help of a contingent from the Transvaal inflicted a crushing defeat on his rival. British regiments were hastily summoned into the Reserve to prevent an Usutu attack either upon the Residency or upon John Dunn's natives; but in August the situation became changed by the announcement of the Boer adventurers that they had come to stay. A New Boer Republic was proclaimed in Zululand, and the signature of Dinizulu which was appended to the document indicated that, either by fraud or force, he had been induced to acquiesce in the spoliation of his country. Not long afterwards he fell out with his masters, and they on their side sent a deputation to Pietermaritzburg to obtain, if possible, from Sir Henry Bulwer a sanction for their claims. In London an influential deputation waited on Lord Derby and urged that Government should maintain itself with vigour as the paramount power of South Africa. The Secretary of the Colonies, however, while acknowledging the necessity of restoring order in Bechuanaland, declined to approve of the annexation or protection of Zululand. Government would watch the appearance of any signs of danger to Natal arising from the Zulus, but must decline to assume the responsibility of governing the country.

CHAPTER III.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Situation in Egypt—Views of Lord Granville and Sir E. Baring—Cherif Pasha's Note—The Opinions of Sir S. Baker and General Gordon—Peril of Khartoum—Gordon's Instructions—His Proceedings at Cairo—A Remarkable Memorandum—Arrival at Khartoum—Father Ohrwalder's Statement—Massacre of Baker's Expedition—Peril of Suakin—The Battle of El Teb—The Battle of Tamai—The Opportunity neglected—Fall of Berber—Dongola relieved—Gordon's Difficulties and Proposals—Zebehr demanded—Refusal of the British Government—Gordon's Anger—The Defences of Khartoum—Colonel Stewart's Navy—The Situation in March—An "Indelible Disgrace"—Appeal to the Millionaires—The Silence of Khartoum—Lower Egypt—Sir E. Baring's hopeful Report—Egyptian Finance—A Conference proposed—Lord Granville and M. Waddington—M. Ferry's Assumptions—Failure of the Conference—Lord Northbrook's Mission—News from Khartoum—A temporary Relief—Provisions falling short—A Relief Expedition demanded—Lord Wolseley's Letter—The Vote of Credit—Conflicting Rumours—Lord Wolseley's Instructions.

At the beginning of 1884 the situation in Egypt was this:—The British Government was morally responsible for the condition of the country, owing to the fact that it was occupied by British troops; nevertheless a portion of the Khedive's dominions—namely, the Soudan—was in open rebellion and the wave of insurrection threatened to overwhelm the remainder. Mahdiism had become well-nigh invincible through the annihilation of the ill-organised expedition of Hicks Pasha. What was to be done? Could the whole of the Soudan be held? Could a portion? And if evacuation was inevitable, how was it to be accomplished? These were the main questions, concerning which Lord Granville had been, ever since the defeat of Hicks Pasha, in anxious correspondence with Sir Evelyn Baring. The upshot of their communications was that the Foreign Secretary was in favour of the evacuation of the country as far north as Wady Halfa, on the confines of Egypt proper, with the exception of Suakin on the Red Sea littoral, without any attempt to establish a form of government other than the sanguinary theocracy of the Mahdi; while Sir Evelyn, though he considered that the loss to Egypt of the provinces to the south and west of Khartoum would not be a matter of regret, was hardly so decided as to the policy of withdrawal from that city. He fully acknowledged the corruption and incapacity of the Egyptian Government, which he regarded as one of the main causes of the rebellion. The territory north of Wady Halfa was quite as much as the Khedive was capable of holding, and retirement would save the miserable peasantry from being dragged from their homes in order to serve in the Soudan. At the same time, it was necessary to consider the grave consequences that would ensue from such a step. "The adoption of this measure would inflict a heavy blow on the authority of the Khedive,

which has already been rudely shaken by recent events. A fanatical population, flushed by religious enthusiasm and military success, would be brought to the frontiers of civilised Egypt. A considerable military force would be required to guard those frontiers. The fanatical portion of the population in Egypt, and especially in Upper Egypt, would scarcely look with indifference on the success of the Mahdi. In a word, the difficulties attending the government of Egypt proper, which are already sufficiently great, would be naturally increased. It cannot be denied that, if the Mahdi advances northward, and if as he advances the tribes along the valley of the Nile join him, there is at present no force capable of arresting his progress except the British troops." Upon the military situation he quoted General Stephenson, Sir Evelyn Wood, and Baker Pasha. They considered that if the Mahdi advanced, the Egyptian Government was utterly unable to hold Khartoum with the forces at its present disposal. Nevertheless, they held that an effort should be made to open out the Suakin-Berber route so as to afford the garrison a chance of retreat. Further, they opined that it might be possible to hold Kassala and one or two points from Suakin to Massowah, provided the Abyssinian Government did not interfere.

Meanwhile, the Egyptian Premier, Cherif Pasha, appeared averse from evacuation of any kind. In a *note verbale*, dated the 21st of December, 1879, he pointed out that by the firman of the 7th of August, 1879, the Khedive was forbidden to cede territory; that the cession of the province of the Eastern Soudan and the Mudirihs (prefectures) of Berber and Dongola would so weaken the Khedive's authority as to alienate the tribes, who were then loyal or were only wavering in their allegiance; that it would exercise a very disquieting influence upon the Bedouin tribes surrounding Egypt on every side; that it would compel Egypt

to employ a larger force to protect its frontier; whereas, if the Soudan were occupied and well administered, it could be made a support of Egypt. Cherif, therefore, boldly asserted that the temporary assistance of 10,000 men, to be employed in opening the Suakin and Berber route, would enable the Egyptian Government to hold Khartoum, the Eastern Soudan, and the Nile Valley, and he considered that Turkish troops would be the most suitable. Shortly before he had suggested that Zebehr Pasha, a notorious slave-dealer, but a man of great resolution, should be sent to Suakin to co-operate with Baker Pasha. Lord Granville, who had already declined to despatch Indian or British troops into the Soudan, had no objection to the employment of Turks, provided their operations were restricted to Suakin and they were paid for by the Sultan, and thought the employment of Zebehr inexpedient. On the 4th of January he concurred with Cherif Pasha's further proposal to surrender the Red Sea littoral and the Eastern Soudan to the Sultan, but suggested that the garrisons should be withdrawn and Khartoum evacuated. The Egyptian garrisons at Kassala, at the Bahr-el-Ghazal under Lupton Bey, and in Equatoria under Emin Bey, were apparently to be left to their fate.

During these anxious weeks two men eminently qualified to speak, Sir Samuel Baker and General Gordon, had given their opinions to the world—the former in letters to the *Times*, the latter in an interview in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Their views were substantially the same: that the Western Soudan, including the provinces of Darfur and Kordofan, must be abandoned, but that the provinces lying to the east of the White Nile and north of Senaar must be retained. Khartoum must be held at all costs, and efforts made to relieve from thence the outlying garrisons. General Gordon further proposed that Nubar Pasha should be placed in power in Egypt, that a competent Special Commissioner of high standing—Mr. Forster for instance—should be sent to assist him, that Sir Samuel Baker should be appointed Governor-General of the Soudan, and a permanent Constitution granted to the inhabitants by which no Turk or Circassian should ever be allowed to enter the province and fill his pockets under pretext of governing them. “You must either surrender absolutely to the Mahdi or defend Khartoum at all hazards. The latter is the only course which ought to be entertained. There is no serious difficulty about it. The Mahdi's forces will fall to pieces of themselves; but if in a moment of panic

orders are issued for the prompt abandonment of the whole of the Eastern Soudan, a blow will be struck against the security of Egypt and the peace of the East which may have fatal consequences.”

On the 9th of January events were precipitated by a telegram from Colonel de Coetlogon, who was in command at Khartoum, to the effect that the place was in imminent danger. One-third of the troops were disaffected, they were hated by the inhabitants; with twice their number an attack could not be resisted. Escape was then possible; it would not be later. A Cabinet Council was held with the result that the Khedive was “recommended” to abandon the Soudan and confine his efforts to the defence of Egypt up to the Second Cataract. Tewfik consented, and ordered the retreat of all the garrisons, including that of Khartoum. The immediate consequence was the resignation of Cherif, who was replaced by Nubar Pasha, though the latter did not affect to disguise his objections to the British policy. But who was to superintend the withdrawal of the garrison? Abd-el-Kader Pasha, the Minister of War, was first suggested, but he declined to go because the Government insisted that he must immediately proclaim the abandonment, in which case he declared that he would at once be powerless. Then the British Government recurred to General Gordon, whom they had offered to send so far back as the end of November, when a proposal to that effect was made to the Egyptian Cabinet through Sir Evelyn Baring. It had been declined, nominally because he was a Christian, but really because he was believed to be on bad terms with Tewfik and several powerful Pashas. For six weeks they had played with the idea, and meanwhile Gordon had been allowed to retire from the army and take service on the Congo, under the auspices of the King of the Belgians. On the 17th of January he was telegraphed for at Brussels; on the 18th he received his instructions in London. That evening he started without kit of any kind, accompanied by Colonel Stewart, on his fateful mission. Meanwhile, much precious time had been lost.

A word as to General Gordon's instructions, because they were peculiar in their character, and upon them was founded the charge that he was disobedient to orders. When he left England for the Soudan he was not empowered to act, but only to advise. He was to report to Her Majesty's Government on the military situation in the Soudan, and on the measures which it might be deemed advisable to take for the security of the Egyptian garrisons still holding positions in that

country and for the safety of the European population in Khartoum ; and further, upon the manner in which the safety and good administration by the Egyptian Government of the Red Sea littoral could best be secured. But there was an important clause in the instructions, which said, "You will consider yourself authorised and instructed to perform such other duties as the Egyptian Government may desire to entrust to you" ; and Mr. Gladstone, on

line of policy to be pursued ; and no effort was to be wanting on the part of the Cairo authorities, whether English or Egyptian, to afford him all the co-operation and support in their power." The charge, then, that he exceeded his instructions falls to the ground, and though, no doubt, Gordon was impatient of officialism and unable to conform to administrative routine—for instance, his various suggestions were telegraphed with perplexing



ARRIVAL OF GORDON AT KHARTOUM. (See p. 38.)

February 11th, stated in the House of Commons that "the direct actions and direct functions in which General Gordon is immediately concerned with this Government are, I think, pretty much absorbed in the greater duties of the large mission he has undertaken under the immediate authority of the Egyptian Government with the full moral and political responsibility of the British Government." That is to say, the scope of his mission was altered when he became the Khedive's Governor-General of the Soudan with orders to "evacuate the Soudan," and intimation was added that "the Egyptian Government had the fullest confidence in his judgment and knowledge of the country, and of his comprehension of the general

frequency, and he seemed unable to regard the problem from anything like a permanent standpoint—he showed a fair amount of deference to Lord Granville and Sir Evelyn Baring, except when he considered their recommendations contrary to the dictates of honour.

General Gordon arrived at Cairo on the 24th of January, and had interviews with Sir Evelyn Baring and the Khedive, of whom the latter, as above mentioned, conferred upon him his former title of Governor-General of the Soudan, and placed £100,000 at his disposal. At the outset came the difficulty of Zebehr, whom Gordon wished to have deported to Cyprus, feeling that if left at Cairo he would be a centre of

constant intrigue. The British Government declined to sanction the proposal, and then Gordon put forward the strange suggestion that Zebehr should come with him to Khartoum. A conference was arranged, at which the ex-slave-dealer displayed so much animus—during his governorship of the Soudan Gordon had caused his son, Suleiman, to be shot for rebellion and Zebehr's property to be confiscated—that the British officers present, General Graham among them, were of opinion that, if both men went, one would certainly die. The Council, after some consideration, determined upon keeping Zebehr at Cairo, and Gordon, declining all escort, started on the 26th for Khartoum. "You are men, not women," he telegraphed to the garrison. "Be not afraid; I am coming." Before his departure he penned a remarkable memorandum, of which the upshot was that the Soudan should be restored to the petty sultans who had existed before the conquest of the country by Mehemet Ali, leaving them to decide whether they would accept the Mahdi or not. He considered that the prophet's troops would, in all probability, refuse to follow him across the Nile. In any case he held that it would be an iniquity to reconquer these peoples and hand them over to the Egyptians without guarantees of future good government. "It is evident that we cannot secure them without an inordinate expenditure of men and money. The Soudan is a useless possession, ever was so, and ever will be so. Larger than France, Germany, and Spain together, and mostly barren, it cannot be governed except by a Dictator, who may be good or bad. If bad, he will cause constant revolts. No one who has ever lived in the Soudan can escape the reflection—'What a useless possession is this land!' Few men else can stand its monotony and deadly climate."

On the 12th of February he was at Berber, and there read to the authorities the Khedive's secret firman announcing the intention of abandoning the Soudan. This proclamation, as may be gathered from his journals, he subsequently considered to have been a mistake, and it is a fact that the whole of the notables present afterwards went over to the Mahdi. On the 18th of February he arrived safe and sound at Khartoum, and was received with unbounded enthusiasm by the inhabitants. His first proceeding was to issue a proclamation recognising the Mahdi as ruler of Kordofan, and sanctioning the holding of slaves. At this there was much indignation in England until Gordon explained the obvious difference between slave-holding, which had never been

illegal, and slave-hunting, which he had invariably suppressed. "The righteous indignation," he afterwards wrote in his journal, "is rather amusing (*a pact with the devil*, as I daresay some called it) when one thinks that the probability is that the whole country will be a nest of slave-hunters and banditti." Meanwhile he succeeded in shipping some 2,000 refugees down to Colonel Duncan at Korosko, consisting of sick and injured, of women and children.

An acute observer, the missionary, Father Ohrwalder, who had been taken captive by the Mahdi, considered that Gordon's position was hopeless from the first. In his book entitled, "Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp," edited by Major Wingate, he records the prophet's annoyance when he heard that Gordon had actually reached Khartoum. He believed, however, that Gordon was the representative of a British expedition sent to take possession of the country for England. The prophet laughed scornfully at Gordon's first message, to which we have alluded, offering him, provided the prisoners were released, the whole of the Western Soudan, of which he should be considered the sultan, with free powers to continue slavery and the transmission of prisoners to Mecca. He considered the Pasha a wily infidel who was merely attempting to delude him in order to gain time, and leisurely continued his preparations. The Father opined that had Gordon known the boundlessness of the fanaticism that inspired the Mahdi's followers, he would never have accepted the mission. To the missionary and to the Mahdi himself it appeared very strange, "as if a man were attempting to put out an enormous fire with a drop of water." The mere name of the general, he considered, could not suppress the revolt. The people of Khartoum rejoiced at his arrival simply because they understood that he would be followed by an English army. Had they not been certain that an expedition was coming, not a soul would have remained in Khartoum. The priest did not hesitate to give this remarkable opinion—that if the Egyptian Government had not sent the Pasha, the evacuation could have been carried out without difficulty. "Those who escaped massacre in Khartoum often told me that they were perfectly ready to leave, and it was only Gordon's arrival that kept them back; but Gordon's arrival without troops rather disappointed them. Had he been accompanied by 500 British bayonets, his reputation in the Soudan might have been maintained, and probably the Mahdi would never have left Kordofan." Father

Ohrwalder also thought, with Gordon, that a mistake was committed when the sheikhs at Berber were told that the Government had determined on the abandonment of the Soudan. In fact, he censured with considerable freedom all those concerned in the tragedy of errors.

During Gordon's romantic journey the situation around Suakin, where the fortress was closely threatened by the Mahdi's emissary, Osman Digna, had become extremely critical. During the best part of January Baker Pasha was condemned to inactivity by the non-arrival of reinforcements, and it was not until the end of the month that he started from Cairo at the head of a motley army of some 3,700 blacks, Bashi-Bazouks and constabulary, on the forlorn hope of relieving Sinkat and Tokar. His original instructions for the opening of the Berber route had been cancelled, and he was recommended to confine his efforts for that purpose to diplomacy. Fortunately he arrived in time to save Suakin, which throughout these weeks had been in imminent danger, and Osman Digna retired before him into the interior. Baker, after telegraphing that he had "every chance of success," went by sea to Trinkitat, threw up a fort, and on the 11th of February reached the wells of El Teb. There his cavalry, who were employed as skirmishers, were engaged by a large body of spearmen, and retired on the main body. Meanwhile Baker had attempted to form square, but two of the infantry battalions, panic-struck, refused to move. At last some sort of formation was obtained, into which the retreating cavalry crashed, closely followed by a dense mass of Arabs who had sprung on all sides from the bush. In a very few minutes all was over; the troops either fled or were slaughtered as they huddled among the baggage in terror-stricken masses; eleven European officers were killed as they gallantly endeavoured to rally their men, and Baker Pasha withdrew to Trinkitat, leaving four guns and two Gatlings in the hands of the Arabs, and over 2,000 men on the field. Suakin was held only by a small force of demoralised troops, supported by the British men-of-war under Admiral Hewett.

"Only black recruits left here," telegraphed the latter; "utterly unreliable; intend landing men to take charge of town and relieve panic." Next day Mr. Baker, the British Consul, telegraphed to Sir E. Baring: "The Egyptian troops are demoralised, and some refused duty last night. Night attack on town is very probable, and then a rising amongst population might very possibly be attempted. If action on the part of Her Majesty's

Government were announced it would have great moral effect on the troops and the population." Gordon, however, sent from Berber the reassuring words: "The force that defeated Baker will never leave their tribal limits, and will remain in the vicinity of the garrisons." But he added, "Tokar and Sinkat may be considered lost."

The peril of the town induced the British Government to act with vigour, and to attempt at any rate the relief of Tokar. Already Sinkat had fallen (February 8th), after standing a siege of some six months, the garrison being cut to pieces when, having spiked their guns, they attempted to fight their way to the coast. By February 27th a well-equipped British force of about 3,000 infantry, 750 cavalry, 120 men from the Naval Brigade, and 200 artillerymen and engineers, had assembled at Suakin, under the command of General Graham. Advancing by Baker's route upon El Teb on the 29th the expedition discovered the village to be held by an Arab force, 6,000 in number, and carefully entrenched. Graham determined to take them in the rear, and after shelling the buildings, advanced in hollow square. Then for the first time was it fully realised how formidable a foe was the Arab, despite his antiquated matchlock and clumsy two-handled sword. Osman Digna's myrmidons leapt from the bush, and charged again and again, though mown down by a hail of bullets before they could reach the British formation. The village had to be carried at the point of the bayonet, the Arabs leaving 900 men on the ground; and even when they were in full retreat they met the onset of the British cavalry without finching. Indeed, most of the British casualties occurred during the pursuit, owing to the broken nature of the ground and the inefficiency of the sabre. The British loss was 32 killed and 142 wounded; that of the enemy some 1,500. Tokar was reached only to find that besieged and besiegers had effected a compromise, and were holding the fort side by side. The unknottting of this grimly comic situation could hardly have been other than the massacre or captivity of the garrison, and they were gladly removed to Cairo.

Despite defeat, Osman Digna was entirely unsubdued, and proceeded to entrench himself and, according to a careful estimate, 12,000 men, at Tamai, about sixteen miles to the south of Suakin. After summoning the Emir to disperse, and receiving the defiant reply, "We will not leave you your heads unless you become Mussulmans and listen to the prophet and the law of God,"

Graham went to find him on the 12th of March; and on the 13th attacked in two squares, General Davis in command of the foremost (the 2nd Brigade), Sir Redvers Buller of the rearmost (the 1st Brigade). At one time a British defeat seemed imminent. The front face of General Davis's square, by a too rapid advance, became separated from the main body, and the Arabs, by one of their frenzied rushes, got within the formation. The whole detachment reeled backwards on the second square, and the machine guns were abandoned. Fortunately Buller's men had been easily holding their own against the enemy, and the steady firing of the dismounted cavalry made the Arabs flinch at the supreme moment. The squares closed up, the marines in particular recovering at once; there was a general advance; the machine guns were recaptured, and the hordes of Islam driven pell-mell into the valley whence they had made their superb onslaught. Their loss was estimated at about 2,000 men, while the brief ten minutes of indecision had cost the British the lives of seven officers and close upon a hundred men.

What use would the Government make of the victory? Military authorities, among them Lord Napier of Magdala, urged that an advance should be made to Berber, so as to keep open Gordon's communications up the Nile, and with Suakin, and both Sir Evelyn Baring and Sir Evelyn Wood sent a joint recommendation to that effect. It was urged that now or never was the time; the weather was cool, and the wells were fairly full. "I believe," wrote Sir Evelyn Baring, on March 24th, "that the success gained by General Graham in the neighbourhood of Suakin will result in the opening of the road to Berber, but I should not think that any action he can take at or near Suakin would exert much influence over the tribes between Berber and Khartoum. Unless any unforeseen circumstance should occur to change the situation, only two solutions appear to be possible. The first is to trust to General Gordon's being able to maintain himself at Khartoum till the autumn, when, by reason of the greater quantity of water, it would be less difficult to conduct operations on the Suakin-Berber road than at present. This he might, perhaps, be able to do, but it involves running a great risk. The only other plan is to send a portion of General Graham's army to Berber, with instructions to open up communication with Khartoum. There would be very great difficulty in getting to Berber, but if the road were once open it might be done by sending small detachments at

a time. General Gordon is evidently expecting help from Suakin, and he has ordered messengers to be sent along from Berber to ascertain whether any English force is advancing." But nothing was accomplished beyond a third march inland, having the village of Tamanieb as its goal; and finding that Osman Digna had retired to the hills, Government determined on withdrawing the expedition from Suakin, leaving a small force to act in concert with the Red Sea squadron. The result of this inactivity, so far as Berber was concerned, was in the highest degree deplorable. The fortress was promptly invested by the Shaggieh tribe under the command of the Emir El Heddai, and Captain Kitchener's attempt to organise a relieving force of "friendly" Arabs was deemed too hazardous to be prosecuted. After a somewhat half-hearted defence, Hussein Pasha, the Egyptian governor, finding that his piteous appeals for assistance were disregarded, surrendered on May 26th, and a terrible massacre followed, which lasted for two days. By the fall of Berber General Gordon, already closely besieged, was completely cut off from the outside world. Not only so, but the Mahdi's forces prepared to invade the flourishing province of Dongola, where the fidelity of the Mudir was grievously suspected by the authorities at Cairo. Fortunately that official, a Circassian, Mustafa Pasha Yawar by name, proved staunch in spite of plausible invitations from the Mahdi to "beware of turning astray after earthly gains and vain splendour, whose ignorant votaries are rejected and far from God"; and the garrison of Debbeh, by inflicting a defeat on El Heddai, relieved the province and Egypt proper from all serious danger.

Meanwhile General Gordon's situation at Khartoum had become critical in the extreme, and many, even among the habitual supporters of Government, were wroth because his suggestions for the improvement of affairs were one and all rejected. From the first his main difficulty was that it was impossible to relieve the garrison, and to secure the inhabitants (34,000 in number) from slaughter without establishing some form of administration capable of withstanding the Mahdi, and his remonstrances were strongly supported by Sir Evelyn Baring. "Two alternative courses may be adopted," wrote the latter on the 28th of February to Lord Granville: "one is to evacuate the Soudan entirely, and to make no attempt to establish any settled government there before leaving; the other to make every effort of which the present circumstances admit to set up some settled form of

government to replace the former Egyptian Administration. General Gordon is evidently in favour of the latter of these courses. I entirely agree with him. The attempt, it is true, may not be successful, but I am strongly of opinion that it should be

He demanded, therefore, five British officers to help him (1) in getting the Egyptian employés down to Egypt, (2) in reinstating the native Soudanese officials, (3) in forming a native league against the Hadendawas near Suakin, (4) in relieving Senaar



GENERAL GORDON.

(From a Photograph by Adams and Scanlan, Southampton.)

made. From every point of view, whether political, military, or financial, it will be a most serious matter if complete anarchy is allowed to reign south of Wady Halfa. And this anarchy will inevitably ensue on General Gordon's departure, unless some measures are adopted beforehand to prevent it." Gordon's first idea, as we have said, seems to have been to reinstate the old Soudanese families that were in power before the Egyptian occupation.

and the triangle between the Blue and White Niles, (5) in sending up expeditions of four steamers to bring down the families of the troops of the Equatorial Province and the Bahr-el-Ghazal, (6) in arranging at Dongola for the exodus of those who remained in Darfur if they still existed. "If your Excellency," he added, "feels any difficulty about these officers, or thinks that it would lead to trouble, never mind sending them, for I humbly

believe we will manage without them, only it may take a longer time than if they were sent; and I may mention that to me it is of far greater import not to raise an outcry in England than to have these officers."

Very soon, however, he discovered that, owing to the length of time that had elapsed, the Soudanese dignitaries were non-existent. Then he recurred to Zebehr, and peremptorily demanded that he should be sent to Khartoum. "He alone," wrote Gordon, "has the ability to rule the Soudan, and would be universally accepted by the Soudan. He should be made a K.C.M.G. and given presents. His exile at Cairo for ten years, amidst all the late events, and his mixing with Europeans, must have had great effect on his character. Zebehr's nomination, under the moral countenance of Her Majesty's Government, would bring all merchants, European and others, back to the Soudan in a short time."

The British Government refused because, as Mr. Gladstone explained in the House of Commons, they thought that Gordon overrated the danger of Egypt and underrated that of having Zebehr at Khartoum; and later, when the wily miscreant seemed likely to make his way up the Nile, the Egyptian authorities were instructed to detain him. The proposal, which was supported by Sir Evelyn Baring, was undoubtedly extreme; nevertheless Zebehr, a man of ancient race, with great powers of command, was certainly the natural governor of the turbulent Soudanese, by whom, if hardly loved, he was held in salutary fear. But let Gordon speak for himself. "I suspect," he wrote in his journal, "that my asking for Zebehr to come up was the last drop in the cup, and henceforth I was a complete pariah; yet, in reality, if the Soudan was to be abandoned, what difference could it possibly make if Zebehr or the Mahdi was to carry on slave-hunting, for according to all accounts, the Mahdi is the most active in this direction. We had decided to abandon the Soudan and leave it to its own devices. The only obstacle to this were those *horrid* garrisons; once we might get them out, then chaos might reign, for all we cared. The Arabs, foolishly, would not let us return, hence our present position. Zebehr's coming up when I asked for him would, I think, have saved Berber, and partly facilitated the getting down of *those* garrisons, which we only cared for because it was *palpable* dishonour to abandon them; they ought to have surrendered at once, troublesome people that they are, giving so much bother!"

Gordon, bitterly annoyed by Government, insisted that evacuation was impossible, unless "the Mahdi was smashed up," and sheikh after sheikh when the lordship of Khartoum was refused them, went over to the Mahdi. "*Re* policy," he telegraphed on March 1st. "I maintain firmly policy of eventual evacuation; but I tell you plainly that it is impossible to get the Cairo employés out of Khartoum, unless the Government helps in the way I told you. They refuse Zebehr, and are quite right (may be) to do so, but, it was the only chance. It is scarcely worth while saying anything more on the subject. I will do my best to carry out my instructions, but I feel conviction I shall be caught in Khartoum."

The town had been nominally besieged ever since July, 1883. Fortunately, the Mahdi remained for months in Kordofan, and before Gordon's arrival Colonel de Coetlogon had materially strengthened the weak defences of the place by driving a deep ditch and parapet, 1,530 yards long, across the level space left dry by the subsidence of the river. These works Gordon strengthened by devices of extraordinary ingenuity, hidden mines, wire nettings and broken glass. But his troops, with the exception of the blacks, were cowardly and dispirited, and their leaders treacherous. At his first engagement, on March 16th, they ran like hares, and two of the Pashas, convicted of charging into their own men, were duly hanged for treachery. A week later the Bashi-Bazouks refused to obey orders and were disarmed. "I certainly," wrote Gordon in his journal, "lay claim to having commanded, more often than any other man, cowardly troops, but 'this experience of 1884 beats past experiences, and the worst of the matter is that you cannot believe one word the officers say;' and he goes on to tell of instances of commanders deserting their posts and stealing the food of the men. Already the Mahdi had summoned the town in due form by means of a long letter to Gordon Pasha, "the dear one of Britain and of the Khedive," and Gordon had sternly declined to have further communication with him, or to wear the articles of clothing considerably sent in case he "truly desired to come to God and sought to live a godly life." Meanwhile Colonel Stewart, the admiral and chief constructor of the navy, as he described himself, had made Baker's old steamers and some barges bullet-proof by means of boiler-plates and planking. By similar devices he converted some barges into gun-boats, and with these he cruised up and down the Nile, bombarding the Arab camps. The besieged could

hold their own, but already the investing host had constructed a fort on the south front of the lines, and were firing Krupp guns at the town.

"According to steamer reports," ran one of Gordon's telegrams dated March 31st, "the banks of the river are full of rebels. Not one shot has been fired on the banks for three days. The rebels have captured a post from Berber, so that I have no communication from you since 10th of March. The rebels lost by shells yesterday 16 horses and 40 men killed and 8 wounded. It is to be noticed that the rebels have not put any of their prisoners to death. The town is all right, and has become accustomed to firing, a good deal of which goes on in front of the palace. I wish I could convey to you my impressions of the truly trumpery nature of this revolt, which 500 determined men could put down. I break my heart over our impotency, and the more so when I feel that, once the Soudan taken, you may expect such a crop of trouble in all Western states. Be assured for the present, and for the next two months, we are as safe here as at Cairo. If you could get by good payment 3,000 Turkish infantry and 1,000 Turkish cavalry, the affair, including the crushing of the Mahdi, would be accomplished in four months. A spy says to-night that no regular post has been taken.

. . . . The awfully bad practice we made with those lovely Krupp guns would thoroughly depress you as an artillery officer. We see masses of the enemy, yet fail to do much. The Krupp shell are splendid. The rebels fired on the palace at midnight."

And what was to be the end? Gordon asked that he might receive moral support from a detachment of 200 British troops at Wady Halfa, or even two squadrons of cavalry at Berber. These requests were refused, in spite of the urgent demands from both sides of the House that he should have "a free hand"; and when, after General Graham's victories, Government declined to send the desired troops to Berber, Gordon was told (March 25th) that he might remain at Khartoum, or retire by whatever route available. In reply, the Pasha commented upon the "indelible disgrace" which would fall upon the British Government if the garrisons of Senaar, Kassala, Berber, and Dongola were left to their fate. Indeed from the very first Gordon had clearly shown that he regarded himself as pledged in honour to remain at Khartoum, however limited the scope of his original instructions. "It would be the climax of meanness," he wrote to Sir Evelyn Baring, "after I had borrowed money from the people

here, had called upon them to sell their grain at a low price, etc., to go and abandon them, whether those efforts are diplomatically correct or not; and I feel sure, whatever you feel diplomatically, I have your support—and that of every man professing himself a gentleman—in private." And again: "I have named men to different places, thus involved them with the Mahdi; how could I look the world in the face if I abandoned them and fled? As a gentleman, could you advise this course? It may have been a mistake to send me up, but having been done, I have no option but to see evacuation through; for even if I were mean enough to escape, I have no power to do so."

One of Gordon's last despatches was a passionate appeal from Government "to the millionaires of England and America" for sufficient money (£200,000) to raise a force of 2,000 or 3,000 Turks for the settlement of affairs at Khartoum and the overthrow of the Mahdi. Lord Granville, in reply, declined to apply a Turkish or any other force for the undertaking of military expeditions, and reminded Gordon of the pacific nature of his enterprise. Then Khartoum was Sundered from civilisation by the investing hordes of Arabs, and still no acknowledgment was made by Government that its defenders were in a serious predicament. True, Mr. Gladstone, on the 12th of May, declared that Ministers had entered into a covenant with Gordon that on reasonable proof of danger he would be assisted.

Khartoum being silent, public attention was turned to Lower Egypt, where Nubar Pasha seemed firmly established in office, though at perpetual loggerheads with British officialism as represented by Mr. Clifford Lloyd. That strenuous Irishman was eventually dismissed, and, on his return to England, published in the *Times*, on the authority of the Director-General, Dr. Crookshank, a grim account of the Egyptian prisons, which, said he, were used for purposes of extortion and private vengeance, and were hotbeds of injustice and cruelty. In other respects, however, satisfactory progress was made, particularly in irrigation, under the auspices of Colonel Scott Moncrieff; while drilling and discipline were gradually evolving an army from the levies of fellaheen.

On June 28th Sir Evelyn Baring transmitted an important memorandum on the affairs of the Nile valley to Lord Granville. He denied entirely the statement that British intervention had been entirely barren of result, so far as the welfare and progress of the Egyptian people were concerned. Among the reforms he reckoned

by "far the most important" the partial if not the entire suppression of the *courbash* in the collection of the revenue and the extortion of evidence. And he told a remarkable story of a fellah, accused of murder, who dared a *mudir* to flog him. The new native tribunals were working fairly well, and were an improvement upon any judicial system that had previously existed in Egypt, despite the difficulty in obtaining suitable agents. Even the prison system would soon be made more consistent with the advance of Western civilisation. Sanitary innovations were also making progress under the English Director-General, Dr. Sandwith, who had done all that was possible considering the very limited funds at his disposal. Sir Evelyn admitted that mistakes might have been committed; nor were they surprising, considering the difficulties presented by the obstruction of the governing classes to the contrivances of an alien race, the recrudescence of religious fanaticism owing to recent events in the Soudan, and international jealousies and petty intrigues. "The abuses of the Egyptian Government," he continued, "are of long standing, and cannot be eradicated in a few months, or even years. Many of them, indeed, cannot be wholly eradicated until, by the slow process of education, some impression has been made on the habits of thought of the population. But if we are contented with such slow progress as can alone, in my humble opinion, produce really beneficial results, and if we bear constantly in mind the fact that we must reform such customs as exist in the East rather than endeavour to supplant them suddenly by the importation of Western practices and habits of thought, I see no reason to take a gloomy view of the future of internal reform."

Still, finance remained the stumbling-block, and in order to clear the ground the British Government ordered a report to be drawn up, stating the results of the administration subsequent to the Commission of Liquidation in 1880 and the actual state of affairs. This report, which showed a deficit of £376,000 (Egyptian) of revenue over expenditure, was sent on the 22nd of April to the Powers, and a circular despatch issued which invited them to a Conference in London, for the purpose of discussing the financial condition of Egypt. Thereupon the French Ministry announced that it no longer objected to the abolition of the Dual Control, but the critics of Government insisted that the way was now open to a Multiple Control, the effects of which would be more disastrous than its predecessor.

Everywhere the new departure, which was said to include the stipulation that Britain should shortly evacuate the Nile valley, was severely criticised, and the delay in explaining the Government programme was regarded as ominous. As a matter of fact, the chief delay was caused by the necessity of an exchange of views between Lord Granville and M. Waddington, who arrived without much difficulty at the arrangements: (1) that the British troops should definitely quit the country in 1888, provided that the Powers were agreed that the withdrawal could then take place without risk to peace and order; (2) that the Commission of the Caisse of the Public Debt, consisting of four members, of whom the president was to be an Englishman, should be consulted when the annual Budgets, beginning with that of 1886, were framed, and should be empowered to veto any expenditure calculated to produce an excess; (3) the British Government undertook to prepare a plan for the neutralisation of Egypt, to take effect on the withdrawal of the army of occupation. These provisions were characterised by Lord Salisbury as ambiguous, and the good sense of his comments appeared when M. Ferry, in a speech to the Chamber, interpreted the promise of withdrawal as absolute, and not liable to the objections of a single Power, declared, in contradiction to Mr. Gladstone, that the Commission of the Caisse would exercise most of the powers of the old Multiple Control, and maintained that the British Government was definitely committed to the neutralisation of Egypt and the consequent freedom of the Suez Canal—an interpretation promptly repudiated by the Prime Minister.

In this grave divergence of view the Opposition, as already stated, found occasion for its third vote of censure, and it was the main cause of the failure of the Conference which assembled on the 28th of June under the presidency of Earl Granville. Each of the Powers was represented by its Ambassador, and in addition Mr. Childers attended for Great Britain and M. de Blignières for France. After six fruitless sittings the body broke up on the 31st of July, and as it had little effect upon the course of history, it is enough to say here that, in spite of the vigorous support of Italy and some occasional assistance from Austria, Lord Granville had to fight a losing battle against the representatives of France, Germany and Russia. The crux upon which the negotiation collapsed, in spite of M. Waddington's specious attempt to keep the sore open by procuring an adjournment to October, was the method of raising the proposed

loan. Britain suggested the raising of £8,000,000 to be accounted a pre-preference debt, and to be a first charge on the revenues of Egypt; the second charge was to be the dividend of the other debts *minus* a deduction of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; the third the administrative expenses of the Egyptian Government,

plus, which they gaily estimated at from £300,000 to £400,000 a year, at the disposal of the Egyptian Government. Mr. Childers, less optimistic, calculated that the French arrangements would result in a deficit of some £400,000 per annum, in which case MM. Waddington and de Blignières proposed



THE FIGHT AT KALAKALA. (See p. 46.)

amounting to some five and a quarter millions; and the fourth the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. To these suggestions the French decidedly refused to agree, urging the elasticity of the Egyptian revenue and the interests of the bondholders. They were averse from any diminution of the dividends payable under the law of liquidation, and advocated the making the interest of the Unified Debt the second charge, the expenses of administration the third, and the placing of the remaining sur-

that the Powers should be consulted as to how it was to be met—the old Multiple Control with a vengeance. Lord Granville peremptorily declined to accept the condition, and the representatives dispersed, after M. Waddington had hastily produced a fresh set of amendments at the last moment, with the palpable object of embarrassing the British Government.

In his most sarcastic tones Lord Salisbury congratulated Ministers on the failure of the

Conference; they had taken alarm not quite too late, but very late indeed. Government availed themselves of their new liberty of action by despatching Lord Northbrook to Egypt as High Commissioner, with powers to inquire and report on its finances and general condition. He arrived at Cairo in August, and promptly took the bold step of suspending the sinking fund for the purpose of meeting pressing necessities. Against this measure the representatives of Germany, Austria, France and Russia protested in an identical note, and the Commissioners of the Public Debt commenced an action against the Egyptian Government in the International Courts, which they won, and the Government appealed. Meanwhile the funding was resumed after an interval of six weeks, and Lord Northbrook, having collected material for his report, returned to England. Owing, possibly, to the avowed hostility of the Powers, the document was not published until the following year, and rumours were freely circulated that the High Commissioner's recommendations were unpalatable to the majority of the Cabinet.

Meanwhile the tragedy of Khartoum was moving slowly to its conclusion. From time to time an emissary of Gordon's penetrated the hostile lines; but he was not a man to dwell upon his perils, and it was not until the letters of the *Times* correspondent, Mr. Power, appeared in that paper on September 29th that the full significance of his position was realised. In any case it was clear that he could not, as well as would not, withdraw except alone, and that step he considered an act of treachery and desertion. On the 30th of July he wrote to Sir Evelyn Baring: "Reading over your telegram of the 5th of May, 1884, you ask me to 'State cause and intention in staying at Khartoum, knowing Government means to abandon the Soudan'; and in answer I say, I stay at Khartoum because the Arabs have shut us in and will not let us out. I also add that even if the road were opened the people would not let me go, unless I gave them some government or took them with me, which I could not. No one would leave more willingly than I if it were possible"—a statement to be compared with one earlier in the letter: "I shall not leave these people after all they have gone through. If the Europeans like to go to the Equator, I will give them steamers; but I will not leave these people after all that they have gone through."

Again, in an undated telegram received on September 18th, he wrote: "I hope you will send a

telegram showing clearly present intentions with regard to the Soudan, and let it be in Arabic, so that the people of Khartoum may read it. The telegrams which came in Egyptian cypher do not state what these instructions are, and only ask for information and waste time. Thus, through having so often promised the people of Khartoum that assistance would come, we are now as liars in their eyes. . . . Here I am in Khartoum as a hostage and guardian. I hope so long as I remain here, when Turkish troops come, that the people of the Soudan will be unable to resist them, and will not fire a single shot, and that peace and quietness will return. It is impossible to leave Khartoum without a regular Government established by some Power. I will look after the troops on the Equator, Bahr-el-Ghazal, and in Darfur, though it cost me my life."

The fall of Berber added to his difficulties, since thereby was lost the money intended for the payment of the troops. However, his paper-money, to the amount of £2,600, was taken up by the merchants, and rough medals of silver and copper, to commemorate the siege, were proudly worn by the soldiers. He was still able to keep up communications with Senaar by steamer, though the siege was closely pressed, and hardly a day passed, as April drew to a close, without constant engagements with the rebels. "One Arab horseman," wrote Mr. Power, "is enough to put 200 of the bulk of our men to flight," and as the inhabitants would never allow Gordon out of their sight, he was obliged to leave the defence at the outposts to his officers. "To show you," wrote Gordon, "that the Arabs fire well, two of our steamers, which are blinded, received 970 and 860 hits in their hulls respectively." Early in May, on the 2nd or 3rd, he won a great though temporary advantage over the Mahdi. A large force under the Emir Abu Girgeh had been dispatched from El Obeid to make an assault on Khartoum, and this was caught by Gordon while crossing the White Nile at Kalakala and utterly defeated. "Abu Girgeh," wrote Gordon to the Mahdi, "whom you sent to take Khartoum, is dead. Send another general." As a matter of fact the Emir was not dead; nevertheless the blow was effective for the time, and when in July the Nile began to rise rapidly and push back the encircling hordes, the military situation was materially improved. But provisions were falling short, owing to the number of destitute poor that had to be fed. Mr. Power wrote on July 30th: "We have been now five months closely besieged, and can at best hold out but two months longer.

. . . Everything has gone up about 3,000 per cent. in price, and meat is, when you can get it, 8s. or 9s. an oke. The classes who cannot accept relief suffer most. Since the dispatch which arrived the day before yesterday, all hope of relief by our Government is at an end, so when our provisions . . . are eaten we must fall; nor is there any chance, with the soldiers we have, and the great crowd of women, children, etc., of our being able to cut our way through the Arabs. We have not steamers for all, and it is only from the steamers that we can meet the rebels."

By this time nearly every newspaper and every prominent politician demanded a relief expedition, and military experts were pressing on Government the urgency of the question. On the 24th of July, a letter of Lord Wolseley's to Sir Henry Gordon was submitted to Government, in which occurred the passage: "I think that no time should be lost in pushing up a small brigade of between three and four thousand British soldiers to Dongola. I believe that such a force would probably settle the whole business; but you must remember that time presses. I believe that such a force could be sent from England about the 15th of October, if the Government be in earnest and act at once. Remember we can command many things, but all the gold of England will not affect the rise and fall of the Nile or the duration of the hot and cold seasons in Egypt. Time is a most important element in this question, and it will, indeed, be 'an indelible disgrace' if we allow the most generous, patriotic, and gallant of our public servants to die of want, or fall into the hands of a cruel enemy, because we would not hold out our hands to save him." Time was, indeed, an important question; nevertheless, the Cabinet discussed the alternative routes *via* the Nile and by way of Suakin, and even on the 5th of August Mr. Gladstone, in asking for a vote of credit fixed at £300,000, was careful to explain that it was required in case an expedition for the relief of General Gordon should become necessary. A few days afterwards the die was cast and active preparations began, not, however, without being now and again countermanded. Before the end of August Lord Wolseley and his staff had started for Cairo to superintend the muster of troops in Assouan and their despatch up the Nile in boats. The public followed the progress of events with

eager interest, the excitement being increased by the complete uncertainty, until the publication of Mr. Power's letters, as to the fate of Khartoum. At one time the Pasha was reported to have driven off the Arabs and to be about to relieve Berber; at another the story ran that the town had fallen. For instance, Mr. Egerton forwarded a rumour on July 21st that "the Arabs are much afraid of Gordon, who has defeated four tribes between Khartoum and Berber—namely, Shendy, Mahobeh, Girbosh, and another. Berber in great danger. People gone to Bir Mahobeh from fear of Gordon." Again, a messenger, who got through with a letter of Gordon's to the Mudir of Dongola, reported (August 6th) that the Pasha, Stewart, and Power were all well, that provisions were cheap in Khartoum, and that the besiegers had retired from their first positions, though they still kept up the siege. He described Gordon's operations with his armed steamers, and how he had effected a descent on one of the enemy's camps, driven off the holders of the position, and seized all their corn.

The leading events during the autumn months, so far as the students of the newspapers were concerned, were that on October 30th Lord Wolseley was instructed, in view of the dearth of provisions at Khartoum, to advance with all possible speed; that on the 14th of November he was at Dongola, that by the end of the month the greater part of the expedition was south of Assouan and moving up the Nile. On the 13th of November Lord Hartington, in asking for a supplementary estimate of £1,000,000 for the Nile expedition, explained the object of Lord Wolseley's instructions, which, on their publication, had been censured as too vague. He pointed out that the objects of Lord Wolseley's mission were twofold—to relieve General Gordon and to establish a settled form of government at Khartoum, and that the two were intimately connected. Hence the expedition was confined to these two objects, and no action was to be taken with regard to Darfur, Bahr-el-Ghazal, the Equatorial provinces, or even the relief of Senaar and Kassala. With an ominous expression of hope from Colonel Stanley that the expedition would not be too late, and a protest from Sir Wilfrid Lawson and other members of the Radical party against its despatch in any circumstances, the subject ceased to be discussed by Parliament.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Wolseley to the Front—The Nile Route adopted—Arrival at Dongola—Gordon's ominous Letter—Advance of Stewart and Earle—Gordon's last Message—The Gakdul Wells occupied—Battle of Abu Klea—The Zereba by the Nile—Battle of Metammeh and Death of Sir H. Stewart—Gordon's Steamers arrive—The Rush to the Rescue—Gordon's Fate ascertained—The return Journey—Lord Charles Beresford's Valour—Events at Khartoum—Battle of El Fun—Departure of the *Abbas*—Deaths of Colonel Stewart and Power—The Steamers sent down—Bordeini Bey's Journal—Arrival of the Mahdi—Fall of Omdurman—Famine in Khartoum—Bordeini Bey's last Interview with Gordon—The Arabs enter Khartoum—Farag Pasha's Conduct—Gordon's last Hours—The Massacre—Father Ohrwalder's Account—Khartoum and Sebastopol compared—The Mahdi to be "smashed"—Buller retires to Korti—The Nile Column—The Arabs defeated and Death of Earle—Brackenbury withdraws to Medawi—Graham's Advance from Suakin—The first Engagement—McNeill's Zereba—Berber within reach—Withdrawal from the Soudan announced—Dongola evacuated—Lord Wolseley's Despatch—The Khalifa succeeds the Mahdi—Battle of Ginnis—The Welter of the Soudan.

WITH the departure of Lord Wolseley from Cairo on September 29th the Soudan campaign may be considered to have begun. Already the important point had been decided whether the Nile route or that *via* Suakin and Berber should be selected. Government, with the full approval of Lord Wolseley, chose the former in face of the opposition of such well-informed authorities as the Egyptian Government, Sir Samuel Baker, and many of the officers in command in Egypt. In point of distance, of course, the two would not bear comparison, and it was also true that Government had expended money uselessly on the construction of a railway from Suakin to Berber; but the enormous cost of land transport was a strong deterrent, combined with the fact that the fall of Berber had materially modified the advantages of the former route. The forces massed around that town would have seriously menaced a British force debouching on the Nile after a long desert march. Added to which, the Hadendowas and other Mahdist tribes would have threatened the line of communications, 240 miles in length, would have impeded the advance, and held the wells, the last of which was no less than 58 miles from the river.

Lord Wolseley was not long in mapping out his plan of operations. Fourteen thousand men were collected in Egypt, of whom half were to form the expedition, and half to remain behind. There were to be no cavalry or horse artillery, only light guns. The first stage of the journey from Alexandria to Sarras (860 miles) was to be accomplished by rail and steamer; thence a flotilla of 800 boats, 32 feet long by 7 feet wide, were to convey the expedition a portion of the 800 miles which separated Sarras from Khartoum. For the purpose of coping with the rapids Canadian boatmen and Kroomen from

West Africa were hired, and in addition a camel-corps, 1,100 strong, was organised for a sudden rush across the desert. The first part of the journey was accomplished without much mishap, though the railway proved somewhat unequal to its new duties, and there were grave complaints that the transport arrangements were none of the best. By October 10th the advance guard was on its way to Dongola, while the remainder of the expedition, with all the boats, was slowly accumulating at Wady Halfa. But the delay at the cataracts proved greater than had been anticipated; there was a good deal of sickness from the use of Nile water; and though the main body made all possible speed, it did not arrive at Dongola until the 14th of November, just a month later than the time fixed by Lord Wolseley in his letter to Sir Henry Gordon. Already he had heard of the death of Colonel Stewart, Gordon's second in command, and he was now put in possession of Gordon's letter of the 4th. It was ominous enough. "We can hold out forty days with ease; after that it will be difficult. . . . The Mahdi is here, about eight miles away; they are on south and south-west and east of town some way off; they are quiet. . . . I should take the road from Ambukol to Metammeh, where my steamers wait for you." Lord Wolseley, therefore, decided on sending forward a picked force, not to relieve Khartoum, but to give Gordon moral support until the arrival of the main body in the middle of March. But it was not until the first week in December that the whole corps was concentrated at Dongola, when Lord Wolseley offered a reward of £100 to the battalion which should make the quickest time, with the fewest accidents, in reaching Debbeh. In spite of the valuable assistance afforded by the much-maligned Mudir, who received

the K.C.M.G. at the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, the last week of the month had arrived before a sufficient number of camels had been collected and a camp formed at Korti, which was to be the base of operations. On the 30th of December Sir Herbert Stewart left with the camel

evidently written to deceive the enemy, for the verbal message accompanying it was—"The enemy cannot take us except by starving us out. . . . Our troops suffer from want of provisions; the food we still have is little—some grain and biscuit. We want you to come quickly. You should come



SIR HERBERT STEWART.

(From a Photograph by Chancellor and Son, Dublin.)

corps (1,100 men and 1,800 beasts) to occupy the Gakdul wells, and on January 3rd, 1885, General Earle departed to join the advanced guard of his force, thenceforth known as the River Column, whose objective was Berber. Four days earlier, Gordon's last message, written on a piece of paper the size of a postage-stamp, had been received—"Khartoum all right. Could hold out for years.—C. G. Gordon. 29.12.84." But it was

by Metammeh or Berber. Make by these two roads. Do not leave Berber in your rear. Keep the enemy in front, and when you have taken Berber, send me word from thence. Do this without letting rumours of your approach spread abroad. In Khartoum there are no butter nor dates, and little meat. All food is very dear."

Sir Herbert Stewart occupied the Gakdul wells without mishap, and then he returned to pick up

the remainder of his force, in all about 120 officers and 1,900 men, with some 300 natives. On the 8th of January he began his heroic march across the desert. His instructions were to attack and occupy Metammeh, to come back to Gakdul, whence he was to forward stores to Metammeh. The occupation of Gakdul was a complete surprise to the Arabs; but the insufficiency of camels, and the double journeys caused thereby, enabled them to collect a large force from Berber and Omdurman and to prepare for a stand at Abu Klea. "Another thousand camels," afterwards wrote Sir Charles Wilson, the historian of the campaign, "would have done the business; and had Stewart gone straight across, as at one time intended, he would have met with no opposition in the desert, and probably not much at Metammeh." The marches were made by night, and on the 16th the column was in touch of the enemy, some 11,000 in number, who were discovered to be in force before the wells of Abu Klea. Stewart formed a zereba, or entrenched camp, and the night was spent with bullets whistling overhead and tom-toms sounding in the valley below. Next morning, as the enemy did not attack, but kept up a harassing fire, the force advanced in hollow square, with the Guards and Mounted Infantry in front, the Heavies, Naval Brigade, and Sussex Regiment in the rear; in the centre were the camels and guns. When the skirmishers were within 200 yards of the enemy's flags, the Arabs rose from the ravine in which they were hidden, and advanced in a phalanx-shaped formation, with an emir at the head of each of the three horns. The British skirmishers hardly escaped with their lives. Thus the Arabs came on for 400 yards over bare ground, in face of the Martini-Henrys, and when within 80 yards, made a rush and enveloped the rear of the square. What happened exactly it is difficult to say, but cartridges jammed and rendered rifles useless; the Gardner, too, jammed after nine rounds, and the Arabs rushed in at the gap after the gallant Burnaby had lost his life in a vain attempt to open out the men. The square was broken, and for five minutes the Arabs did frightful carnage. They were stopped by the camels; and the rear face re-formed and poured a heavy fire upon the mass of the enemy, which broke and retired, fortunately without attempting a second charge, as the British were out of hand from excitement. The wells were occupied without further opposition, but on counting up the tale of dead it was found that no less than nine officers and sixty-five non-commissioned

officers and men had been killed and eighty wounded. Lord Wolseley, in his despatch to Lord Hartington, acknowledged that the loss was very severe; he hoped, however, that it might dishearten the enemy, so that future fighting would be of a less obstinate character.

The battle was decisive, though Sir Herbert Stewart was so struck by the loss that his first impulse was to halt for reinforcements. A long and weary night march brought the column close to the Nile, and at daybreak the enemy opened a heavy fire, against which a zereba was formed of camel saddles and commissariat boxes. About 10.15 a.m. Sir Herbert Stewart was wounded, as he said from the first, mortally; and Sir Charles Wilson took command. Later there fell Cameron, special correspondent of the *Standard*, and St. Leger Herbert of the *Morning Post*, and about seventy men were wounded. Sir Charles determined to push for the river, and having fortified the zereba with two fairly strong redoubts, in which were placed a garrison and the guns, advanced, as before, in hollow square. The enemy's fire was well directed, and, as at Abu Klea, the Arabs, some 800 in number, suddenly charged down upon the British formation in triple phalanx. They were, however, received with a withering fire at 300 yards, and not a warrior got within 30 yards of the square. Meanwhile the guns from the zereba were doing great execution upon the masses of the enemy who were clustered on the hills. No further resistance was made, and the Nile was gained half an hour after dark; but the force was weakened by one-tenth of its effective strength, and utterly jaded by four days' and nights' ceaseless exertion. A reconnaissance towards Metammeh resulted in a decision not to attack, and while the operation was being carried out, four of Gordon's steamers were descried coming down the river and anchoring off Gubat. The crews were received with intense enthusiasm by the British soldiers; but among Gordon's letters was one to Major Watson, dated the 14th of December, in which occurred the sentences: "I think the game is up, and send Mrs. Watson, yourself, and Graham my adieux. We may expect a catastrophe in the town in or after ten days. This would not have happened (if it does happen) if our people had taken better precautions as to informing me of their movements; but this is spilt milk."

Sir Charles Wilson at once determined to use the steamers for communicating with Khartoum; and then comes the question, Why did he not start at once? His explanation was that

"there was nothing to show that the crisis at Khartoum, which had been deferred from the 25th of December to the 19th of January, would be hurried on, or that a delay of a couple of days would make much difference." Besides, as commander of the expedition, he felt himself bound not to leave a small force, burdened with over 100 wounded, without ascertaining if it was likely to be attacked. Accordingly, two days were spent in reconnoitring the river as far as Shendy, in removing the Egyptian crew, which Gordon had insisted should not return to Khartoum, and in overhauling the steamers, so as to prepare them for resistance to the heavy fire they would have to encounter. Those two days resulted in the expedition arriving too late to save Khartoum: but the delay was probably inevitable, though the defence advanced on behalf of Sir Charles Wilson by Sir Henry Gordon—namely, that the Mahdi could have and would have taken Khartoum at any moment—is somewhat contradicted by the statement of his Emir, the fiki (religious teacher) Medawi, who distinctly stated that the Mahdi was much alarmed by the victory of Abu Klea, and had the British advanced at once would have made a journey southwards. On the other hand, it is just to point out that so small a force as that commanded by Sir Charles Wilson could have offered little material assistance, and there is a strong probability that they would have run the gauntlet only to share Gordon's fate. Khartoum, it cannot be repeated too often, fell from sheer starvation.

At 8 a.m. of the 24th Sir Charles Wilson started in two of the steamers with Captains Gascoigne and Trafford, Lieutenant Stuart-Wortley, 20 men of the Sussex regiment, some Soudanese boatmen, commanded by Khashm el Mus, a chief of the Shagiyeh tribe, and a body of Bashi-Bazouks. The voyage was eventful enough; the adventurers were exposed to a constant fire, and the *Bordein* ran aground twice. On January 28th, at 11 a.m., the first view was obtained of Khartoum, but at this point a native called from the bank that the city had fallen and General Gordon was killed. A terrific fire from Tati island, the absence of the Egyptian flag from the palace, the absence, also, of Gordon's two remaining steamers, soon convinced Sir Charles Wilson of the truth of the assertion. As it was hopeless to attempt a landing, the steamers put about, and made their way down stream under a hail of bullets and shell from both banks. On the return journey the party was exposed

to numerous perils. The *Telahawieh* struck on a rock and sank, and on the 31st the *Bordein* followed her example, though rather from the clumsiness of the Soudanese than from their treachery, as was at first suspected. With some reluctance on the part of the British officers, Khashm el Mus was allowed to gain time by frequent negotiations with an envoy of the Mahdi's, who brought a letter announcing the fall of Khartoum, and offering safe-conduct to an envoy sent to discover the truth. Sir Charles Wilson established himself on an island in mid-stream, while Lieutenant Stuart-Wortley communicated in a row-boat with Gubat. There they remained in the greatest peril for two days; but the desertions were signally few. A steamer was promptly despatched under Lord Charles Beresford, who, in the most gallant manner, fought his way up stream, repaired his boiler—which had been burst by a shell—under heavy fire, and rescued the small band of brave Englishmen from their precarious position. During his action against the Arab battery 5,400 rounds were fired from the Gardner and 2,150 from Martini-Henrys.

The story of Gordon's last days is pretty clear up to a certain point; beyond that it is obscure. If we take up the narrative at the end of July, when Mr. Power's letters were written, we find that Gordon's position was fairly secure during the month of August. At the end of the month Mohammed Ali Pasha, his "fighting Pasha," won two brilliant victories over the Mahdists and cleared the whole triangle south of Khartoum. They proved, however, the forerunners of a crushing disaster, for the Pasha, advancing carelessly after a victory at El Fun, a town on the east bank of the Blue Nile some twenty miles south of Khartoum, was surrounded on the 5th of September by the hostile Arabs, under the Sheikh el Obeid, and he and his men were cut to pieces. The situation of Khartoum had become desperate, wrote Gordon, and he therefore despatched Colonel Stewart, Mr. Power, and M. Herbin, the French Consul, in the steamer *Abbas*, to carry down the fullest details of the past, and explain the exact steps that should be taken. They passed Berber in safety, but on the 18th of September, eight days after leaving Khartoum, the steamer ran on a rock and sank. Colonel Stewart and his companions reached shore, but were invited into a house, in a village termed Hebbeh, and there foully murdered. Gordon received the news with characteristic fatalism. At first he declined to believe it, and telegraphed to

his officer in command at Omdurman: "Whether he [the Mahdi] has captured twenty thousand steamers like the *Abbas*, or twenty thousand officers like Stewart Pasha, it is all the same to me. I am here like iron, and hope to see the newly-arrived English; and if Mahomed Achmed says that the English die, it is all the same to me." Even when the truth was brought home to him by a message from Major Kitchener, he hardly wasted a syllable of regret. It was a terrible blow, but his main concern was the loss of Stewart's journal, and the doubt if he was justified in sending him. The result of the court-martial upon himself was that he was to blame if the *Abbas* was overpowered, not if she was captured by treachery or had struck on a rock. Meanwhile he was recording the chronicle of the siege in that wonderful journal which reached the relief expedition at Gubat. For from that and other sources we learn that the Ulemas, or learned men, of Khartoum had little difficulty in proving the Mahdi a heretic, though they concurred with Gordon's indignant rejection of certain treacherous proposals made by the apostate Europeans in the besieging camp. "It is better," he wrote, "to fail with clean hands than to be mixed up with dubious acts and dubious men." On the other hand, he would have nothing to do with the suggestions of the Mahdi's Emirs, Abd-el-Kader Ibrahim and Wad en Nejumi, that Khartoum should court mercy by a voluntary surrender before the Mahdi arrived on the scene of action. The inhabitants believed implicitly in his assertion that the British were at hand, but unfortunately his counsels were based on the supposition that the relief expedition, of which he first heard on September 21st, would come two months earlier than it did. As for its objects, he denied again and again that the force had been sent for him, and asserted that its sole design was to extricate the garrisons of the Soudan, and save national honour. For himself he was resolved, if the expedition should establish no settled form of government, never to return to England, but to make his way to the Congo *viâ* Equatoria.

Inside Khartoum the situation was full of anxiety. There were traitors in the town and the majority were timid and indolent. Had it not been for numerous arrests, including the Cadi and the Sheikh el Islam, the greatest grandees of the town, the place would have fallen on October 21st, when the Mahdi speculated on a rising, while the recovery of an enormous quantity of stolen biscuit early in November barely staved off famine for a time. Still Gordon's steamers continued to

cruise up and down between Khartoum and Metammeh in hopes of meeting the expedition, and maintained with considerable success a desultory conflict with Shendy and other towns upon the banks. During these manœuvres, which Gordon compared to being on a penny boat under cannon-fire, the crews behaved with the utmost courage and frequently landed to cut wood under fire. These operations became less feasible as the Nile receded, and the four steamers which met Stewart's expedition at Gubat were compelled to disembark their troops while passing the Bishara rocks. They left Khartoum at intervals, the last, the *Bordein*, quitting the town on the 14th of December, and there can be no doubt that his chivalrous determination to lend a helping hand to Lord Wolseley materially weakened Gordon's position, since he estimated each steamer as worth 2,000 men. He himself hardly alluded to his difficulties in his journal, in which the last entry is dated December 14th, being busy rather with anxious speculations as to the future of the Soudan—his last solution being that Abd-el-Kader Pasha, the Egyptian War Minister, should succeed him as Governor-General, or that the Soudan should be handed over to the Sultan with a subsidy of two millions; but from the journal of Bordeini Bey, an eminent merchant of Khartoum, it is possible to gather a fairly accurate idea of the hero's final struggle with adversity.

The defeat of El Fun was followed by the redoubled efforts of the Mahdist Emirs, now invigorated by the presence of their leader, of whom the chief was the brave fanatic, Wad en Nejumi. During this, the second siege, as it is called by Gordon, the sorties of the garrison were driven back with heavy loss, and on November 12th a pitched battle was fought between the Arabs on the bank and two of the steamers, in which the *Husseyne* ran aground and sank, though the *Ismailia* was saved. After this, the first encounter with the Mahdi's personal troops, Gordon wrote: "I have lived *years* in these last *hours*! Had I lost the *Ismailia* I should have lost the *Husseyne* [as he eventually did], and then Omdurman, and the North Fort! And then the town!" Every day shells and cannon-balls fell within the city. Bordeini Bey relates that the inhabitants petitioned Gordon not to light up the rooms of the palace, as they afforded a good mark for the enemy's bullets. Gordon's answer was to light a large lantern holding five-and-twenty candles, place it on a table in front of the window, and say: "When God was portioning out fear to all the people in the world,

at last it came to my turn, and there was no fear left to give me; go, tell all the people in Khartoum that Gordon fears nothing, for God has created him without fear." Shortly afterwards the Mahdi arrived on the scene of operations, and not only were new batteries constructed against the city, but a determined attempt was made to capture the fortress of Omdurman, which lay on the farther side of the White Nile. Faragallah Pasha was in

"Khartoum," wrote Bordeini Bey, "then fell into a dangerous state. The rebels surrounded it on all sides and cut off all supplies. The crops on the island of Tati were sown and reaped under the fire of the forts, and then stored in the commissariat. . . . This corn was distributed among the soldiers, and when it and all the biscuits were finished, Gordon Pasha ordered me and the Greek consul and two adjutant-majors to search the town



THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S PALACE, KHARTOUM.
(From a Photograph by R. Buchta.)

command, and for fifty-four days he kept up a brave defence, aided by Gordon's constant reinforcements, which on the 12th of November defeated Abu Angar, the attacking Emir, with heavy losses. The rebels' Krupp guns, however, told heavily, another of the steamers was sunk, and on the fifty-fourth day the commandant signalled to Khartoum that his provisions and ammunition were exhausted. Gordon made a final effort to relieve the garrison, but the Mahdi was forewarned by a deserter and the force was beaten back. Then Faragallah, with Gordon's permission, surrendered to the Mahdi on the 5th of January, whereby large reinforcements were set free to fight against Stewart at Abu Klea and Khartoum was closely invested on every side.

through and through for corn. We found a little corn in some of the merchants' stores, and some we found buried in the ground, and we took it all to the commissariat. Every corn-grower was given a receipt for the corn taken from him. We used to search daily for about three hours, until we were certain that there was nothing left in the possession of any of the inhabitants. But soon all that had been collected in the commissariat was finished, and then the inhabitants and soldiers had to eat dogs, donkeys, skins of animals, gum, and palm fibre; and famine prevailed. The soldiers stood on the fortifications like pieces of wood. The civilians were even worse off. Many died of hunger, and corpses filled the streets; no one had energy to

bury the dead. Then Gordon Pasha ordered four guards, one for each quarter of the town, to bury the dead."

In his despair Gordon allowed the dockyard authorities to place a steamer and some boats at the disposal of the inhabitants, and every day they went by hundreds into inevitable slavery, until only 14,000 remained of the 34,000 enumerated in the census of September. On the 20th of January came a spy with the news of Abu Klea, which the Mahdi, by firing a salute, tried to construe into a victory, and hope ran high. But day after day passed and no help came, though Gordon tried to keep up the spirits of the garrison by causing letters to be written which purported to come from the Mudir of Dongola, and by other devices. "We were heart-broken," writes Bordeini Bey; "the people and the soldiers began to lose faith in Gordon's promises, and they were terribly weak from famine." On the evening of the 25th Gordon saw a considerable movement of the Mahdi's troops and knew that the supreme moment was at hand. He called a council, but did not himself attend; only he appealed for one last stand, though if they preferred to submit, he gave the commandant liberty to open the gates. The faithful merchant was admitted to his presence, and Gordon broke out: "What more can I say? I have nothing more to say. The people will no longer believe me; I have told them over and over again that help would be here; but it has never come, and now they must see I tell them lies. If this, my last promise, fails, I can do nothing more. Go and collect all the people you can on the lines and make a good stand. Now leave me to smoke these cigarettes." "I could see," continues the narrator, "that he was in despair, and he spoke in a tone I had never heard before. I knew then that he had been too agitated to address the meeting, and thought that the sight of his despair would dishearten us. All the anxiety he had undergone had gradually turned his hair to a snowy white. I left him and this was the last time I saw him alive."

That night, about 2 p.m., the Arabs, headed by the intrepid Wad en Nejumi, entered the town. The feat was easy, as the Nile before retiring had filled the De Coetlogon ditch with mud. Father Ohrwalder adds that the river had also destroyed a portion of the parapet, elsewhere impregnable, and that as it had not been repaired, there was practically no hindrance to their onslaught. The moon had set and deep obscurity reigned. The Dervishes advanced in perfect silence across the open space, and then, raising their wild war-cry, they dashed

through the breach. The troops were too starved to make much resistance, though here and there a brave captain attempted to rally his men. Farag Pasha, the supposed betrayer of Khartoum, was in command of this portion of the defence. According to one account he bore a deep resentment against Gordon because the latter had struck him during an angry dispute on the 22nd. Still, whatever his grievances, he seems to have made a distinct attempt to rally the line. When the men refused to obey orders he fled, and cut down the trusty sentinel who refused to open the Messalamieh gate, only to be put to death by the Mahdi because he could not indicate the non-existent treasure of Khartoum. After this brief check the Dervishes broke into two parties—the one rushing along the parapet and killing every soldier they came across, the other making for the town. The inhabitants were awakened from sleep by the noise of firing and the yells of "Kenisa! Saroya!" ("To the Church! To the Palace!") with which the fanatics directed the onslaught.

Of Gordon's last hours little certain is known and even the stories of his death differ widely, though all agree that he was killed in or near the palace, where his body lay exposed, while his head was sent to the Mahdi. As he had observed the agitation of the Mahdi's troops, he is hardly likely to have slept that night. One account is that he was killed at the palace gate just as he was making his way to the Austrian Consul's house, or perhaps to the Greek Church, where he had stored his powder, with the view to explode the magazine as the last necessity. Bordeini Bey's more probable version is that for upwards of an hour he kept up a hot fire on the Arabs from the roof of the palace, until the gun became useless, because it could not be sufficiently depressed. Even then he might have escaped on board the steamers, which always had their steam up; but as Sir Charles Wilson says, "that he would never have done." Instead he dressed himself in a white uniform and stood at the head of the stairs, revolver in hand. There was some delay, as the Arabs feared that the palace was mined, and at last four devoted followers of the Mahdi made a rush into the building, followed by a crowd of others. One of them, dashing forward with the cry, "O cursed one, your time is come!" plunged his spear into Gordon's body. "Gordon, it is said, made a gesture of scorn with his right hand, and turned his back, where he received another spear wound which caused him to fall forward, and was most likely mortal. His death occurred just before sunrise.



THE DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON.

FROM THE PAINTING BY GEORGE W. JOY.

He made no resistance, and did not fire a shot from his revolver. From all I know I am confident that he never intended to surrender. I should say he must have intended to use his revolver only if he saw it was the intention of the Arabs to take him prisoner; but he saw such crowds rushing on him, with swords and spears, and there being no important Emirs with them, he must have known that they did not intend to spare him, and that was most likely what he wanted." Father Ohrwalder apparently adopts this more circumstantial and probable relation and adds that, later, he visited the town and was shown black spots on the palace stairs which they told him were traces of Gordon's blood.

The carnage that followed lasted for six hours, nor did it stop until some 4,000 souls had perished. All the Egyptian soldiers were massacred in cold blood after they had surrendered and the women were distributed as slaves. The garrison of Tati did not surrender until the following day at noon, when they too were massacred; but it is a significant fact that, throughout the slaughter, Zebehr's tribesmen were carefully spared. The males of most of the Coptic families were slain, but the women were spared to become the wives of the Emirs. Those who escaped owed their lives to their prudence in staying two days indoors, when the lust for blood had in a measure abated. As a rule, they were stripped bare and left to provide for themselves as best they could. The wealthier citizens were tortured to force them to produce their money, if they were so fortunate as to escape the first blind bloodshed. Here are some terrible scenes as described by Father Ohrwalder:—

"Nicola Leontides, the Greek Consul, who, on account of his amiable character, was much respected in Khartoum, had his hands cut off first, and was then beheaded. Martin Hansal, the Austrian Consul, who was the oldest member of the European colony, was alive until 2 p.m., when some Arabs from Buri, led by his chief kavass, who was on bad terms with him, entered the courtyard of the house, and, on Hansal being summoned to come down, he was at once beheaded. At the same time Mulatte Skander, a carpenter who lived with him, was killed in the same way. His body, together with that of his dog and parrot, was then taken out, alcohol poured over them, and set fire to. After a time, when the body had become like a red-hot coal, it was thrown into the river. Human blood and ruthless cruelty alone seemed to satisfy the Dervishes. The Austrian tailor, Klein, on making the sign of the Cross, had

his throat cut from ear to ear with a knife which was used to slaughter animals, and his life-blood was poured out before the eyes of his horror-stricken wife and children. Not satisfied with the death of the father, they seized his son, a youth of eighteen, and, burying their lances in his body, they stretched him out at his mother's feet, a corpse! They then took counsel as to how they should kill the next son, a lad of fifteen. But by this time the mother, a daughter of Cattarina Nobili, of Venice, was worked up into a state of mad despair. Seizing her son of five years old with her right hand, while she held her suckling babe to her breast with her left, she fought against these murderers like a tigress being robbed of her young, and they could not wrest her children from her; but they seized her daughter, a girl of eighteen, who became the wife of an Arab. The son-in-law of Dr. Georges Bey (who had been killed in the Hicks expedition) was roused from sleep by the noise of the Arabs breaking in. He rose from his bed, and, making the sign of the Cross, rushed to the window, where he shouted, 'Aman' ('Security of life'); but a bullet struck him in the forehead, and he fell dead at the feet of his young wife. The Dervishes forced their way into the house, broke in the door of the room where the dead man lay stretched out on the bed, killed another Greek, and clove open the head of the little son, a boy of twelve years of age, with an axe, scattering his brains over his unfortunate mother, who was sitting beside him. She saved her little son of six months old by saying he was a girl. The mother herself was not killed, as she was with child, but she was reserved to become the wife of Abderrahman Wad en Nejumi."

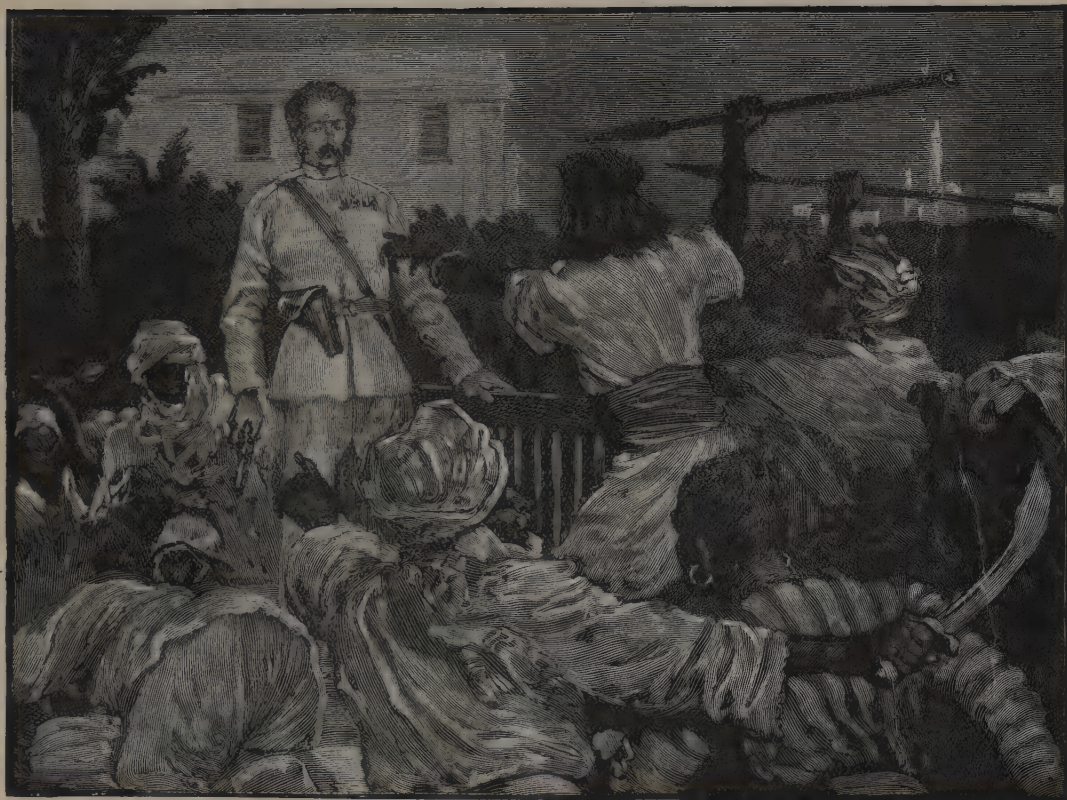
So fell Khartoum after a siege of 317 days, in which one Briton displayed resolution and resource well-nigh unparalleled in history. The siege of Sebastopol lasted 326 days; but, as Gordon himself explained, the Russians always had their communications open, and they dealt with an enemy who would recognise the rights of war. Also they had a respite during the winter, and, taking one thing with another, his contrast of the two sieges is not far-fetched, since "the Russians had money, we had none; they had skilled officers, we had none; they had no civil population, we had forty thousand." Well did Tennyson write:—

By those for whom he lived he died. His land
Awoke too late, and crowned dead brows with praise.
He 'neath the blue that burns o'er Libyan sand
Put off the burden of heroic days;
There, strong by death, by failure glorified,
O, never proud in life, lie down in pride!

"It is, of course, on the cards," wrote General

Gordon, with a keenness of insight almost prophetic, "that Khartoum is taken under the nose of the Expeditionary Force, which will be just too late. The Expeditionary Force will perhaps think it necessary to retake it; but that will be no use, and will cause loss of life uselessly on both sides. It had far better quietly return with its tail between its legs; for once Khartoum is taken, the sun will have set, and the people will not care

Lord Wolseley on the grounds mainly of the danger of a Mahdiist advance upon Egypt proper, was zealously supported by the press of nearly every shade of opinion. Even the *Spectator*, with a characteristic burst of sentimentalism, announced that "it is with a reluctance amounting to pain, and overcome only by long reflection, that we admit the Government to be in the right in declaring war upon the Mahdi—for that is the meaning



GORDON'S LAST STAND. (See p. 54.)

much for the satellites. If Khartoum falls, then go quietly back to Cairo, for you will only lose men and spend money uselessly in carrying on the campaign." Such was Gordon's opinion; but that of politicians sitting "at home at ease" was widely different. They honoured the dead by a Parliamentary grant of £20,000, and England in general subscribed to a national memorial which eventually took the form of a Gordon Boys' Home; but his advice was disregarded, and instead of ordering retirement the Cabinet, with the full concurrence of the Opposition, decided that, in the dead hero's phrase, "the Mahdi must be smashed." The determination, which was cordially endorsed by

of the decision to advance upon Khartoum." And at first, despite considerable doubts as to the ultimate policy of the Government—doubts hardly removed by Mr. Gladstone's phrase, "the evacuation of the Soudan by Egypt and its restoration to freedom"—it seemed as if the programme would be executed with vigour. Orders were issued for the despatch of 11,000 troops of all arms to Suakim, under the command of General Graham, which force, strengthened by 2,500 Sikhs and Sepoys from India, was to open the road to Berber. There Lord Wolseley's new force was to be concentrated, and in the autumn Khartoum was to be taken. Meanwhile, Sir Redvers Buller, the new



GENERAL GORDON.

(From the Statue by Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., Trafalgar Square, London.)

commander of the Desert Column, and General Earle, the commander of the Nile Column, were instructed to push on—the one to Metammeh, the other to Abu Hamed. Before, however, orders reached him, Sir Redvers had determined to retire from Gubat, owing to the news that a large force of Arabs was advancing from Khartoum. On February the 15th he reached Abu Klea, and there found that any attempt to advance upon Berber either directly or *via* Metammeh was out of the question, as camels and transport had utterly broken down. Indeed, it was only with the utmost difficulty that the force, reduced from its original strength by 30 officers, including Sir Herbert Stewart, and 450 men, was brought back by Sir Evelyn Wood to Korti, into which city of refuge the last detachment straggled on March 16th.

This retirement had considerable effect upon the fortunes of the Nile column, which had been duly advancing upon its devious route. General Earle reached Birti in the first week of February, and there received the instructions to push on for Abu Hamed. On the 10th he found a force of Arabs, estimated at over 1,500, strongly posted on a ridge commanding the river. He resolved to drive them out at the point of the bayonet, and with that view attacked with the Black Watch, the Staffordshire regiment, and two guns of the Egyptian artillery. The Staffordshire rushed up the lowest ridge and cleared it, while the Highlanders, making a detour over ground well-nigh impassable, took the enemy in the rear. The Arabs' only way of escape was by the river, and being caught in a trap, they fought with desperate energy behind their loopholed entrenchments. The Black Watch, however, was not to be denied, and after three hours carried the position with the bayonet. The enemy fled with the loss of 500 men. The British loss was rather serious—namely, three officers and nine men killed, and four officers and forty men wounded, in the former category being General Earle, whose death was much lamented by the army, Lieutenant-Colonel Coveney, and Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre. Colonel Brackenbury took command, and inflicted deserved chastisement on the Monassir tribesmen, who had murdered Colonel Stewart, by burning their village, cutting down their palms, and breaking up their wells. On the 24th, however, when within thirty miles of Abu Hamed, Brackenbury received instructions from Lord Wolseley that, owing to Butler's retirement from Gubat, all attempts to reach Berber before the autumn must be abandoned. He withdrew, therefore, upon Medawi, and, leaving a small

garrison there under Colonel Butler, distributed his column in camps along the river to Dongola, where Lord Wolseley established his head-quarters for the hot season.

Meanwhile preparations for General Graham's advance from Suakin were being made on the most extensive scale with regard both to commissariat and supports. Iron piping and force-pumps were procured from America for the water-supply, and Messrs. Lucas and Aird despatched a body of navvies and railway plant for the construction of a line to Berber. The British force was augmented by a brigade of Indian troops under Brigadier-General Hudson, and by an Australian contingent despatched by the loyalty of New South Wales. In all, the expedition exceeded 13,000 men, and was expected to make short work of Osman Digna. That redoubtable Emir, however, proved the toughest of opponents. Forewarned by his previous experience he avoided pitched battles, but his skirmishers did deadly execution, and several times penetrated by night into the camp of the Indian troops, at first nonplussed by the Arab modes of fighting, and quietly despatched sentinels and stragglers. The first lines of the railway were barely laid down when the Arabs tore them up, and general uneasiness prevailed. On March 20th, after a reconnaissance had discovered Osman Digna to be established at Hashim, near his old quarters at Tamai, he was attacked in force and driven backwards, after a severe engagement which lasted for several hours. The battle was marked by the usual Arab charges and they retired in good order. Two days afterwards, on the 22nd, a far more dubious advantage was gained. It was determined to construct a line of posts to protect the advance upon Tamai, and General McNeill moved out of Suakin with the Indian contingent, the Berkshire regiment, the Naval Brigade, and four Gardners. At Tofrik, about six miles out, he proceeded to construct a zereba, and was preparing to send a portion of the troops back to Suakin. Suddenly some 7,000 Arabs crept up unobserved and rushed upon the entrenchments, spearing the baggage-animals and throwing the whole camp into confusion. Of the Indian troops, the Sikhs behaved splendidly; but the Sepoys were seized with panic and retreated headlong into the largest of the three enclosures. Then the Berkshire Regiment and the Naval Brigade poured death upon the Arabs, and, assisted by the artillerymen with the Gardners, slaughtered a thousand in about twenty minutes. On their retreat it was discovered that thirteen

European officers had been killed, and that the total losses amounted to some 250 men. The surprise had been complete. Moreover, Osman Digna was not in the least discouraged, but continued to obstruct the advance upon Tamai, while the troops suffered severely from sunstroke and lack of water. Nevertheless, the village was occupied without resistance on April the 3rd, and burnt; while subsequent advances resulted in the occupation of Otao and Thakul and the dispersal of the enemy. The troops were becoming inured to the climate, and Berber appeared within reach at last.

Already, however, Government had determined on withdrawal from the Soudan, the reason being the critical complications that had arisen on the Indian frontier, and their decision was announced in the House of Commons by Lord Hartington on May the 11th. This was agreed to, in spite of a despatch from Lord Wolseley, dated the 16th of April, in which he appealed to be allowed to destroy the Mahdi's power at Khartoum, and foretold that if the Dongola province were evacuated, "we should have to carry on a succession of frontier affairs harassing and vexatious to the troops, and costly both in men and money, and at the end we should have to meet a large army upon the frontier." So complete a reversal of policy naturally did not go uncriticised, since its upshot was that much money had been wasted, many brave lives sacrificed, and thousands of gallant savages slaughtered, whom Mr. Gladstone had described as "struggling, and rightly, to be free." But at least the consequences foretold by Lord Wolseley were not realised. On the 17th of May the withdrawal from Suakin began, and after General Hudson had held the place with a mixed force, it was replaced by the usual Egyptian garrison, which remained untroubled by Osman Digna. The evacuation of Dongola included the "friendlies" and camp-followers, and the civil population, to the number of 12,800; in fact, the province was practically deserted. The retreat was effected in the most masterly style, despite the unusual difficulties of the route, and by the 15th of June the last British detachment had left the place. A frontier field force of 5,400 men, under the command of Major-General Grenfell, was stationed at Assouan; while an advanced brigade under Brigadier-General Butler protected the Wady Halfa and the railway terminus at Akasheh. In Egypt proper were some 8,300 men.

There was a moment of doubt whether or no the Conservatives would venture to reverse the Liberal policy, in view of a strongly-worded

despatch from Lord Wolseley. "You cannot," he wrote, "get out of Egypt for many years to come. If the present policy of retreat be persisted in, the Mahdi will become stronger and stronger, and you will have to increase your garrisons and submit to the indignity of being threatened by him. Eventually you will have to fight him to hold your position in Egypt, which you will then do with the population round you ready on any reverse to rise against you. No frontier force can keep Mahdism out of Egypt, and the Mahdi sooner or later must be smashed, or he will smash you. If you await his attack you will doubtless defeat him, but this will be to him merely a temporary check. The few thousands you will kill will be nothing to him, for his supply of men is unlimited; whilst his constant attacks upon you will drain your army and your exchequer. To advance in the autumn on Khartoum and discredit the Mahdi by a serious defeat on his own ground would certainly finish him. The operation, if done deliberately, would be a simple one, and, as far as anything can be a certainty in war, it would be a certainty. Until this is done there will be no peace in Egypt, and your military expenditure will be large and increasing. My advice, therefore, is to carry out the autumn campaign up the Nile as originally intended. I would leave Suakin as it is." He also strongly advised the retention of Dongola because of its moral effect. Sir Redvers Buller, however, said that the province could not be reoccupied without what would really be a new expedition. It was exhausted of grain, and everything would have to be brought from Egypt for the next six months. Mr. W. H. Smith, the Secretary for War, accordingly wrote on the 2nd of July that as the retreat upon Assouan was in full operation, Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to countermand it; they considered, however, that it was desirable that the railway from Wady Halfa to Ferbet should not be abandoned, since it appeared to be necessary, in the event of any forward movement to meet any dangers from the south.

The reason of the unopposed British retreat is to be found in the conditions of Mahdism. Before the fall of Khartoum the ruler's troops had been decimated by hunger and disease; after the capture the tribesmen were disgusted by the scantiness of the plunder and were further alienated by the iron severity of his rule. Even the savage Baggara began to desert in large numbers, thereby depriving him of the backbone of his strength. On the 22nd of June the prophet

himself succumbed to the consequences of unbridled debauchery, and the Khalifa Abdullah et Taashi succeeded to his pretensions. That cunning man had long controlled the Mahdi's policy, and had every atom of his ambition. His plans for the conquest of Egypt and the world were, however, postponed from the necessity of conciliating the tribesmen, and it was not until November that his emirs advanced towards the north. Harassed by the "friendlies" and assailed by the river steamers, they reached the village of Ginnis, where General Grenfell fell upon them on the 29th of December. The battle was short; the Egyptian troops showed themselves deserving of Sir Evelyn Wood's careful drilling, and, aided by the Cameron Highlanders, rendered a good account of the enemy, who retired southwards, utterly broken and dispirited.

Elsewhere, however, the welter of the Soudan was universal. Of the interior provinces, Darfur had been surrendered by Slatin Bey early in January, after his officers had gone over *en masse* to the enemy. The Austrian embraced Mohammedanism, and was in consequence spared by the Mahdi, though his letter to Gordon announcing his conversion, "which was made more easy because he had, *perhaps unhappily*, not received a strict religious education at home," aroused the profound contempt of that true Christian. The Englishman Lupton in the Bahr-el-Ghazal was forced to yield, and likewise to embrace Islam in April; so in the vast province, the size of England, not a shadow of Egyptian authority remained. Alone Emin Bey retained a semblance of authority in Equatoria; but his position was of the most precarious, and by the end of 1885 his province was reduced to one-seventh of its original extent, a narrow slip of land, about 180 miles long, of which the principal town was Wadelai. In the neighbourhood

of Khartoum the consequences of its loss were naturally disastrous in the extreme. Senaar, the object of Gordon's constant solicitude, which had been besieged since 1883, fell to the investing hordes on August 19th, after the garrison had been reduced from 3,000 to 700 men. In the neighbourhood of Suakin the dominion of the Khalifa was circumscribed by the British victories, and by the occupation of Massowah by an Italian contingent in February, in pursuance of an agreement with England. Further, a treaty had been negotiated by Admiral Hewett in 1884 with King John of Abyssinia, by which that potentate, in return for the repossession of the territory of Bogos, undertook to extricate the garrisons of Gera, Amadib, Galabat, and Kassala. The agreement was indignantly repudiated by Gordon, on somewhat imperfect information as to its scope, as derogatory to the honour of England. King John, according to him, was "a hopeless sort of man and never worth considering." He succeeded, nevertheless, in extricating the Moslem soldiers of the first three places, while Harrar, never seriously threatened, was peacefully restored to its former rulers by Major Hunter and Lieutenant Peyton. But the main object of King John's efforts, the relief of Kassala, failed, owing to the sluggishness of his general, Ras Alula. On October 22nd the Abyssinians defeated Osman Digna with terrific slaughter at Kufit; but Kassala had practically surrendered, and the dauntless Emir returned to wreak his vengeance upon the unfortunate garrison, which had not hauled down its flag until after a close siege of eighteen months, and the endurance of privations comparable only to those of Khartoum. The notables and officers were tortured and the common soldiers compelled to enlist under the Khalifa's banner.



BUCKINGHAM PALACE, FROM ST. JAMES'S PARK.

CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1885—Gloominess of the Situation—Renewed Dynamite Outrages—The Fall of Khartoum announced—Meeting of Parliament—The Queen's Speech—The Votes of Censure—The Redistribution Bill—Tory Revolt—Progress of the Bill—The Registration Bills—The Army and Navy Estimates—The Vote of Credit—Mr. Childers's Budget—Reported Dissensions in the Cabinet—The Land Purchase Bill—The Whitsuntide Holidays—Defeat of Government—A Prolonged Crisis—A Demonstration against Sir Stafford Northcote—The Conservative Government—Marriage of the Princess Beatrice—Visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ireland—Remainder of the Session—The Ashbourne Act—The Labourers' Bill—The Second Budget—Housing of the Working Classes Bill—Medical Relief Bill—The Maamtrasna Inquiry—The Criminal Law Amendment Bill—Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Parnell—The Dublin Archbishopric—The Election Campaign—Mr. Chamberlain's unauthorised Programme—Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Salisbury—Mr. Gladstone's Manifesto—The Irish Manifesto—Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian—The Result of the Polls—A startling Announcement—Its Reception by the Press and Politicians—Labour Disputes—Obituary of the Year.

At the commencement of 1885 the prospects of Government were gloomy in the extreme. Their successes at home were neutralised by their failures abroad and on all sides the situation was depressing. Germany and France were hostile, Russia was menacing, the Australians were alienated by the loss of New Guinea, the uncertainty as to Gordon's fate became more and more disquieting. There were rumours of Cabinet dissensions; Mr. Gladstone was going to resign, so were Lord Granville and Lord Selborne. These

legends were, however, speedily dissipated by the discovery that the Cabinet remained unaltered, except by being strengthened through the accessions of Lord Rosebery as Privy Seal, an office vacated by the retirement of Lord Carlingford, and of Mr. Shaw Lefevre, who succeeded Mr. Fawcett as Postmaster-General. Meanwhile, Mr. Chamberlain, undaunted by the gloom that hung over Liberalism, was enunciating, in a series of speeches delivered at Birmingham and Ipswich, such sweeping items as a graduated income-tax,

free education, the restoration of the labourer and yeoman to the soil, and the emancipation of the land. This programme found little support from the old-fashioned Radicalism of Mr. Bright, who, in a speech at Birmingham on January 28th, restricted himself to the topics of the wickedness of Imperial ambition and the folly of large naval and military expenditure; and was directly traversed by Mr. Goschen in a thoughtful speech at Edinburgh on January 31st, in which several of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals were characterised as "crude panaceas," and graduated taxation in particular was condemned as a direct contradiction of all Mr. Gladstone's views. These divergences of opinion were naturally the subject of Sir Stafford Northcote's criticism while canvassing the Barnstaple division of Devonshire. Mr. Bright, said he, was perpetually praising the measures passed by Liberal Governments since the first Reform Bill, and the blessing they had proved to the country; whereas his colleague declared that the increase of wealth had profited capital much and labour not at all. Even among the Irish party, ordinarily a model of discipline, dissension was rife. To Mr. Parnell's candidate for the representation of Tipperary the local organisers opposed a Mr. O'Ryan, and it was not until the Irish leader had arrived on the scene that the revolt against his "dictation" subsided.

The general unrest was increased by the renewed activity of the miscreant disseminators of dynamite. On January 2nd, at 9 p.m., an explosion of that deadly chemical took place on the Underground Railway, the bomb being apparently thrown from a train going westwards from King's Cross, which resulted in the wrecking of a passing train, and a severe shaking to several working men and women. Far more daring acts were those of the 24th of the month, when simultaneous explosions occurred, about 2 p.m., in the Houses of Parliament and in the Tower of London. At the former a suspicious-looking bag was observed by a lady in the crypt, and she at once gave information to the police. P.C. Cole promptly rushed into the chapel and seized the package, but was compelled by the heat to drop it in Westminster Hall, where it blew a hole in the floor four feet deep, shattered the windows, and severely injured the plucky policeman and his companion, P.C. Cox. A few minutes afterwards an explosion took place just within the entrance of the House of Commons, which tore off doors, excavated the floor, and did great damage to the roof and panelling. At the Tower a parcel was deposited in the old

banqueting-room, which, going off, injured that room and the Council-room, burst the rifles stored there, hurt some girls and children, and caused a fire, which was promptly extinguished. Here the authorities acted with the utmost promptitude, and by immediately closing the gates, secured a man called Cunningham. An accomplice, Burton, was arrested some days later, and when they were put on their trial the evidence went to show that they were probably concerned in the explosion in St. James's Square, and certainly in that near Gower Street Station. On May 18th they were sentenced to penal servitude for life. Here the dynamite crusade stopped, though the most careful precautions continued throughout the summer to be taken at all the public buildings, and the privileges of visitors and pressmen in the Houses of Parliament were largely curtailed. A small explosion which took place on April 24th at the Admiralty, in the room of Mr. Swainson, assistant under-secretary, created some commotion at the time, but was subsequently assigned to accident, or possibly to a hoax.

On February 5th Sir Charles Wilson's first telegram announcing the fall of Khartoum was published in London. Conservatives were indignant against a Government which from first to last had, they said, been "too late"; nor did Lord Wolseley's arrangements escape a good deal of criticism of the amateur sort. But the programme of "smashing the Mahdi" met with cordial approval, except from politicians like Mr. John Morley and Mr. Courtney, who had throughout been opposed to all action in the Soudan; and Lord Rosebery's appeal for a united and national effort was generally regarded as well-timed. The Conservative orators who improved the occasion spoke with invariable good taste, Sir M. Hicks-Beach contenting himself with the quotation of Gordon's parting words, "I will do what I can, but you must give me support if I want it."

The Houses of Parliament assembled on the 19th of February. But little attention was paid to the domestic proposals of Government, of which the Redistribution of Seats Bill was placed in the foreground; the amendment of the Labourers Act for Ireland was promised, and any reference to the renewal of the Crimes Act carefully avoided. Lord Granville's statement of the financial proposals for the benefit of Egypt proper also attracted but little comment, so entirely were men's minds centred on the probable results of the votes of censure of which notice had been given in both Houses.



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THE TOWER OF LONDON

FROM THE PAINTING BY T. B. HARDY.

Meanwhile a sentence of Mr. Gladstone's declaring that "General Gordon contentedly and determinedly forbore to make use of the means of personal safety which were at all times open to him" was received with such loud protests that he amended and afterwards offered to withdraw it. A better impression was created by Lord Hartington's announcement of two messages from the Crown, one ordering all soldiers entitled to their discharge to continue for another year under the colours, the other calling out the militia. On the 26th Lord Salisbury moved a direct vote of censure, to the effect that "the deplorable failure of the Soudan expedition was due to the deplorable weakness of the Government," and that "the policy of abandoning the Soudan was inconsistent with the interests of the Empire." In the course of the debate the best speeches were the leader of the Opposition's scathing indictment and a very vigorous piece of oratory from Lord Carnarvon, while Lord Derby and Lord Granville did their best to exonerate the Ministry. In reply, Lord Salisbury asked, "What do you mean by indecision? I take the most familiar example of indecision—an old woman crossing a street. She sees a hansom cab in front nearly upon her; she goes back from it, and comes upon an omnibus coming from behind, and she goes forward; she has a profound reluctance to pass either of them; and she waits to see whether something will not turn up to help her, with the inevitable result that she is run over, and an unsympathising world says that her fate is due to her indecision. If this is the most decided, the most persistent, and the most resolute conduct, I only hope that the Government will not give us such specimens of resolution for the future." The division resulted in the condemnation of the Government by 189 votes to 68—figures in which the largeness of the majority was not so significant as the minuteness of the minority. Sir Stafford Northcote's notice of motion in the House of Commons was to the effect that in view of the expenditure and waste of life involved in the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government, they should take decided measures to fulfil the special responsibilities incumbent on them in Egypt and those portions of the Soudan which were necessary to its security. The terms were considered so vague by his followers that at a Conservative meeting convoked at the Carlton Club he had to secure the intervention of Lord Salisbury to restore the party's unanimity. A more direct issue was raised by Mr. John Morley's amendment, which asked the

House to refrain from an opinion on the policy of the Government, and deprecated the employment of the forces of the Crown in overthrowing the power of the Mahdi. The debate travelled dully for many days over well-worn ground. With the exception of Lord John Manners, who wound up the discussion, instead of Sir Stafford, in a spirited speech, none of the Conservatives distinguished themselves; while Mr. Gladstone was decidedly nebulous as to the sort of Government that was to be established at Khartoum, if, indeed, any rule at all was to be set up. Weighty speeches by Sir Charles Dilke and Lord Hartington to a certain extent repaired the effects of the Premier's haziness, but in general the Liberals were dispirited. As a dramatic interlude came the protest of the Irish members against the giving of precedence to the vote of censure on a private members' night, and the moving of the closure by Mr. Gladstone. So many Conservatives withdrew from the House that the motion was nearly lost; and the Speaker, according to the *Daily News*, was so disgusted that he intimated that had the bare majority of seven been reversed he would have resigned. At last the division took place, when Ministers escaped censure by a narrow majority of 14 (302 votes to 288), and Mr. Morley's amendment was defeated by 454 votes to 112.

Of a truth Liberalism had fallen upon evil days. Not only was the effect of the votes of censure damaging in the extreme, but the danger of a collision upon the Afghan frontier became daily more imminent. After a prolonged meeting of the Cabinet, preceded by an interview between the Prime Minister and Sir Henry Ponsonby, they resolved to retain office and, so ran the rumour, to appeal to the country at the earliest possible moment. But if Government was weak the Opposition was even more divided, and the debates on the Redistribution Bill were the signal for a general revolt below the Opposition gangway. At first all went smoothly enough; the Opposition leaders were true to their pact with the Ministry, and important amendments, such as Sir John Lubbock's in favour of proportional representation, Mr. Bryce's for the abolition of University seats, Mr. Arthur Arnold's for the bestowal of twelve additional seats on Scotland, and Mr. Mulholland's for the grouping of certain Irish constituencies, were rejected by large majorities. The determination, however, to reduce the representation of the City of London, which was stoutly resisted by Mr. Fowler, the ex-Lord Mayor, aroused much Conservative discontent, and Sir Stafford Northcote

was obliged to summon a meeting of the party to the Carlton Club for the purpose of restoring discipline. There, however, it appeared that not only the Ulster Conservatives, but Mr. Chaplin and Sir M. Hicks-Beach were in more or less open rebellion, in spite of the renewed efforts of Lord Salisbury to avert a breach of the peace. These dissensions found direct expression when on March 17th Sir Eardley Wilmot's proposal to decrease the House by twelve members was supported by Sir Michael, who carried with him a number of Conservatives, while Sir Stafford and other ex-Ministers voted with Government. And two days later Mr. G. C. Bartley explained the reason of his resignation of the principal agency of the Conservative party by declaring in the *Times* that "the leaders were out of harmony and touch with the great body of Conservatives." Decidedly Sir Stafford Northcote's bed was not one of roses, and the "Tory democracy" of Lord Randolph Churchill appeared to be gaining ground.

These discontents among the rank and file of the Opposition naturally took the heart out of all criticism of the Bill. The Conservatives were somewhat mollified by the Lord Advocate's withdrawal of sundry amendments affecting Scottish representation as a concession to the feeling that they were contrary to the agreement of the last session; and for similar reasons Mr. Ritchie's suggestion of a return to double representation in twenty-three boroughs was negatived by 253 votes to 44 in spite of Sir Stafford Northcote's support. Mr. Raikes, however, effected some important changes in the representation of London. The old constituencies of Westminster and Southwark were retained, Westminster being provided with an additional member, making four in all; and Finsbury, instead of being divided into three constituencies, became a borough with three wards. After Easter the debates, which had grown highly monotonous, were resumed with a certain amount of spirit, members showing considerable partiality as to the names to be bestowed on the new divisions. On April 21st the Bill, thanks to the tact and temper of Sir Charles Dilke, passed through committee, and on the 11th of May was quit of the House of Commons after a valedictory speech from Mr. Courtney, in which he prophesied that the character of the House would be seriously deteriorated by the single-seat arrangement. The measure was subjected to but few amendments by the House of Lords, and after some warm debates in the Lower House these were in bulk accepted,

but not before Mr. Gladstone's Government had ceased to exist.

Three Registration Bills accompanied the Redistribution Bill, and these produced some close divisions. As to the payment of expenses, Government had allowed £20,000 out of Imperial taxation, but Sir Massey Lopes proposed that no part of the charge should fall upon the local rates; and, in spite of a careful speech by Mr. H. Fowler, Government obtained only a majority of 2 (239 to 237). At first Mr. Gladstone refused all concession, but eventually offered a further grant of 2d. on every name, which in England would amount to over £20,000; while to Ireland a specific grant of £15,000 would be made. Sir M. Hicks-Beach objected that the compromise evaded the principle of Sir Massey's amendment—namely, that registration was a matter of purely Imperial concern; but he was defeated by 280 to 258. The cause of the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge found some supporters, but they were finally disqualified on the ground that discipline would be imperilled, though Lord Salisbury in the Lords gave them the right of voting for their boroughs if otherwise qualified. The most knotty subject was that of disqualification for the receipt of medical relief. Mr. Horace Davey carried an amendment removing this penalty, in spite of the opposition of Sir Henry James, who objected that it was not suitable to a Registration Bill, and that it would tend to pauperise the people. In the Peers, however, on the motion of Lord Balfour of Burleigh, the clause was struck out, and when the Bill returned to the Commons Mr. Davey, abandoned by Sir C. Dilke and the Attorney-General, had to put up with what looked like, but was not, a final defeat.

Meanwhile, the Russian difficulty was assuming the most alarming proportions, and its effect upon domestic politics was very considerable. In moving the Army Estimates, Lord Hartington was obliged to explain that they were quite provisional, and did not include even the Nile and Suakin expeditions or the railway to Berber. Neither did they include the two army corps of 25,000 men each which, after a meeting of the Cabinet on March 24th, were ordered to be mobilised in India, the calling out of the first-class army reserve and the Militia, and the manning of the first steam reserve for sea. The nation was already at war with the Mahdi, and appeared on the brink of war with the Czar, so in the circumstances Sir Thomas Brassey's announcement that none of the ships for which a special vote

had been passed in December had been taken in hand was hardly reassuring. However, the Naval Estimates, which were moved on March 16th, though they may have shown unpreparedness, did not exhibit, at any rate, a niggardliness of expenditure. They amounted to over thirteen

everything before him, and the vote passed unanimously on the 27th, though Mr. Labouchere, had it not been for some misunderstanding, would have moved for its reduction by four millions.

In the circumstances, that luckless financier Mr. Childers had no comforting Budget to offer,



MR. LABOUCHERE.

(From a Photograph by Maclure, Macdonald, and Co., Glasgow.)

millions, as against the eleven and a half millions for 1884-85, and a further vote would be required for Egypt. Here was a policy of anything but "peace and retrenchment," and the fidelity of the Radical section of Liberalism was severely tested when, on the 21st of April, Mr. Gladstone announced that he would ask for a vote of credit of £11,000,000 more, of which but four millions and a half were for the Soudan, the remainder being required for "special preparations." The Prime Minister's wonderful eloquence carried

and the announcement of his figures on the 30th of April was the reverse of satisfactory. He had expected a surplus of a million, but had to deal with a deficit of over that amount. Nor was the future more hopeful than the present; he anticipated a deficit of £3,692,000 without providing for the vote of credit. There was besides an estimated loss of £40,000 on the introduction of sixpenny telegrams, and supplementary estimates to the amount of £200,000, making a total deficit of £14,932,000. To meet this staggering

indebtedness he proposed to impose an income-tax of 8d. in the pound, to equalise the death duties on real and personal property, to increase the beer and spirit duties, to realise £4,600,000 by suspending the Sinking Fund, while the remaining £2,832,000 was to be provided in a similar fashion during the following year. Gigantic though these sums were, they would probably have been passed without much demur had not the Whitsuntide holidays intervened. In the interval the Irish members raised a bitter cry against the increase of the spirit duties; the country gentlemen against the increase of the burdens on land, when that commodity was a drug in the market; the taxpayer in general against the colossal burdens imposed by a Government pledged to economic reforms. There was another rock looming ahead—namely, the renewal of the Irish Coercion Bill. According to common report Lord Spencer insisted on the retention of the Crimes Act in whole or in part; Sir Charles Dilke and Mr. Chamberlain were vehemently opposed thereto, and finally consented only to its renewal for one year; Mr. Gladstone, perplexed by these differences of opinion, contemplated resignation; so did Mr. Childers because of the unflattering reception of his Budget; and Lord Selborne was to be succeeded on the woolsack by Sir William Harcourt. As a supposed compromise, a Land Purchase Bill, for which eighty-one Liberals below the gangway petitioned the Prime Minister, was announced at the last moment and the party separated for the recess.

In the interval Lord Randolph Churchill delivered a clever attack in the Tower Hamlets on the Liberal Government, which, said he, had pursued since 1880 ten policies in Ireland, eighteen in Egypt, and nine in Russia, or thirty-seven in all; while Sir S. Northcote, in North Devon, frankly accepted the enlargement of land purchase and advocated the reform of local taxation. More attention, however, was paid to the speeches of Mr. Chamberlain, who vindicated the general proceedings of Government, and, while declining to recant his doctrines as to the "ransom" of property, acknowledged that he never intended "to take away the security which property rightly enjoys, or destroy the certainty that industry and thrift will meet with their due reward." These remarks, combined with semi-official explanations, seemed to point to a healing of dissensions; but as fast as one rumour died another arose, and when Parliament reassembled, the lobbies were full of the story that Mr. Chamberlain was at issue with

Mr. Childers on the increase of the beer tax, wishing to substitute instead an increased tax upon wine. Be that as it may, the point was selected by Sir M. Hicks-Beach for an attack on the Budget, and when the Commons reassembled on June 8th, he moved a resolution to the effect that the House regarded the proposed increase of the beer and spirit duties as inequitable, in the absence of any corresponding duties on wine, and declined for the present to impose fresh taxation on real property. The debate was brief but animated, and on a division Government were placed in a minority of 12 (264 to 252), a result hailed with vociferous shoutings by the Conservatives and Home Rulers, Lord R. Churchill and Mr. Healy being chiefly conspicuous. The result was a surprise, since the explanation that Ministers were "riding for a fall" to avoid the renewal of the Coercion Bill was generally repudiated; while at the same time the theory that the seventy-six Liberal absentees were away from no ulterior motives, but purely of accident, was regarded as somewhat inconclusive.

A prolonged crisis ensued, due partly to the absence of the Queen at Balmoral, partly to the lengthy correspondence that ensued between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone through Her Majesty. Mr. Gladstone was determined to resign, and the first impulse of the Liberals was one of relief, the feeling being that they would go to the country with freer hands. Then there was a revulsion, and when the days passed and no Government was formed, a hope was freely expressed that Mr. Gladstone would appeal to the constituencies as Prime Minister. The hitch was due to an attempt on Lord Salisbury's part to extract from Mr. Gladstone a promise that the new Government, which was in a large minority in the Lower House, would be supported by the Opposition in the measures necessary for the completion of the business of the session. The correspondence, which was not unlike that which passed between Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel on a similar occasion, terminated in Mr. Gladstone's refusal to give specific pledges, though "he felt sure that there was no idea of withholding ways and means." Finally, Lord Salisbury, on the strong representation by the Queen of the injury done to the highest interests of the country through the protracted interregnum, consented to form a Ministry. His determination was approved by the leading organs of the party, for the *Standard*, which first committed itself to the sentiment that "Ministers, whether they liked it or no, must linger

on till the General Election," thereupon changed its opinion. But in the meanwhile a significant incident had occurred. On June 15th Mr. Gladstone proposed that the House, after disposing of the Lords' amendments on the Redistribution Bill and another uncontentious measure, should again adjourn. This apparently innocuous suggestion was cordially accepted by Sir Stafford Northcote, but as vigorously opposed by many Conservatives, not merely of the "Fourth Party," like Lord R. Churchill and Sir H. Wolff, but by responsible politicians like Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Mr. Raikes, who trooped off to the Opposition lobby to the number of thirty-five.

The look of pain on Sir Stafford's face as he was subjected to this ungracious snub was long remembered by his intimate friends, and the consequences of the rebellion appeared in the formation of the Ministry. With great magnanimity Sir Stafford retired to the Upper House with the Earldom of Iddesleigh and the sinecure post of First Lord of the Treasury, and "Tory democracy" took command in the Commons, Sir M. Hicks-Beach being made Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House, while Lord Randolph Churchill was Secretary for India. The Cabinet was composed chiefly of Lord Beaconsfield's old following—for instance, Sir R. Cross, Mr. W. H. Smith, Colonel Stanley, and Lord John Manners; while Mr. Gibson was also promoted as Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with the title of Lord Ashbourne. Of the new men the most remarkable, perhaps, were Sir Henry Holland, the Secretary to the Treasury, and Mr. Arthur Balfour, the President of the Local Government Board. Mr. Chaplin was made Chancellor of the Duchy; Mr. Lowther and Mr. Edward Clarke were left out in the cold. The new arrangements were completed by the 24th of June; the re-elections were only opposed in three instances, Lord Randolph's being one, and in each case the Conservative was victorious. Meanwhile the Queen had duly offered an earldom to Mr. Gladstone, which he declined, and Mr. C. Villiers and Mr. S. Morley followed his example when offered baronies.

Before passing to the measures of the Salisbury Ministry, we must briefly chronicle two events connected with royalty. The first was the marriage of the Princess Beatrice, the youngest and devoted daughter of the Queen, to Prince Henry of Battenberg, a member of a minor German family, which took place at Whippingham Church, Isle of Wight, on the 23rd of July. The usual dowry of £6,000 a year was voted in the House of

Commons by a large majority (337 to 38), but a curious complication arose in the Lords when Prince Henry prematurely took the oath of allegiance before his Naturalisation Bill had been passed. The second incident was the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Ireland, which occurred in April. Unfortunately the expedition, in itself most praiseworthy, was given a quasi-political character by the London papers, and the Nationalists retaliated by branding it as an attempt to bolster up Lord Spencer's administration, for the moment additionally unpopular from certain Dublin Castle scandals which the Lord-Lieutenant was basely accused of trying to stifle. The Nationalists determined to observe a strict neutrality, and the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, withdrew his declaration that he would haul down the Union Jack from the Mansion House. The sequel, however, was that the undergraduates of Trinity removed the banner by a nocturnal raid, and it was replaced by a green flag, whereon was emblazoned the uncrowned harp of gold. The royal party was received on its arrival with a certain amount of enthusiasm, which was unwisely magnified by the English press into a crushing blow to Parnellism. This was too much for Nationalist nerves, and at Mallow Mr. William O'Brien and other enthusiasts determined, by way of counter-demonstration, to present an address to the Prince against the iniquities of Lord Spencer. The police, of course, barred the way, and as the train left the station there was a scene of wild confusion, in which hats and sticks were set in violent motion, and day was made hideous by the mingled strains of "God save the Queen" and "God save Ireland." At "rebel" Cork there was not a little rioting, and it was only when the Protestant North was reached that the demonstrations were in any degree unanimous. Finally, when the Prince left Ireland, the feeling of relief that no catastrophe had occurred was almost universal, and the visit certainly failed to cure or even palliate the island's antipathy to Europe.

The session was quickly wound up, and on the 10th of August the rule of the middle classes as established by the Franchise Bill of 1867 came to an end. The session's demise was uneventful, though a number of measures were passed of minor importance. The most significant change was the new policy in Ireland inaugurated by the Viceroy, Lord Carnarvon. He early announced that it was the intention of Government not to renew the Crimes Act in any shape or form,

and the Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Ashbourne, carried a proposal, afterwards known as the Ashbourne Act, for providing greater facilities for the sale of land. In principle it was an extension of the purchase clauses of the Act of 1881, while more liberal terms were granted to borrowers than under that statute (the loan being at 4 per cent., and forty-nine years allowed for repayment). Further, future borrowers were allowed the whole,

had vainly endeavoured to enlarge it into a Land Purchase Bill, and the Marquis of Waterford, its sponsor in the Upper House, had made owners and occupiers, rather than local authorities, responsible for insanitary cottages.

In the House of Commons Sir M. Hicks-Beach explained that the main business to be executed was Supply and Ways and Means, to which programme Mr. Gladstone, in a speech described by



THE ROYAL VISIT TO IRELAND: THE PROCESSION PASSING OVER PARNELL BRIDGE, CORK. (See p. 67.)

instead of three-fourths, of the purchase money, though one-fifth was to be retained by the Land Commissioners until its equivalent had been repaid. The Irish Church surplus was held as a guarantee of the repayment of any loss to the State after the forfeiture of the fifth. The limit upon the advances was fixed at five millions, and the working of the scheme was placed in the hands of the Irish Land Commission, supplemented by two additional commissioners. The Bill passed the House of Lords after some guarded criticism from Lord Spencer, and in the Commons suffered little alteration, Mr. Shaw Lefevre's attempt to amend it being unsuccessful. Subsequently a Labourers' Bill became law, after Mr. Sexton

Lord Randolph Churchill, sobered by office, as "magnanimous," offered both approval and support. Accordingly, after a final attempt on the part of Mr. Bradlaugh to take his seat, the Chancellor of the Exchequer produced a Budget which was practically Mr. Childers's, though the methods for paying off the deficit were modified by a proposal to borrow some £4,000,000 by means of Treasury Bills. At the same time Sir Michael Hicks-Beach declared that the Admiralty Estimates had already been exceeded by some £850,000; and after Lord Northbrook had put forward a somewhat unsatisfactory explanation, a Select Committee inquired into the matter and, while showing an absolute absence of responsibility at the

Admiralty, "whitewashed" everybody all round. For the rest, a useful Secretary for Scotland Bill was passed entrusting to that newly-created official the public departments and primary education; while Lord Salisbury was the author of the Housing of the Working Classes Bill. This measure was based upon the report of the Commission appointed in the previous year, to the exclusion of the minority recommendation condemnatory of the system of building on leasehold, and provided that (1) sanitary authorities should be empowered to make bye-laws for the effective inspection of lodging-houses; (2) the Local Government Board should have power to pull down houses unfit for human habitation; (3) landlords should be held to have violated their contract and be rendered liable for illness and death who let houses in an insanitary condition; (4) the Board of Works was empowered to buy at a "fair market price" the sites of disused metropolitan prisons for the erection of working-class dwellings, to be let at lower rentals than the Peabody Buildings. In spite of the outcry of the Earl of Wemyss against State Socialism, the expedient was generally recognised as a statesmanlike attempt to minimise evils which had become a scandal to Christian England. Further, a Medical Relief Bill was introduced by Mr. Balfour, in consequence of Mr. Jesse Collings's declaration that he would, unless the matter was taken up, produce a measure of his own. In the course of discussion, however, the scope of Mr. Balfour's draft was so altered by an amendment of Mr. Collings, including surgical aid, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer disclaimed all further responsibility, and to Sir William Harcourt fell the abnormal task of conducting the Bill through its final stages to the less captious House of Lords.

Two incidents of widely different character varied the monotony of these pacific debates. The first was the approval expressed by Lord R. Churchill explicitly, and by the Chancellor of the Exchequer by implication, of a motion of Mr. Parnell's demanding an inquiry into Lord Spencer's conduct with reference to the Barbavilla and Maamtrassna murders, coupled with a promise from Lord Carnarvon that if a memorial was presented he would inquire into the cases. So direct a slur upon a statesman, who, if he had made mistakes, was at all events the main supporter of law and order in circumstances of unusual difficulty, was indignantly repudiated by the *Standard* and other Conservative organs, and Lord Salisbury, from the warm encomiums passed

upon the Earl in the debates on the Ashbourne Bill, appeared to discountenance the ungraciousness of his lieutenants. The Liberal party took up the matter with warmth at a banquet, presided over by Lord Hartington, in Lord Spencer's honour. There Mr. Bright denounced as disloyal to the Crown and directly hostile to Great Britain those who, pretending to represent Ireland, had assailed Lord Spencer and the judges with an insolence never before equalled. Whereupon, Mr. Callan, as an ally of Toryism, attempted to call Mr. Bright to account for breach of privilege, with the result that, after a debate which hardly strengthened Lord Randolph Churchill's position, he failed to establish his charge by 123 votes to 23. The second incident, on which the storm spent itself out of doors, concerned the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. This measure, introduced early in the session, had advanced some way, and then was talked out by Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck. Its fate seemed sealed, when the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Mr. Stead, in a series of strongly worded and, as the event proved, somewhat imaginative articles entitled "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," aroused the flagging attention of the public. The result was that Sir R. Cross hastily reintroduced the Bill, and it became law despite protests by Mr. Hopwood against legislating in a panic, the age of consent being ultimately fixed at sixteen. A curious sequel was the trial of Mr. Stead and his co-investigators, Mrs. Jarrett, Mr. Bramwell Booth, and Mr. Jacques, *alias* Mussabini, for the abduction of a girl, Eliza Armstrong, for purposes of evidence, and the conviction of the first two, though the jury found that Mr. Stead had been actuated by the purest motives. On the eve of the prorogation Lord Iddesleigh made a statement with regard to the proposed Royal Commission to inquire into the Depression of Trade, from which it appeared that though Mr. Goschen, Mr. Forster, and Mr. Courtney had declined to serve on a body which approached Free Trade with an open mind, others of unimpeachable reputation, from the Cobdenite point of view, had consented to join.

Before his departure for Ireland, Lord Carnarvon declared in the House of Lords that it was no hopeless task to conjoin "good feeling to England with good government in Ireland," and immediately after his state entry he denounced "that hateful word coercion." Nay, more, he arranged, through an intermediary in the person of Mr. Justin McCarthy, a conference with Mr. Parnell in London at the close of July, and the interview occurred.

At the meeting Lord Carnarvon, according to his own account, mentioned first that he was acting of himself by himself, and that the responsibility was not shared by any of his colleagues; secondly, that his only object was to obtain information, and no agreement or understanding, however shadowy, was to be deduced from the conversation; and thirdly, that, as the servant of the Queen, he could listen to nothing inconsistent with the maintenance of the union between England and Ireland. Lord Carnarvon further stated that his side of the conversation was confined to asking questions and suggesting objections to answers, and that, at the close, something was said about a second interview which did not take place. This important meeting was kept secret for nearly a year, when, in the debate on Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill, Mr. Parnell made public reference to it, and even declared that Lord Carnarvon had said that, in the event of a Conservative majority at the polls, the leaders were prepared to give Ireland a statutory parliament with the right to protect Irish industries, and would propose a large scheme of land purchase. Lord Carnarvon, in the House of Lords, at once denied having given such an undertaking, and Mr. Parnell replied by a detailed statement, in which he reiterated and confirmed his former assertion, that the Conservatives, or at any rate the Lord-Lieutenant, were ready to come to terms with the Irish party. Lord Carnarvon subsequently—on the 10th of May, 1888—reproached himself with holding the interview without witnesses, and it is, of course, quite possible for two persons to derive very different impressions from a long conversation without any insincerity. The Viceroy seems indeed to have entered upon his hazardous experiment with no distinct views beyond a platonic inclination towards "some limited form of self-government, not in any way independent of Imperial control, such as might satisfy real local requirements and to some extent national aspirations;" and his candid unguardedness may well have been manipulated for ulterior purposes by the cool cynic with whom he had to deal. That something *was* said about the protection of Irish industries seems clear, since Mr. Parnell, in a speech delivered at Arklow on the 20th of August, declared it his firm belief that, without a certain measure of protection, it would "be impossible for us to keep the great portion of the labouring classes at home and in comfort"—thus propounding for the first time an entirely new demand. These traffickings with the Irish leader, combined with the tone of the

Maamtrassna debate, naturally conciliated his party, who were further alienated from the Liberals by the publication in *United Ireland* of a letter—of which the authorship was not denied—from Sir George Errington to Lord Granville, from which it appeared that on the death of Cardinal McCabe (February 11th) the British Government had put pressure on the Papacy to procure the election of a non-Nationalist Archbishop of Dublin. In the result they were disappointed, since Dr. Walsh, who was chosen, was distinctly of that colour, and promptly took a prominent part in the Home Rule controversy. Meanwhile, if outrages did not increase through the absence of coercion, on the other hand they did not disappear. Moonlighting was rife during the autumn nights, and in November a peculiarly brutal attack was made on the farm of a Mr. Curtin of Castleisland, himself a member of the National League, in which he was mortally wounded, after his sons and daughters had fought most gallantly in his defence.

Meanwhile the preparations for the General Election were being carried on in every quarter with the utmost vigour. Shortly after the fall of his Government (June 29th), Mr. Gladstone, in a letter to the chairman of the Midlothian Liberal Association, declared that though he had never expected to seek re-election, he was "not at that moment released from his duties to the party which had trusted him." Lord Rosebery, at the meeting held to hear the missive, coined a telling phrase—"As for Lord Hartington, he is a Whig; Mr. Chamberlain is a Radical; and I, gentlemen, am satisfied to be a Liberal; yet we are all content to stand under Mr. Gladstone's umbrella." That comprehensive ægis appeared, nevertheless, in danger of collapse, since Mr. Forster, at Bradford, promptly expressed himself as against the progressive income-tax and Mr. Chamberlain's plan of elective councils for Ireland, which he termed "Home Rule in disguise," also against Disestablishment, though he thought that, if ever really desired by the majority, it would come. Similarly Lord Hartington at Waterfoot condemned free education, graduated taxation, and the proposal that Local Government Boards might acquire land for the purpose of division into small holdings. He supported, however, land reform, to the extent of removing the restrictions on the transfer of land and the abolition of primogeniture, and was strongly in favour of a popular Local Government Bill. Commenting on this programme Mr. Chamberlain's organ, the *Birmingham Post*, declared that if the Whigs really intended to exclude his

proposals the result would be a divided party, a diminished majority, a brief and troubled Parliament, an appeal to the country, and a Radical triumph. Indeed Mr. Chamberlain made no secret of his alienation from the Moderates. Lord Hartington was dubbed by him "Rip van Winkle"; Mr. Goschen "the Egyptian Skeleton." He continued to advocate his "unauthorised programme" with more zeal than ever, and at Hull, and again at Warrington, laid down his demands in the shape of (1) graduated taxation, (2) the emancipation of the soil by the establishment of free trade in land and the creation of a peasant proprietary, (3) free education, (4) the revision of taxation, and (5) the taxation of unoccupied land, sporting land rents and royalties. All these questions were defined as parts of the Radical programme, and they would have to be met in the immediate future. On one point, and on one point only, was Mr. Chamberlain in agreement with Lord Hartington: that Mr. Parnell's ultimatum, which bluntly defined the objects of his party as "legislative independence," could not be conceded; still he was in favour of "the widest possible measure of domestic government for Ireland," and in other respects their divergence was complete.

The Conservatives naturally did not fail to make note of these differences, and they also raised the effective cry of "the Church in danger," though as a matter of fact Disestablishment was advocated by few, if any, of the prominent Liberals. Still, from a census taken by the *Record* and modified by the *Guardian* it appeared that of the 1,061 candidates 374 were in its favour, only 31 against, and the rest either would not or did not express any opinion. This seemed to confirm the impression that the Establishment was menaced, and, combined with denunciations of free education and the "three acres and a cow," was an effective Conservative weapon, to the exclusion of the blunders in the Soudan, the Russian complications, and even the question of coercion or conciliation in Ireland. Of constructive statesmanship there were some indications in Lord R. Churchill's speech at Sheffield (September 3rd), in which he expressed himself as on the whole in agreement with Lord Hartington as to the worthlessness of the land proposals of that "honest and outspoken politician," Mr. Chamberlain, and with scriptural fervour implored the Whig leader to "come over and help us." More particularly Lord Salisbury, in an address at Newport (October 7th), informed the National Union of Conservative Associations that he was in favour of (1) large reforms of

local government, (2) the reform of local taxation and the relief of local burdens, (3) the entrustment of local authorities with powers to settle, *pro tempore*, the question of Sunday closing and local option. As for Ireland, he saw no signs of hope in any scheme of federation. With regard to land, he promised on behalf of the Lord Chancellor a Bill providing for cheap transfer and compulsory registration of title. He was also in favour of a scheme for the sale of glebe. But he regarded Mr. Chamberlain's peasant proprietary as a ruinously costly experiment and contrary to the spirit of the times, and pronounced himself in favour of denominational schools and religious education. He concluded by a stirring appeal on behalf of the Established Church, the disendowment of which would be "fraught with frightful disaster to the nation, and more calamitous than any other change which has taken place. The Church will be stripped and bare. In every part of the land the machinery by which God's Word had been preached, by which the ministrations of religion have been carried to suffering humanity, would be put an end to. We can talk in no ambiguous language. It is a matter of life and death to us. Our party is bound up with the maintenance of the Established and Endowed Church of the country."

Lord Salisbury's able speech undoubtedly rallied the Conservatives; while Mr. Gladstone's electoral manifesto to the electors of Midlothian, issued on September 18th, had perhaps missed its aim. This lengthy document acknowledged serious difficulties in the Soudan and in Egypt, from which country he was anxious to withdraw entirely "at the earliest moment that honour would permit," and laid down the programme of the immediate future—namely, (1) the enfranchisement of the soil, to include freedom of bequest, freedom of possession, land transfer and so forth, together with a measure to extend largely the numbers of "those interested in the possession and produce of land, but most of all in the proprietorship of their own dwellings"; (2) the reform of local government in the representative direction; (3) a thorough reform of procedure in the House of Commons. He was apparently in favour of the "mending" of the House of Lords. He declined to touch the question of Disestablishment, while admitting that if it came "the vitality of the Church would be equal to all the needs of the occasion," and reserved his judgment on the question of free education. With regard to Ireland, he was somewhat vague if magniloquent—"to maintain the supremacy of the Crown, the unity of the

Empire, and all the authority of Parliament necessary for the conservation of that country is the first duty of every representative of the people. Subject to the governing principle, every grant to portions of the country of enlarged powers is, in my view, not a source of danger, but a means of averting it, and is in the nature of a new guarantee of increased cohesion, happiness and strength." To this equally balanced decision Mr. Gladstone added a solemn prophecy: "I believe history will consign to disgrace the name and memory of every man, be he who he may, and on whichever side of the Channel he may dwell, that, having the power to aid in an equitable settlement between Ireland and Great Britain, shall use that power not to aid, but to prevent or to retard it." The reception of the manifesto was hardly unanimous either in the Liberal press or among Liberal politicians, and certainly there was exhibited much of that "freedom of individual thought and action" which the leader of the Opposition declared preferable to the "regimental discipline of the two minorities." Mr. Goschen cordially accepted the programme, but Mr. Chamberlain, after receiving it with due respect, declared at the Victoria Hall, Lambeth, that if his proposals with regard to the land were rejected, he would not take his place in the next Liberal Cabinet, but would lend "a loyal support" from outside. This course was approved by Mr. John Morley, and an important conversion was that of Sir William Harcourt, who at Blandford on September 28th declared himself in complete agreement with Mr. Chamberlain, "who grew stronger the more he was abused."

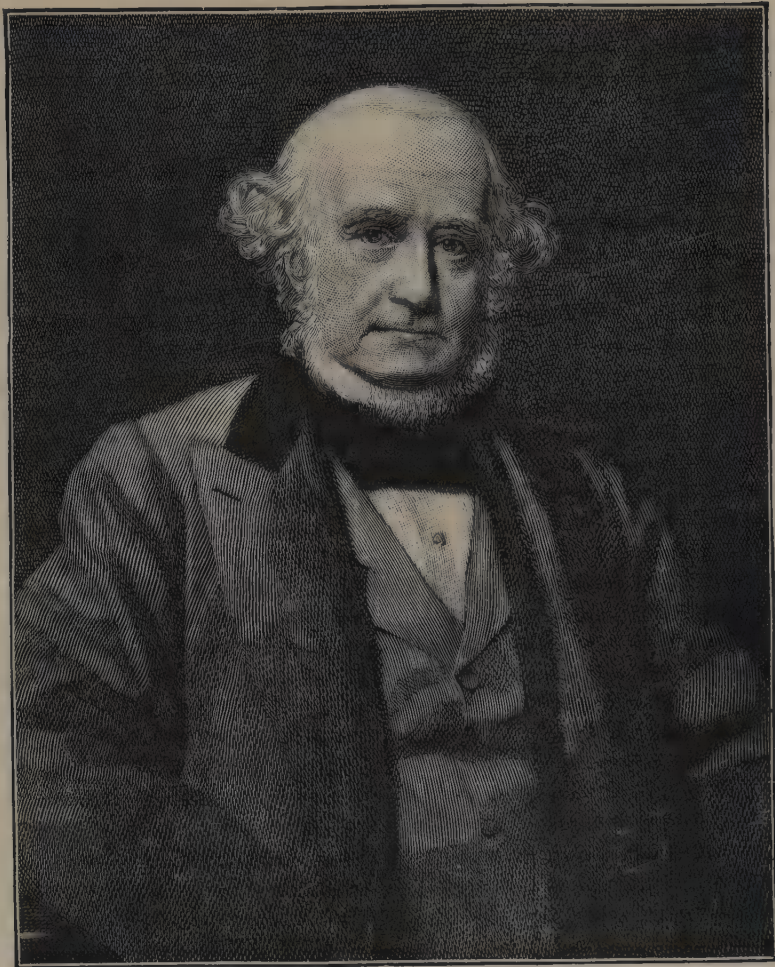
As the day of the polls approached, the din of words became more deafening and the issues more confused. Apparently the alarms of Churchmen were on the increase, for, despite a letter of Mr. Gladstone's to Mr. Bosworth Smith relegating Disestablishment to the "dim and distant future," an appeal, initiated by Earl Grey and signed by such Liberals as Lord Mount-Temple, Lord Selborne, and Mr. Thomas Hughes, was circulated to politicians of all parties, urging them to refuse their support to any candidate who would not pledge himself to resist the projects of the Liberationists. The two unknown factors of the situation were the agricultural labourer's vote, now solicited for the first time, and that of the Irish in England, which if cast solidly for either party might obviously turn the result in many an urban constituency. The first remained to the last obscure; all doubt as to the second disappeared,

however, when on November 21st a florid *pronunciamiento* appeared under the sanction of Mr. Parnell, in which the Nationalists were urged to vote against "the men who coerced Ireland, deluged Egypt with blood, menaced religious liberty in the school, the freedom of speech in Parliament, and promised to the country generally a repetition of the crimes and follies of the last Liberal Administration." The effect of this document was that many Conservative candidates for urban constituencies undoubtedly coquetted with Home Rule, if not under that very title, at least under the guise of "local self-government," though it is true that Mr. Parnell, from motives of his own, denied the existence of any alliance. Meanwhile, Mr. Gladstone had been to Midlothian, and returned after a fairly successful campaign. The lion in the path was the question of Scottish Disestablishment, with which the dialectician played as follows:—"It is a great, it is a gigantic, question; and I am very far from saying that if I were but twenty years younger, I could stand before you at a future election, and if then circumstances were ripe for taking a matter of this kind in hand—either on one side or the other—I am very far from saying that I should then urge you not to give it the first place in your thoughts and actions." This vaguest of declarations produced something like a revolt among the leaders of the Free Church party, but the conciliation of Lord Rosebery prevailed, and the question ceased to be put forward as a test of Scottish candidates. For the rest, Mr. Gladstone in four great speeches spoke with all his old power on finance and the general merits of the "authorised programme."

Parliament was dissolved on November 18th, and in the following week the elections began in the English boroughs. The result was startling, and the Liberal reverses were many and great. London returned 37 Conservatives as against 25 Liberals. Liverpool returned 8 Conservatives and a Home Ruler (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) and Manchester 5 Conservatives and 1 Liberal, but Birmingham was solidly Liberal, Mr. Bright escaping defeat at the hands of Lord Randolph Churchill by a majority of 800. Two Cabinet Ministers were rejected, Mr. Childers and Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and other disasters were those of Sir A. Hayter, Mr. G. W. Russell, Mr. J. K. Cross, and Mr. Horace Davey. The result of the English town elections was practically a tie between Conservatives and Liberals, 114 against 111, but the Scottish and Welsh boroughs gave the Opposition an advantage; and the borough representation

of Great Britain was 150 Liberals to 117 Conservatives. There remained to be gauged the opinion of the agricultural voter and the half-rural, half-urban constituencies. Here a turn of the tide set in with the elections of Lord Hartington for Rossendale against Mr. Ecroyd, a prominent "fair

connection with their distribution. In the three provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught every seat was carried by the Nationalists, except those for the University of Dublin. Even in Protestant Ulster 16 Tories were returned against 17 Nationalists, showing a majority of one for



LORD HOUGHTON (After the Portrait by R. Lehmann.)

trader," and Mr. Gladstone in Midlothian. The Scottish elections went decidedly for the Liberals, who also swept the English counties, particularly those on the sea-board. They obtained 134 seats to the 100 which had been kept by the Conservatives. Wales followed with 18 Liberals and 1 Tory, and Scotland with 32 Liberals and 7 Tories. Meanwhile, Mr. Parnell was changing the map of Ireland, which country returned 85 Nationalists, but 18 Conservatives, and wiped the "Whigs" completely out. These figures were all the more remarkable when considered in

Home Rule. It was noticed also that the Home Rulers were elected by enormous majorities; in fact, the number of votes cast on Mr. Parnell's side was 212,159 as against 22,247 for the Conservatives, giving an average of 4,329 for each Nationalist and 454 for each Conservative. As the battle drew to a close, prominent Liberals hurried off to the still unpolled seats and worked hard for the cause. One of them was Sir William Harcourt, who, speaking at Lowestoft of the supposed alliance between Conservatism and Nationalism, condemned the former "to stew in their

Parnellite juice till they stank in the nostrils of the people"—in the event, a somewhat unfortunate epigram. The final result was—Liberals, 335 votes; Conservatives, 249; and Home Rulers, 86—that is, to all intents and purposes, a tie between Mr. Gladstone and his opponents.

Forthwith the air was thick with rumours. Would Lord Salisbury resign? No. Would he seek for a *via media* with Mr. Parnell? No. Would Mr. Gladstone? Well, perhaps. Such at least was the upshot of a whisper which went the round of the clubs and was published only to be contradicted. On December 16th, however, a simultaneous announcement appeared in the *Standard* and *Leeds Mercury* to the effect that Mr. Gladstone was prepared to deal with Home Rule on the following lines:—"The maintenance of the unity of the Empire, the authority of the Crown, and the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament to be assured. The creation of an Irish Parliament, to be entrusted with the entire management of all legislative and administrative affairs, securities being taken for the representation of minorities, and for an equitable partition of all Imperial charges. One of the guarantees suggested would probably be the nomination of a certain proportion of the Irish members by the Crown." Mr. Herbert Gladstone's name was associated with this startling departure, and the story appeared to receive confirmation from Mr. Gladstone's telegram to the *Central News*: "The statement is not an accurate representation of my views, but is, I presume, a speculation on them. It is not published with my knowledge or authority; nor is any other, beyond my own public declarations." This qualified denial hardly allayed the general excitement. The provincial press was profoundly divided; while, of the London papers, the *Daily News*, after an embarrassed silence, declared that Home Rule with certain limitations, easily discoverable under the words of the proposed scheme, might safely be granted. The *Spectator*, on the other hand, asserted that if we "were not prepared for separation, any great step in the direction of Home Rule would be a far greater mistake than passive resistance to Mr. Parnell's policy, even should he turn out Government after Government." Politicians were equally stirred. Mr. Chamberlain promptly improved the occasion by a very remarkable speech to the Birmingham Liberal Club on the 17th of December. "I have hoped," said he, "I have expressed publicly the desire that the two democracies, the English and the Irish, moved by common aspiration and sympathetic appreciation,

should march shoulder to shoulder along the paths of political freedom and progress." He considered that Mr. Parnell had deliberately alienated the Liberal party; but then national questions were not to be prejudiced by personal considerations. "We stand face to face with a very remarkable demonstration of the Irish people. They have shown that, so far as regards the great majority of them, they are earnestly in favour of a change in the administration of their government, and of some system which would give them a larger control of their domestic affairs. Well, we ourselves, by our public declarations and by our Liberal principles, are pledged to acknowledge the substantial justice of the claim." Mr. Chamberlain denied any negotiations with Mr. Parnell, so far as himself was concerned, and did not believe them of any other Liberal leaders, and declared that Mr. Gladstone's public utterances were a sufficient index to his opinions. "He has again and again said that the first duty of the Liberal statesman is to maintain the integrity of the Empire and the supremacy of the Crown; but that, subject to that, he was prepared to give the largest possible measure of local government that could be conceived or proposed. Well, I entirely agree with those principles, and I have so much faith in the experience and patriotism of Mr. Gladstone that I cannot doubt that if he should ever see his way to propose any scheme of arrangement, I shall be able conscientiously to give it my humble support. But it is right, it is due to the Irish people to say that all sections of the Liberal party, Radicals as much as Whigs, are determined that the integrity of the Empire shall be a reality and not an empty phrase." But if Mr. Chamberlain was ready to go most lengths, Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen came to town, and the result of their conference was that the former wrote to Mr. Brooks, the chairman of his election committee, denying that any proposals for satisfying the demands of the Home Rule party in Ireland had been submitted to him, and saying that he saw "no reason to depart in any degree from his previous declarations." Mr. Forster wrote in an equally uncompromising sense from his sick bed at Torquay. Mr. Morley, on the contrary, was for grappling directly with a difficulty which, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman opined, should be dealt with by the leaders of the two great parties in conference with Mr. Parnell. "The task," said the former, in an eloquent speech at Newcastle, "will be a long one. It will stir deep passions, it will perhaps destroy a great party. But whatever may be the outcome,

I say it is the duty of every one of us Liberals to view the question as calmly and steadfastly as he can, feeling that he is discharging as urgent a duty as has been imposed upon English citizens since the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century." With the outspoken utterance of Mr. Trevelyan's—"there is no half-way house between entire separation and absolute Imperial control"—the year came to an end amidst perplexities and doubts of which the *ballon d'essai* from Hawarden, by whomsoever launched, had been the inspiring cause. The Press Association took advantage of the opportunity to catechise the Liberal members on the Irish question. The majority of the replies was decidedly guarded and enigmatic.

So entirely political had been the interest of the twelvemonth that at its close little save oratory seemed to have occurred. True, the agitation of the Scottish crofters continued, eight being sentenced in February to terms of imprisonment for "deforcing" and assaulting the messenger-at-arms sent to serve the writs of the Court of Session; while seizures of cattle were frequently effected by the sheriff's officers despite vigorous resistance. But notwithstanding a visit from Mr. Chamberlain, their cause hardly attracted general attention, and their wrongs and the possible remedies were alike obscure to the public at large. More attention was bestowed on the English strikes, beginning with that of the Saltaire spinners in March, and including those of Oldham cotton operatives, some 25,000 in number, who were "out" from the 20th of July to the 16th of October, when a compromise was effected, and of the colliers of South and West Yorkshire, some 30,000 strong, who resisted with success a 10 per cent. reduction of wages. The disturbed conditions of the labour market were fully evidenced in London, where meetings of the "unemployed" began to be held under the auspices of the Social Democratic Federation. On the 14th of February they assembled in a force of some thousands on the Thames Embankment, and, headed by Mr. H. M. Hyndman, proceeded to the Local Government Board, where they were

referred by Mr. G. W. Russell to the local authorities. Again, on the 12th of April, a meeting, said to number 10,000, was held in Hyde Park, at which a compulsory eight-hours' day and the right of employment on the public works were the topics agitated. At this point the demonstrations ceased for the most part, only to be renewed in more formidable shape in following years.

Among the deaths of the year may be noted those of two illustrious judges, Lord O'Hagan and Sir Robert Phillimore, and of the most constructive of Conservative Lord Chancellors, Earl Cairns, whose honourable career came to an end on the 2nd of April. A statesman of the old Whig type was Viscount Halifax, better known as Sir Charles Wood, and hardly the most successful of financiers. The brilliant Lord Houghton expired on the 11th of August, and in him England mourned a poet who narrowly missed being great, and a politician honourably associated with the establishment of juvenile reformatories and other enterprises for the benefit of the masses. Lord Shaftesbury's noble life closed on the 1st of October, but his exertions for the improvement of factories, for the ragged schools, the shoeblacks, and for the cause of religion and morality in general, were not easily forgotten. Another philanthropist whose purse was ever open to the Jewish community was the centenarian, Sir Moses Montefiore. The Church mourned Bishop Jackson of London, a hard-working and unobtrusive divine; Dr. Fraser, the broad-minded Bishop of Manchester; and the well-known scholar, Dr. Howson, Dean of Chester. Two active diplomatists were no more: Sir Henry Parkes, who upheld the honour of England in the far East, and Sir James Hudson, under Lord Palmerston a designer of Italian unity. Finally, two men of action were missed from the ranks: Admiral Sartorius, who did good service for constitutionalism in Portugal, and the aged Lord Strathnairn, the Sir Hugh Rose who stamped out the mutiny by his famous campaign in Central India.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Bismarck on the Cameroons—Settlement of the Dispute—The New Guinea and Samoa White Books—A Tirade against Lord Granville—Bismarck on Egypt—The French Financial Proposals—The *Bosphore Egyptien*—Issue of the Loan—The Italian Agreement—Deadlock on the Afghan Frontier—Advance of the Russians—Lord Granville's Remonstrance—The Durbar at Rawul Pindi—M. de Giers' Assurances—The Collision at Penjdeh—Mr. Gladstone's Declaration—The "Solemn Covenant"—The Vote of Credit—Arbitration accepted—"Bankrupt or Swindler"—Resumption of Negotiations—The Boundary Commission at Work—The Bulgarian Revolution—Hesitation of the Porte—Lord Salisbury's Comment—Indignation of Greece and Servia—The Constantinople Conference—War between Servia and Bulgaria—The Turkish Delegates—The Armistice—Sir H. D. Wolff's Mission—Treaty between France and China—Lord Dufferin and the Native Indian Princes—Sir F. Roberts's Reforms—Indian Finance—Theebaw's Misdeeds—Occupation of Mandalay—Annexation of Upper Burma—The New South Wales Contingent—Australian Defences—The Riel Rebellion—Fisheries Questions—Australian Federation—The Germans in Africa—The Berlin Conference—The Warren Expedition at the Cape.

APART from Egypt and the Soudan, the outlook abroad at the beginning of 1885 was by no means cheerful. For the moment the most important feature was the extreme irritation of Prince Bismarck, who, in a speech to the Reichstag delivered on January 9th, expounded his colonial policy and set forth his charges against Great Britain. The occasion was a vote of £9,000 for the administration of Germany's new colony in the Cameroons, when the Chancellor declared that though the British Government had acted in good faith with regard to the annexation, the British agents, particularly the Consul, Mr. Hewett, had not. On the contrary, he had instigated the natives to rebel, with the result that King Bell Town and Hickory Town had to be bombarded and burnt. In these operations Prince Bismarck asserted that the German forces had been fired at from factories and missions under the British flag, and roundly declared that unless British subjects abroad mended their ways, "we should perhaps be compelled to support those who, without wishing it, are antagonistic to England, and establish a certain system of *do ut des*." The tirade, however, was brought to a somewhat tame conclusion when, in answer to Dr. Windthorst, the leader of the Centre, who believed war to be possible, the Prince said, "The possibility of a war with England I absolutely deny; it does not exist at present." The difficulty was settled later in the year by an agreement whereby Amba Bay and the Rio del Rey were abandoned to Germany, while Great Britain retained the Baptist settlement of Victoria in the bay and the whole of the coast from the Rio del Rey to Cape Three Points.

Meanwhile Prince Bismarck's irritation continued, and by way of explaining his wrath he published two White Books, one detailing the

disputes between the United Kingdom and Germany as to the division of New Guinea, the other relating to Samoa, an unfortunate island which, in order to forestall acquisition by New Zealand, had been placed under a curiously compounded German and native administration. Upon the latter topic he treated the German Parliament to a second outburst (March 2), of which the text was the publication of documents of "the most confidential character" in the British Blue Books before they had been received by the Emperor, and expressions of Lord Granville's in Parliament which appeared to imply that Germany was to be allowed no liberty of action in Africa. Then as to Lord Granville's methods of work—since the summer of 1884 the Berlin Foreign Office had received 128 British despatches containing altogether some 700 or 800 pages. "We have not received," said he, "so much from all the other foreign Governments together in the twenty-three years I have been Foreign Minister. Every nation and Government has the right to do business in the manner it considers useful, but a foreign policy chiefly made up of printed and published notes, sometimes written in order to impress your own Parliament favourably, entails the danger of writing somewhat to impress Parliament and not the foreign Governments exclusively." Fortunately the Chancellor's resentment was brief; scarcely were the words out of his mouth when Count Herbert Bismarck was sent on an informal visit to England and Lord Rosebery returned the compliment at Berlin. The explanations must have been satisfactory, since before the Liberals left office agreements had been made not only, as mentioned above, with regard to the Cameroons, but also concerning the respective possessions of the United Kingdom and Germany in New Guinea.

In the same speech of March 2nd Prince Bismarck categorically denied Lord Granville's statement in the House of Lords that he had ever advised England to take Egypt. He said that his advice had frequently been asked and as often refused, but that at last he had given his opinion against annexation. He well understood the importance to England of having a secured position in this link between her European and

could be obtained from despatches that were always crossing one another," and it was not until the end of January that the negotiations were resumed. In brief, the French counter-proposals came to this—that they were willing to consent to a loan of £9,000,000 instead of five millions at 3½ per cent. under the collective guarantee of the Powers; that, while maintaining that the Egyptian revenue was amply able to cover the average



THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB, LONDON.

Asiatic establishments, but he did not see how it could be acquired without violating treaties, unless England entered into possession as "leaseholder" under the Sultan. In any case Germany would not regard it as her duty to prevent a British annexation of the Khedive's dominions, "England's friendship being of more importance to us than the future of Egypt." This declaration was satisfactory enough in its way, and would have carried weight had it not closely coincided with a consistent obstruction of Lord Granville's proposals for the re-establishment of Egyptian finance. Acting in avowed concert with the French Government, Prince Bismarck pursued a policy of delay on the ground that "no agreement

expenditure, they gave a temporary consent to a tax of 5 per cent. on the coupons of all debts; that foreigners should be taxed equally with natives; that the Daira and Domain lands should not be readministered, as Lord Granville desired, but remain as they were. Lord Granville accepted the last stipulation, and assented also to the important principle of a collective guarantee; but there were difficulties as to details, and it was not until March 18th, more than a month after M. Waddington had signified the formal approval of his Government, that a convention was signed in London by the representatives of the Powers.

Almost immediately, however, there arose a grave dispute concerning the *Bosphore Egyptien*, a

French paper that was suspended, not for the first time, and the printing office closed, for scurrilous attacks upon the British administration, culminating in the manufacture of imaginary disasters in the Soudan. The French Consul-General, M. Taillandier, took up the matter with warmth, even threatening to break off diplomatic relations, and in the end the Egyptian Government, acting under Lord Granville's advice, had to apologise to France, reopen the printing office, withdraw the suspension, and indemnify the printer. That the interference was a grand mistake may be judged from the fact that the *Bosphore*, after a fresh course of vituperation to which little attention was paid, died a natural death in September. The tension between the Governments thus happily removed, the loan was sanctioned by decree in July, by which time the Khedivial treasury was in a condition of unenviable emptiness. The terms were—£9,000,000 at an issue price of $94\frac{3}{4}$ at 3 per cent. interest, while as additional sources of revenue a tax of 5 per cent. was levied on the Preference and Unified Debts, the redemption of the Privileged and Unified Debts was suspended, and the British Government consented to abandon $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the interest on its Suez Canal shares. The terms were undoubtedly easy—according to Mr. Labouchere, ridiculously so—but, as Sir M. Hicks-Beach explained, time pressed. At any rate the rush for shares was remarkable; in a very few days applications for no less than £200,000,000 had been received, proving thereby that the regeneration of Egypt was possible.

In happy contrast to the policy of M. de Freycinet, whom the fall of M. Ferry in April had placed in power at the Quai d'Orsai, was the loyal support given by the Italian Government to the British occupation. Naturally it was not without a *quid pro quo*. On the 1st of January the terms of an agreement between Lord Granville and Signor Mancini were published in the *Turin Gazette*, in virtue of which Italy was to assist England in her enterprises in Egypt in return for the countenance of her occupation of the Red Sea littoral between Massowah and the French colony of Obosk. With this arrangement the Sultan was reported as highly indignant; nor did the Khedive, though his authority in those regions was a mere shadow, greatly relish the advent of the expedition which under General Gené proceeded to occupy the district. Throughout the year the Egyptian officials continued to protest, and when at length they took their departure, a more formidable rival appeared in the person of King John of

Abyssinia, who had long coveted the harbour of Massowah.

The Italian agreement, however, was but a small set-off to the dispute with Russia, which at one time appeared likely to bring about a repetition of the Crimean war. At the beginning of the year the state of affairs on the Afghan frontier was that the British members of the Delimitation Commission were waiting for their Russian colleague, General Zelenoi, who delayed his coming. Then it appeared that Russia preferred to negotiate directly with London; accordingly M. Gospodin Lessar, the explorer, was dispatched from St. Petersburg, and prolonged disputes began as to the relative merits of a settlement on the bases of race or of governments. Meanwhile the Russian forces, not unobserved by Sir Peter Lumsden, were stealthily advancing in the direction of Herat, and by the end of February they had occupied the Zulfikar Pass on the Hari Rud and Pul-i-Khisti on the Khusk. This serious aggression was promptly reported by Sir Peter Lumsden and the Ameer of Afghanistan, who demanded assistance. Lord Granville at once requested the Government of St. Petersburg to withdraw its troops, and, on refusal (February 14th), informed M. de Giers that further advance would be resisted by force, and that Her Majesty's Government would support the resistance. Lord Dufferin meanwhile invited the Ameer to a durbar at Rawul Pindi, where he was received with great ceremony, and promised substantial assistance in arms and ammunition. At the same time the Indian army was quietly mobilised, and 50,000 troops were ready to advance into Afghanistan *via* the Quetta railway should disaster occur.

The tension did not long continue; while M. de Giers sent pacific assurances from St. Petersburg that the Russian forces had orders to avoid a conflict pending negotiations, the said forces, some 2,000 strong, were massed within 2,000 yards of the Afghan position at Ak Tepe, on the left bank of the Khusk. On March 17th an agreement was made between the two Governments, under which the Russians were not to advance from their positions, provided the Afghans on their side did not advance or attack, or unless there should be extraordinary reason for their advancing, such as a disturbance at Penjdeh. M. de Giers also assured the British Government, in the most solemn terms, that the Russians had no design whatever on Herat, and declared that, although the strategic frontier of the Afghan dominions was in the opinion of experts the summit of the Birkhut ridge, his Government

were prepared to accept a line drawn fifty miles to the north of the range. Meanwhile Sir Peter Lumsden reported that General Komaroff, the Governor of Transcaspia, denied that he had orders not to advance, that he refused to give orders to that effect, that "every endeavour was being made by the Russians to induce the Afghans to fight, and that Russian forces had attempted forcibly to pass through the Afghan pickets." On the 30th of March the inevitable collision occurred. According to General Komaroff the Afghans brought on the battle by their provocative demeanour, but Captain Yate, a member of the Boundary Commission who had been left to watch events, stated that their bearing was patient and pacific. His version of the fracas was, that on the 27th Colonel Alikhanoff with his cavalry pushed past Pul-i-Khisti and actually appeared four miles in the rear of the Afghan position, when he was intercepted and ordered to retire. Then General Komaroff, who had superseded Alikhanoff, sent an ultimatum to the Afghan commander ordering him to withdraw his pickets, which he firmly refused to do. Possibly there may have been something in the nature of a counter-advance; at any rate, on the fated day the Afghans found themselves in a trap, with a force on their flank and the main body advancing up the Khusk. They were some 4,000, and came on boldly to the attack, but, armed with obsolete muzzle-loaders, could offer but feeble resistance, and fled leaving 500 men on the field. General Komaroff did not pursue, but contented himself with proclaiming the annexation of Penjdeh, the fort whence the affair took its name; and Captain Yate, minus his baggage, which was plundered by the Tekke Turcomans, rejoined the Commission which was moving west.

"The House," said Mr. Gladstone on the 9th of April, "will not be surprised if I say, speaking with measured words in circumstances of great gravity, that to us, upon the statements I have recited, this attack bears the appearance of an unprovoked aggression." And when Sir Peter Lumsden's comments stigmatised General Komaroff's version of the affray as "incorrect," when, further, a false report arrived that the Russians had advanced to Maruchak, thirty miles nearer to Herat, everything pointed to immediate war. By way of counterstroke the British Government ordered the occupation of Port Hamilton in Corea, with the full consent of China, and on the 21st Mr. Gladstone demanded a war credit of eleven millions. In a most impressive speech delivered on the 27th, the Prime

Minister defined the case as not one of war, actual or even proximate, but of preparation. He sketched the historical aspects of the question, notably British obligations to the Ameer, and the agreement of March 17th. This he defined as "a solemn covenant involving great issues. There were thousands of men, on the one side, standing for their country, and on the other side, for what they thought to be their patriotic duty, placed in a position of dangerous contiguity and in danger of bloody collision. This engagement came between the danger and the people exposed to it, and we believed that it would be recognised as one of the most sacred covenants ever made between two great nations, and that there would be a rivalry between the two Powers to sift the incident that followed to the end, and how it had come about, and who and where were the persons upon whom the responsibility lies. What happened? The bloody engagement of March 30th followed the covenant. I shall overstate nothing; I shall not purposely overstate anything. All I say is this—that that woeful engagement of March 30th distinctly showed that one party or both had, either through ill-will or through unfortunate mishap, failed to fulfil the conditions of the understanding. We considered it, and we consider it still, to be the duty of both countries—and, above all, I will say for the honour of both countries—to examine how and by whose fault the calamity came about. I will have no foregone conclusions. I will not anticipate that we are in the right, and, although I have perfect confidence in the honour and intelligence of our officers, I will not now assume that they may not have been misled. . . . Whose was the provocation is a matter of the utmost consequence. We know that the attack was a Russian attack; we know that the Afghans suffered in life, in spirit, and in repute; we know that a blow was struck at the credit and authority of a sovereign, our protected ally, who had committed no offence. All I say, sir, is that we cannot, in this state of things, close this book and say—'We will look into it no more.'"

So stirring was the appeal that the vote was agreed to without a division, amidst loud and continuous cheering. The situation appeared to be aggravated by the presentation by the Czar of swords of honour to General Komaroff and his chief of the staff, and during the last days of April a collision appeared inevitable. Nevertheless, to the general surprise, Lord Granville, at the Academy dinner, in the presence of the Russian Ambassador, M. de Staal, expressed a belief that

the peace of Europe and Asia would not be disturbed, and on the 4th of May Mr. Gladstone announced that the Russian Government had agreed to arbitration as to the Pul-i-Khisti incident. "They were ready," he said, "to refer to the judgment of the Sovereign of a friendly State any difference which may be found to exist in regard to the interpretation of the agreement between the two Cabinets of March 16th, with a view to the

policy of the Ministry the texts for bitter and not ineffective attacks. The latter declared that the people of India had pledged their loyalty to a Government which was resolved to betray them; while the Marquis asserted that Government went into every danger with a light heart, and then they made up by escaping with a light foot. He did not attribute to the Russian Government an intention to deceive; it was not



RUSSIAN ENCOUNTER WITH THE AFGHANS AT PUL-I-KHISTI. (See p. 79.)

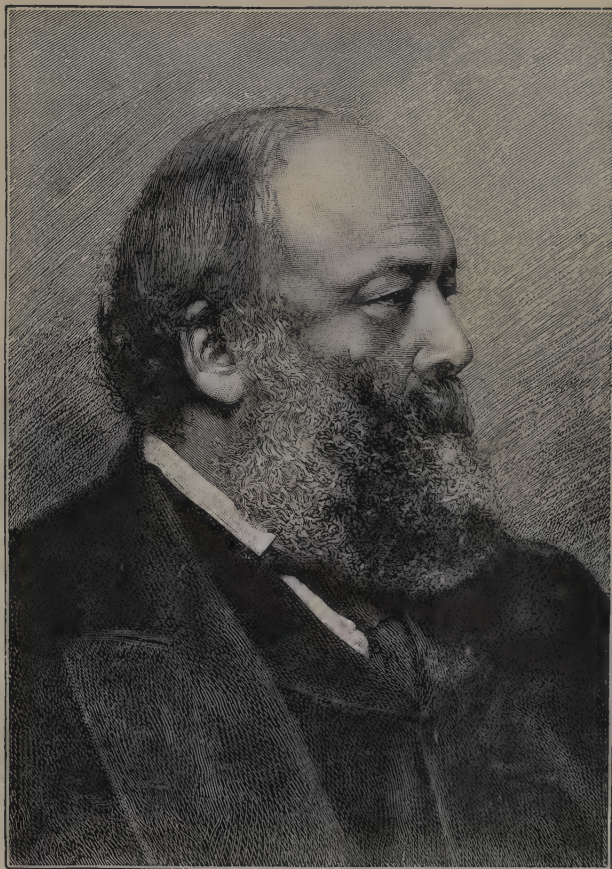
settlement of the matter in a mode consistent with the honour of both States. The two Governments were prepared, under these circumstances, to resume at once their communications in London on the main points of the line for the delimitation of the Afghan frontier—the details of the line to be examined and traced upon the spot. I may also say, on another point of interest, that the Russian Government have expressed their willingness to consider the question as to the removal of the Russian outposts when the Commissioners meet." Though the rumour of Lord Dufferin's resignation was propounded only to be denied, Lord Salisbury at Hackney, and Lord R. Churchill at Paddington, made the Russian and Soudanese

necessary for his purpose to make any such disagreeable suggestion. But "if a man does not keep his promise in commercial matters, if he does it intentionally, you say that he is a swindler; if he fails to keep his promise because he cannot keep it, you say he is a bankrupt. But whether swindler or bankrupt, you are very careful to avoid trusting him the next time."

But though the negotiations in London were resumed, there was a hitch at St. Petersburg, owing, it was said, to the preponderance of the war party in the councils of the Czar. There was talk of requesting the King of Denmark to act as arbitrator, but it came to nothing, and eventually the idea was quietly dropped. For many weeks

all leave was absolutely stopped in the Indian army; and on May 21st, Mr. J. K. Cross, the Under-Secretary for India, stated that £5,000,000 was necessary for the new line of frontier defence, of which a portion would be raised by loan and the rest paid out of the Indian revenue. So

the fullest information respecting the whole of the episode. On the other hand, an excellent impression was produced when the Russian garrison in Penjeh was withdrawn on the ground of the unhealthiness of the district, and the infringements of Persian territory which had been



LORD SALISBURY. (From a Photograph by Messrs. Russell and Sons.)

matters drifted on until the fall of Mr. Gladstone's Government, the cause of peace slowly gaining ground. What would Lord Salisbury do? He at once announced that he was prepared to continue the negotiations on the lines of his predecessors. That all danger was not regarded as at an end, however, seemed clear when, in accordance with the arrangements at the Rawul Pindi durbar, two engineer officers attached to the Boundary Commission visited Herat and sketched out plans for the fortifications, which were afterwards inspected by Sir West Ridgeway, appointed chief of the Commission on the departure of Sir Peter Lumsden, who had been recalled in order that he might place Government in possession of

committed during the late concentration of troops were accordingly ignored. In London M. de Staal exhibited a conciliatory spirit, though he raised difficulties with regard to Maruchak, and still more with regard to some territories near the Zulfikar Pass, which he claimed as necessary to the communications of the Russian outpost of Ak-Robat. He withdrew his objections, however, in return for the very important cession of Penjeh and a small pass to the east of Zulfikar, and on the 12th of November the first boundary post was fixed at the mouth of the Zulfikar Pass by Sir West Ridgeway and his Russian colleagues, Colonel Kuhlberg and M. Lessar. Thence the Commissioners proceeded in the direction of

Maruchak, both sides doing their utmost to prevent a renewal of international complications. At the same time General Annenkoff was pushing on the Trans-Caspian Railway in the direction of Merv, and Sarakhs was connected by telegraph with Askabad, the line, notwithstanding the protests of the Shah, passing over Persian territory.

Hardly was the Afghan difficulty in a fair way of settlement when Lord Salisbury had to deal with a general upheaval in the Balkan Peninsula. There the separation of Bulgaria from Eastern Roumelia had been a cause of popular discontent, which at the outset was undoubtedly fomented by Russian agents. When, however, Prince Alexander began to emancipate himself from Russian tutelage, the Czar's zeal for the cause of Bulgarian unity began to cool, and once more he felt the autocrat's horror of designs with revolutionary tendencies. Not only was his countenance withdrawn from the insurrectionist committees in Roumelia, but when Prince Alexander paid a visit to St. Petersburg he was said to have exacted a pledge that his former protégé would have nothing to do with demonstrations across the border. Unfortunately matters had gone too far. Roumelia was honeycombed with intrigue, against which the Governor, Gavril Pasha, was powerless. On the 13th of September intrigue ripened into revolution, and the representatives of the Porte were quietly but firmly deported across the border. On the 18th Prince Alexander received a deputation of Roumeliots and accepted the rulership of South Bulgaria, and on the 20th he entered Philippopolis accompanied by his Prime Minister, M. Karaveloff.

The first acts of the new Government were judicious enough. Prince Alexander, while determining to stand by the Bulgarians, amply recognised the Sultan's suzerainty. At the same time he endeavoured to prevent the movement from spreading into Macedonia. The Porte at first showed a disposition to invade Bulgaria; indeed, a circular was sent announcing that intention unless the European concert could induce the Prince to withdraw peaceably. Other counsels prevailed, however, and the Sultan was persuaded that Turkey would be more powerful than before with a strong Bulgaria to bar the way against Russia. Most of the other Governments advised moderation, though as signatories of the Treaty of Berlin they were obliged to express a formal disapproval of the union. In particular Lord Salisbury took occasion at Newport (October 7th) to say that though he

approved of the original separation of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, because if united they would have become a satrapy of Russia, yet "it was the policy of Europe—it was the inevitable result of the progress of events—that when there was a homogeneous Christian population subject to the rule of the Porte, that homogeneous Christian population would, by its own homogeneous tendencies, by its own innate character, necessarily before long free itself from that subjection, and it was an operation of that kind that the Berlin Treaty sanctioned." Russia alone marked her displeasure by ordering her officers to quit the Bulgarian service; Prince Alexander's telegrams were unanswered by the Czar, and the St. Petersburg press denounced him in the strongest terms, declaring that even were the union recognised he must be deposed.

As the situation cleared, Bulgaria's dangers were seen to consist, not so much in the hostility of Turkey and Russia as in the jealousies of minor States, particularly Servia and Greece. Whatever may have been the demerits of the Treaty of Berlin, it had at least established in the Balkans an adroit balance of power, and this had been entirely destroyed by the creation of a united Bulgaria. Both at Athens and at Belgrade the population clamoured for war, troops were mobilised, and the kings, finding the agitation beyond control, had perforce to take the lead. Servia was the first in the field with complaints against the massing of men on the Roumelian frontier, and, though the Bulgarian Government withdrew the regiments, the ferment increased rather than diminished. To the fatherly advice of the Powers that they should not compromise the general peace both Greece and Servia sent evasive answers. The former pleaded the cause of her sons in Eastern Roumelia; the latter, in amusing oblivion of the past, asserted that her desire was "the maintenance of the *status quo* in its full integrity, both in substance and in form," and that "the legitimate authority of the Sultan should be not only re-established but strengthened." At the opening of the Greek Chambers, on October 23rd, it was clear that the Premier, M. Delyannis, had no control over the Assembly, the tone of which was bellicose in the extreme.

In the circumstances, the forbearance of the Sultan created the most favourable impression. Already the Powers had sent a collective note to the Porte expressing their approval of its policy and holding Bulgaria responsible for the future. The Ambassadors at Constantinople met on

November 5th to debate the crisis, and at the demand of the Sultan their proceedings were elevated to the dignity of a Conference. The first sitting took place on November 5th, when it appeared that the majority were in favour of a restoration of the *status quo* by the despatch of Turkish troops into Eastern Roumelia. To this drastic measure Britain and France strongly objected, and Sir William White endeavoured to discover a pacific solution of the question in conformity with Bulgarian aspirations, through the appointment of Prince Alexander as Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia under the Sultan for five years or for life. To such an arrangement the Russian Plenipotentiary opposed a blunt *Non possumus*, and the Czar made public his hostility to Prince Alexander by depriving him of his honorary colonelcy in the Russian army, and ordering the regiment which bore his name to resume a simple number. Encouraged, doubtless, by this unprecedented affront, King Milan, on the 13th, invaded Bulgaria without declaration of war, though he attempted to palliate the proceeding by alleging raids on the frontier, the massing of volunteers, and the ill-treatment of Servian subjects in Bulgaria.

Both sides appealed to the Sultan, King Milan declaring that he had no intention of injuring his sovereign rights; while Prince Alexander actually tendered his unreserved submission, withdrew from Philippopolis, and requested aid from his suzerain against Servia. To which the Porte gravely replied that when he had restored the *status quo*, "his request should be taken into consideration." If the Sultan really wished for the re-establishment of the old order, he let slip the occasion, for already the tide had turned. At first the Servian regulars drove Prince Alexander's volunteers, taken by surprise, and unused to fighting, pell-mell before them. The frontier was crossed at five points, and on November 17th King Milan encamped at Slivnitsa in a position commanding Sofia. Then Prince Alexander placed himself at the head of his troops and, after a series of desperate battles in which he behaved with conspicuous valour, drove back the Servians, and followed hard upon their heels across the frontier. On November 27th he occupied Pirot, where, however, his victorious progress was stopped by Count Klevenhuller, an Austrian general, who informed him that if he did not promptly halt, he would have to face the troops, not of Milan, but of Francis Joseph.

Meanwhile Prince Alexander's successes had caused him to adopt a more decided tone towards

the Porte. To the Sultan's announcement that he was about to send an Imperial Commissioner to administer Eastern Roumelia, he replied that such a measure might compromise order and tranquillity; nor did he receive with particular enthusiasm the suggestion that his suzerain should arrange an armistice. Two Turkish delegates, Gadban Effendi and Lebib Effendi, were sent, nevertheless, to Philippopolis, and, though Prince Alexander in a note to the Powers declared that he would exert no influence whatever on the decision of the population, the inhabitants declined all negotiation, in spite of the Russian consul's threat that if they proved contumacious the country would be occupied by Turkish troops. This display of determination was answered by the appointment of Djevet Pasha as Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia, but so strongly did Lord Salisbury protest that the project was quietly dropped. In fact, Abdul Hamid was slowly making up his mind to accept the situation under the somewhat shadowy compromise that the Bulgarians should be united only by the "personal" authority of Prince Alexander. He adroitly preserved his dignity by stipulating that peace between the belligerents should be negotiated by his envoy, Madjid Pasha—a desirable consummation that appeared within sight when Servia and Bulgaria, after mutual bickerings, appealed to the Powers on the 14th of December to settle the terms of an armistice. The military attachés at Vienna at once proceeded to lay down the line of separation, deciding that Bulgaria must retire from Pirot, and Servia from Widin, a town that, despite King Milan's reverses, was still being threatened by an abler commander, General Leshjannin. These stipulations were carried into effect by December 27th, and at the close of the year the disturbance of the peace was threatened chiefly by Greece, which nationality was running up debt and provoking the Porte by accumulating forces on the Macedonian frontier. So serious did the Duke of Cambridge consider the situation that he found it necessary to write to Mr. W. H. Smith urging a large increase of the British army. The Secretary for War replied, however, that all that could be done was to fill up existing *cadres*, and to provide sufficiently strong dépôts to meet the case of regiments with both battalions abroad.

Throughout these sensational developments Lord Salisbury had been careful to consult the susceptibilities of the Porte. In order to promote more harmonious relations and to legalise the British position in Egypt, one of Lord Salisbury's first

steps was to despatch Sir H. D. Wolff to Constantinople. The extraordinary stories that he was empowered to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance against Russia were groundless; his mission embraced only an offer of the Soudan, which was declined, and an attempt to obtain an official recognition of the British occupation of Egypt, which was not obtained without vast expenditure of time. Indeed, the draft convention was not concluded until the Turkish Cabinet had spun out the negotiations to the most abnormal length; and when Sir Henry departed for Alexandria, his fellow-commissioner, Moukhtar Pasha, delayed his coming on pleas of illness and the state of the weather. Sir William White at length induced him to set forth; nevertheless, December was drawing to a close before Moukhtar arrived at Cairo.

Apart from rivalry in Egypt, the relations of the United Kingdom with France were friendly. It was owing to the good offices of the Inspector-General of Chinese Customs, Sir Robert Hart, that the differences between the Republic and the Celestial Empire were at last composed. During the winter and spring the undeclared war continued, the French being hampered by the fact that the British Government had decided to exercise the rights of neutrals and to discountenance the refitting of French ironclads at Hong-Kong. Nevertheless, Admiral Courbet swept the seas, though all his successes could not outweigh the series of disasters which befell the Generals on the mainland of Tonquin. There—to cut a dreary story short—the French were compelled in March to effect a disastrous retreat from Lang-Son, and General de Courcy, who was sent to succeed Brière de L'Isle, could make little head against the Black Flags, or Chinese Irregulars, though he attempted to coerce Anam by substituting one puppet-king for another. The French Chambers, as soon as the news was known, wreaked vengeance on M. Ferry by driving him from power, and his successor, M. Brisson, evinced an earnest intention of bringing the war to a prompt conclusion. It was at this juncture that Sir Robert Hart intervened, and through his influence with Li-Hung-Chang a treaty was signed on the 9th of June by which France obtained the definite possession of Tonquin and the protectorate over Anam, saving a vague reservation of the suzerainty of China. A curious feature in the settlement was that France seemed less pleased with territories she could barely control than were the Chinese with a diplomatic surrender in the hour of victory. The clue to the

enigma seems to be that the Celestial Government had decided under certain eventualities to side with Britain in the event of a war with Russia, and in earnest of her good-will had not only consented to the British occupation of Port Hamilton, but had even permitted the establishment of a British consulate at Kashgar. In a similar spirit of good-will the Marquis Tseng and Lord Salisbury ratified on the 19th of July the long-disputed opium clauses of the Chefoo Convention, greatly to the benefit of the Indian revenue.

The history of the Indian Empire was profoundly influenced during the year by the imminence of war with Russia. Be it said at once that the native princes were steadfast in the hour of need, and from all sides came loyal offers of assistance in men and money. This excellent spirit was met by corresponding advances on the part of Lord Dufferin, who not only in the case of Nepaul sent prompt assurance that internal disorder would not be made a pretext for British intervention, but gave Scindiah the object of his lifelong ambition, namely, the fortress of Gwalior, which had been occupied by the Indian Government ever since the Mutiny. The raising of feudatory contingents was one of the features of Sir Frederick Roberts's military reforms which were inaugurated towards the end of the year by his acceptance of the Commandership-in-Chief. At first, however, he concentrated himself on frontier defence, for which preparations had been made by establishing friendly relations with the North-western tribes and pushing on the railway to Quetta. These preparations, together with the mobilisation of the Indian army and a serious decline of trade, naturally had an untoward result on finance, with the result that the Budget exhibited a deficit of some £4,950,000 instead of a surplus of £300,000—which unhappy state of affairs, said Lord Randolph Churchill, the Secretary of State for India, was due to the malign influence of Lord Ripon, whom he accused *inter alia* of blindness to the Russian advance. The ex-Viceroy replied with temper to this unfair attack in a speech delivered at Bolton, of which the argument was that he had always approved the Quetta railway, and had never reduced the strength of the Indian Army. Meanwhile his successor, Lord Dufferin, was being taken to task by the Bengali press for starving public works in order to increase the military establishments, and had to confront a journalistic agitation against the Rent Act. With the European population, however, he was universally popular, and Lady Dufferin's



THE BRITISH FORCES ENTERING MANDALAY. (See p. 86.)

establishment of a fund for medical aid to native women was widely and deservedly appreciated.

Equally opposed though, for somewhat occult reasons, was the vernacular press to the annexation of Upper Burma. There the conduct of the drunken and murderous Theebaw had drawn upon him the swift vengeance of England. Already, to escape from the consequences of his misdeeds, he had coquetted with France through an embassy which offered the Republic a political and commercial treaty. The negotiations, which were palpably insincere, came to naught, and in September, being in sore straits for money, he inflicted an arbitrary fine of £230,000 on the Bombay and Burma Trading Company, which had the monopoly of the timber forests. The Company, whose agents were arrested and then barbarously killed, appealed to Mr. Bernard, the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and he forwarded their remonstrance to Lord Dufferin. The Viceroy thereupon sent an ultimatum to Theebaw requesting him to notify his agreement by the 10th of November to the settlement of the dispute by a British Resident, who was to appear at court "in his boots" (*i.e.* as the representative of a paramount Power), in concert with the Burmese Ministry. The King, apparently under the impression that France at the last moment would come to his assistance, returned an insolent reply, to the effect that he would consult his "allies," France, Germany and Italy, before altering his foreign relations, and massed his troops on the frontier of Lower Burma. Whereupon 10,000 men, commanded by General Prendergast, with Colonel Sladen as chief political officer, crossed the border on November 15th, and two days afterwards captured the strong Minhla forts, after a very slight resistance by the military, though the civilians stockaded themselves below the entrenchments and fought with some vigour. Thence the advance up the Irrawaddy continued in a steam flotilla, General Prendergast disarming opposition by a judicious proclamation announcing that the British would carefully respect the Burmese temples. At Ava, the ancient capital, General Prendergast landed, and though preparations for resistance were evidently intended, the soldiers would not fight, and Theebaw, after requesting in vain for an armistice, sent a letter offering an unconditional surrender. On November 28th the expedition entered Mandalay and occupied the capital. The inhabitants received their conquerors with Oriental impassiveness. Theebaw, his wives, and his evil genius, the Prime

Minister, were arrested and deported to Calcutta. Pending the arrival of the Viceregal proclamation, Colonel Sladen proceeded to organise the district with the assistance of the Supreme Council of Ministers. On January 1st, 1886, after a delay due apparently to the opposition of France, Upper Burma was formally annexed to the Indian Empire. But meanwhile serious difficulties had begun. Theebaw's disbanded soldiers, after looting Mandalay, formed themselves into companies of dacoits, who raided the whole country, and from behind stockades offered the most stubborn resistance to the flying columns which were sent in pursuit. In fact, with the collapse of the regular resistance the real work of conquest had, as was formerly the case in Lower Burma, only begun.

Perhaps the most striking incident connected with the self-governing colonies was the spontaneous outburst of loyalty on the occasion of the death of General Gordon. Offers of military contingents were at once telegraphed from Canada and from the Australian colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland. The patriotic enterprise of New South Wales was at once accepted; those of the other colonies were at first declined, though Lord Derby afterwards cabled acceptance provided the campaign was prolonged into the autumn. At the same time the Queen desired the Colonial Secretary to express her "warm and grateful feelings to the colonies for their proffered aid. It was most gratifying." Later, with the abandonment of the Soudan, came a great revulsion of feeling, and the "Dalley expedition" was frequently cast in the teeth of the energetic politician, its organiser, and the other "Soudan men" who approved. With the Russian war scare came a general feeling that the defences were in a woeful state of unpreparedness, notably at the Cape, where the relative merits of Simon's Bay and Table Bay were fiercely discussed, together with the respective shares in the cost to be borne by the Home and Cape Governments. Similarly, Admiral Tryon was invited to report on King George Sound and Torres Strait, and his information to the Sydney Ministry was that in their present state of unprotectedness they could easily be seized by a hostile force and used both as bases and coaling stations.

Turning to the individual colonies, we find that Canada, though her relations with the United States were entirely satisfactory, was agitated by a half-breed rebellion in the North-West. The nominal chief of the movement was Louis Riel, who had instigated the Fort Garry rising of 1869,

and his somewhat confused programme, inspired it was believed to some extent by white trappers, embraced the payment of Catholic priests for the benefit of half-breeds by the State, the keeping of certain districts free from agriculture for purposes of hunting, and autonomous institutions for Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. In March he proceeded to appoint a Provisional Government for the North-West, and the Indians went on the war-path to the number of some 4,000, though most of them subsequently joined the Government side. A force of some 3,200 militia and volunteers under the command of General Middleton was promptly sent to the front by Mr. Caron, the energetic Minister of Militia, and, after a campaign in which nature rather than man was the chief enemy, took the rebels' headquarters, Fort Batoche. On May 15th Riel was hunted down, and the Indian chiefs, thirty in number, headed by the redoubtable Poundmaker, made unconditional surrender. Riel was tried for high treason, and though his defence, which included insanity, was ingenious and his appeals were persistent, even to the distant House of Lords at Westminster, he was hanged on the 16th of November. During the year the complicated questions anent the Behring Sea Fisheries were agitated both at Washington and Ottawa without much definite solution, and Lord Salisbury attempted to settle the long-standing difference between Newfoundland and the French Government concerning the rights of landing and drying fish on the "French shore." A convention was signed at Paris by the British Commissioners, Sir Clare Ford and Mr. E. Pennell, in November, but unfortunately, on submission to the Newfoundland Parliament, its concessions were declared to be illusory, and so the difficulty remained open.

In Australasia the grand question of the year was the Federation Bill, which, though its success was prejudiced by the refusal of New Zealand and New South Wales to join the movement, passed through the Imperial Parliament with but little alteration. Serious controversy, however, arose on the new clause (the 31st), providing for the retirement of any colony from the federation at its own discretion. The Agents-General of Victoria and Queensland pointed out that the provision had been inserted by Lord Derby in order to secure the entrance into the federation of New Zealand and New South Wales, though it was well known that their adherence would not be gained on these terms, and that, if the Canadian Act had contained such a clause, the Dominion would have

been dissolved before it was formed. Sir Dillon Bell, the Agent for New Zealand, then came forward with a suggestion that the law passed by the Federal Council should only be operative in any colony if brought into force by the legislature of that colony. To this Victoria objected that it would weaken a scheme already too elastic; and the proposal was dropped, though the 31st clause was retained. At the last moment South Australia refused to join the federation, and in the following year the Council, which met at Hobart Town on January 25th, was found to consist of but eight members. In fact, the whole scheme was clearly premature, and, unsupported by any weight of public opinion, the Council became little more than a periodical conference of Australian statesmen, who discussed the useful but still subsidiary topics of civil processes and the enforcement of judgments. Meanwhile, Sir Henry Parkes, whom a turn of fortune had again placed in power at Sydney, was biding his time, prepared to entertain the Council with a wider scheme of his own.

The New Guinea question continued to smoulder, as was evidenced by a strong disposition to repudiate the promised £15,000, on the ground that one-half the island had been abandoned to Germany. Lord Derby's admission of the Australians' right to take part in the administration but partially mollified colonial feeling, though a favourable impression was created by the expedition, under Mr. H. O. Forbes, despatched by the Royal Geographical Society for the exploration of the unknown and cannibal interior. In the legislatures agrarian legislation was the order of the day both in New South Wales, where the new Land Act resulted in the division of large squatting runs into small holdings, which were eagerly taken up by small graziers, and in New Zealand, where an extension was made of the "homestead system" in the hope that the bush would be brought more rapidly into cultivation. In Queensland the Royal Commission appointed at the instance of the Premier, Mr. Griffith, to report on the "servile labour" of imported Polynesians, disclosed a wholesale system of cruelty, kidnapping, and murder. Thereupon the Government restored many of the unfortunate savages to their homes, after passing a Bill for the compensation of the planters; and the restriction and eventual abolition of the traffic were freely demanded. Partly for these reasons, partly because they felt that their interests were neglected at Brisbane, the North Queenslanders were bent on separation, and Mr. Macrossan placed himself at the head of an agitation to attain that end.

Nowhere was the aspect of the map altered more rapidly than in Africa. We have already mentioned Prince Bismarck's occupation of the Cameroons after a series of delays and misunderstandings with England, and this forward step was followed later in the year by the occupation of a large district on the East Coast at the expense of Zanzibar. This slice of the continent, as large as Egypt or Morocco, was offered to Britain and refused by her on the ground that her interests between the coast and the lakes were sufficiently established. However, a trading corporation of merchants, calling itself the German East Africa Company, thought otherwise, and concluded treaties with the local kinglets, whereby those potentates placed themselves under the protection of the German Emperor. Acting, it was said, under the advice of the British Consul-General, Sir John Kirk, the Sultan not only refused to acknowledge these cessions, but hoisted his flag at several points on the mainland. With considerable promptitude a naval squadron, with some 1,500 men on board, was despatched from German harbours, and the Sultan was compelled early in August to yield to an ultimatum presented to him by Commodore Paschen, by which the territory from Cape Guardafui to Cape Delgado was ceded to the Emperor. This new acquisition of Prince Bismarck's was subsequently ratified by a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between Germany and Zanzibar, signed on board a German man-of-war. Germany was not, however, the only Power which enriched itself at the expense of the black man. In February the Berlin Conference concluded its labours, with the result that the basin of the Congo was placed under the control of the newly named Congo Free State, that of the Lower Niger under the protection of the United Kingdom. Both administrations promised freedom of trade, and the stipulation was observed on the Niger; the Free State, however, rapidly developed a tendency to impose import duties on the plea that its revenues were insufficient for the construction of the railway to turn the rapids separating the waters of the lower river from Stanley Pool. The State, moreover, tended to become exclusively Belgian, though among its most prominent explorers were English missionaries, notably Mr. Grenfell, in his steamer, the *Peace*.

In South Africa the British possessions, to forestall possible annexations by Germany, were rounded off by the definite acquisition of Pondoland, a strip between Cape Colony and Natal; while events

were evidently ripening for the proclamation of a protectorate over such portion of Zululand as could be rescued from Boer aggression. Further, the communications with the barely known interior were secured by the acquisition of Bechuanaland, a district equal in area to Spain, and situated west of the boundary of the Boer Republic and north of the Cape. This was one of the first results of Sir Charles Warren's expedition, despatched at the end of 1884 to expel the Boer filibusters from Goshen and Stellaland. The restoration of order was, however, a more difficult matter than the acceptance of the ready submission of the native chiefs, Khama and Sechele. On arriving in the "republic" of Stellaland, Sir Charles discovered that the so-called government was hopelessly in debt and utterly inefficient. Its abolition and the formation of an administrative body, with more limited powers under the Queen's Order in Council, were effected in March; and on the advice of Lord Derby, the Stellaland titles were recognised, except in cases of flagrant injustice towards the natives; but the Goshenites were bundled across the frontier in spite of President Kruger's earnest remonstrance on behalf of individual claimants. By this drastic justice Sir Charles became embroiled with the authorities of the Transvaal, and President Kruger made no attempt to prevent the landgrabbers from congregating on the border with the object of reoccupying their farms on the first opportunity. Further differences with President Kruger arose concerning the arrest of two Stellalanders, Mr. Van Niekerk and Commandant Celliers, for the murder of Mr. Honey, an English citizen, in the year 1883. Their trial ended in the discharge of both prisoners, on the ground that the murder was committed outside Stellaland, and that the evidence was insufficient; but in the interval the relations between Sir Charles Warren and the Transvaal authorities had become so acute that Sir Hercules Robinson arrived from the Cape to patch up a *modus vivendi*. To a certain extent he succeeded in alleviating the animus of President Kruger, but became himself involved in a quarrel with Sir Charles, both as to the methods of the trial and the general features of the Chief Commissioner's policy. His action was strongly supported by the Cape Government, of whom the Premier, Mr. Upington, warmly praised Van Niekerk; while Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who had resigned the post of Deputy-Commissioner, censured Sir Charles for employing in his investigations a person of such extreme anti-Dutch views as Mr. Mackenzie. The point was referred to Lord Derby,

who decided that Mr. Mackenzie was to remain ; at the same time he cautioned Sir Charles to be guided on general questions of policy by Sir Hercules Robinson, and to refrain as much as possible from wholesale expropriations. As to the future government of Bechuanaland, Sir Charles favoured the appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor under the High Commissioner of South Africa, and

Chief Commissioner's iron justice was disapproved. At any rate, Bechuanaland was not annexed to the Cape, but constituted a Crown Colony under the administration of Mr. Shippard, a puisne judge of Cape Town. He promptly became President of a Commission to determine the land claims, and on the whole upheld the proceedings of his predecessor. Several of the Goshenites, however, were restored to



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, CAPE TOWN.

the creation of a Legislative Council partly official and partly elective. This arrangement appeared to be satisfactory both to the British and Dutch farmers, who were entirely opposed to annexation to the Cape, and anxious that Sir Charles Warren should continue at the head of affairs. After the acceptance of office by Lord Salisbury he was, however, somewhat abruptly recalled, and left South Africa amidst hearty demonstrations of approval from the British element. The step created rather a bad impression, inasmuch as it appeared to countenance the Boer aggressions at the expense of the natives. However, though little explanation was forthcoming, the real reason seemed to be that the objects of the mission were regarded as accomplished rather than that the

their holdings, and it was significant that out of 252 titles established in Stellaland but 22 were English and the rest Boer. Sir Charles Warren's expedition was a success, inasmuch as a limit had at last been set to the violation of the London Convention, and Britain's pledges to the natives had been vindicated, though at the eleventh hour. Otherwise, the incident was remarkable for the first appearance of Mr. Cecil Rhodes in Imperial politics. The son of a Hertfordshire clergyman, and an Oriel B.A., he had originally proceeded to the Cape in search of health. Beginning from small things, he had succeeded in amalgamating the conflicting interests of the diamond mines at Kimberley, and so had become a prominent personage in South Africa, and a member of the Cape Parliament.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

A Sensational New-Year's Day—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Balfour—Home Rule in Print—Mr. Childers and Mr. Morley—The Ulster Deputation—Meeting of Parliament—End of the Bradlaugh Controversy—Lord Carnarvon's Resignation—Mr. Smith's Mission—Oracular Explanations—The Queen's Speech—The Debate in the Lords—Mr. Parnell's Speech—Mr. Smith's Decision—Mr. Jesse Collings's Amendment—Defeat of the Government—Mr. Gladstone's Third Administration—The Trafalgar Square Riot—London in a Panic—Mr. Childers's Committee—Minor Measures of the Session—Lord Hartington's Declaration—Lord Randolph on the War Path—His Ulster Campaign—Captain O'Shea—The Idlesleigh Banquet—The Home Rule Bill Postponed—Resignations of Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Chamberlain—Mr. Chamberlain's Letter—Bye-Elections—The Bill Produced—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—Agrarian Crime—A Statutory Parliament—The Constructive Proposals—Finance—The Peroration—Speeches of Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Parnell—Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Hartington—Mr. Morley, Lord R. Churchill, and other Speakers—Mr. Gladstone's Reply—The Land Purchase Bill—Mr. Chamberlain's Criticism—The Meeting at Her Majesty's Theatre—Meetings of the Recess—Mr. Chamberlain's Attitude—The Debate on the Second Reading—The Liberal Seceders—Lord Salisbury's "Hottentot" Speech—Progress of the Debate—Mr. Gladstone's Offer—His Speech in Reply—The Division.

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1886, found the country profoundly agitated by the sensational rumours which had emanated from Hawarden during the closing days of December. Clearly Mr. Gladstone contemplated a step, whether long or short, in the direction of Home Rule, and there was grave uncertainty how far his followers were disposed to walk with him. For the moment the Liberal chief was credited with a desire to settle the question in concert with Lord Salisbury, after the fashion of the Franchise Bill, and it was asserted that Lord Carnarvon and Lord Randolph Churchill were in favour of some such compromise. That the belief had some basis in fact was made clear by a correspondence between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Arthur Balfour, which was published later in the year. It appeared that an accidental conversation took place between the two at Eaton Hall on or about the 18th of December, consisting of statements by Mr. Gladstone respecting the serious condition of Ireland and the urgency of the problem that it presented to the Government. "He told me," said Mr. Balfour, "that he had information of an authentic kind, but not from Mr. Parnell, which caused him to believe that there was a power behind Mr. Parnell which, if not shortly satisfied by some substantial concession to the demands of the Irish Parliamentary party, would take the matter into its own hands and resort to violence and outrage in England for the purpose of enforcing its demands. 'In other words,' I said to Mr. Gladstone, 'we are to be blown up or stabbed if we do not grant Home Rule by the end of next Session.' 'I understand,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'that the time is even shorter than that.'" On December 20th Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Secretary for Scotland,

repeating his views as to the urgency of the matter of which every post brought new tidings. "This being so, I wish, under the very peculiar circumstances of the case, to go a step farther, and say that I think it will be a public calamity if this great subject should fall into the lines of party conflict. I am sure the question can only be dealt with by a Government, and I desire, specially on grounds of public policy, that it should be dealt with by the present Government. If, therefore, they bring in a proposal for settling the whole question of the future government of Ireland, my desire will be, reserving, of course, necessary freedom, to treat it in the same spirit in which I have endeavoured to proceed with respect to Afghanistan and in respect of the Balkan peninsula." Mr. Balfour replied by expressing his assurance that it would be the wish of the leaders of the Opposition, to whichever side they might belong, to treat the Irish question as a national and not as a party one, "though I fear that under our existing Parliamentary system this will not prove so easy when we are dealing with an integral portion of the United Kingdom as it proved when we were connected with the remote regions of Roumelia and Afghanistan." He afterwards explained that he would have regarded Mr. Gladstone's words as indicating an intention to support no especial scheme, and as covering a policy of coercion as well as a policy of Home Rule, had it not been for "the commentary supplied by Mr. Herbert Gladstone's indiscretions." On the 23rd Mr. Gladstone wrote that, "while expressing a desire that the Government should act, I am not myself acting. . . . I have felt that so long as I entertained a hope that the Government would take their decision, I should decline all communication of

my own views beyond the circle of private confidence, and only allow to be fully known my great anxiety that the Government should decide and act in this great matter." Mr. Balfour showed this letter to Lord Salisbury, who, while expressing his sense of its courteous and conciliatory spirit, remarked that "it suggests a communication of the views of the Government, which at this stage would be at variance with usage." "As Parliament will meet for business before the usual time, he thinks it better," said Mr. Balfour, "to avoid a departure from the ordinary practice, which might be misunderstood." Mr. Gladstone's final letter, dated January 5th, expressed his entire agreement with Lord Salisbury with respect to a possible communication of Ministerial intentions, and declared that if his note conveyed any suggestion to that effect, it was quite opposed to his intention.

Meanwhile, the columns of the *Times* teemed with denunciations of all concession to the Irish demands. Thus Sir James Stephen pointed out that the guarantees by which some people pretended that Home Rule might be distinguished from separation were illusory, and that the establishment of Ireland as an independent State would make all Irishmen foreigners both in Great Britain and her colonies, deprive the United Kingdom of some of its most distinguished citizens, and by depleting the ranks of the army render conscription imperative both in England and Scotland. In fervid tones Mr. Lecky, the historian, proclaimed that "the essential fact of the Irish question was that the party, which had won eighty-five seats in the present representation of Ireland, was a party animated by two leading ideas—a desire to plunder the whole landed property of the country, and an inveterate hatred of the English connection in any form." Almost simultaneously Mr. Giffen, in the *Statist*, published an elaborate scheme for buying out the Irish landlords at twenty years' purchase of the judicial rents, on the calculation that the relief of the Imperial exchequer from Irish charges would almost balance the interest on the £160,000,000 which twenty years' purchase of the annual value would represent: the bestowal of the land rent free to the present occupiers, subject only to a rent-charge equal to one-half or two-thirds of the existing rent. Also "A Radical," supposed to represent the views of Mr. Chamberlain, upbraided Mr. Gladstone in the *Fortnightly Review* with having precipitated the crisis by premature disclosures, and after rejecting the various proposals—Ireland "as Canada," Ireland under a Federal Government, and Ireland

independent—suggested (1) that the land question should be settled in concert with the Nationalists, and possibly on the basis of Mr. Giffen's scheme; (2) that Mr. Parnell or, on his refusal, Mr. Healy should be offered office; (3) that Home Rule should stand over until the more urgent questions had been decided.

Of platform utterances there were not many, and of those few Mr. Trevelyan's were confined to doubts as to the desirability of a land purchase scheme and denunciation of the results of Conservative Administration. A politician who was forced to speak was Mr. Childers, who was attempting to re-enter Parliament as member for a division of Edinburgh. So vague and halting, however, were his declarations that some of the more thoroughgoing of his supporters were for getting Mr. Shaw Lefevre to take his place. In curious contrast to his reserve was the Radicalism of Mr. John Morley. Speaking at Chelmsford on January 7th, he urged the Liberal party to apply its principles with all its sense and courage and conscience. "Liberalism would be all unworthy of its great traditions and muscular vigour in dealing with difficult questions if it had nothing to say when a crisis such as this arose, requiring all the resources of constructive statesmanship to deal with it, and making such demands on our national fortitude and enterprise." He did not disguise his belief that a measure of land purchase was absolutely necessary, but maintained, on the other hand, that order in Ireland and power in the House of Commons could only be obtained by the removal of the Irish members from Westminster, and that in a large Irish Parliament with important functions and a sense of responsibility lay the best chance for the landlord interest and the Protestant minority.

The upshot of the Opposition speeches previous to the meeting of Parliament appeared to be that though Mr. Gladstone was sure of Radicalism outside Birmingham, the moderate Liberals were wavering. Meanwhile Lord George Hamilton told his constituents that, in his opinion, there should be but one law in the United Kingdom—the law of Parliament and of the Sovereign; while Lord Salisbury assured a deputation of Ulster loyalists that Ministers would not be untrue to the responsibilities which lay upon them. Mr. Gladstone, however, declined to receive the deputation on the ground that "such a course on my part would exhibit me as a competitor with Her Majesty's Government in a field of labour and responsibility which is at present exclusively their

own, and would tend to accredit a statement, alike mischievous and groundless, which is now actively promulgated from quarters and with motives that I shall not attempt to describe, to the effect that I have signified an intention to make or adopt proposals with reference to Irish legislation."

Parliament met on January 12th for the swearing-in of new members and the election of a Speaker, the choice falling once more upon Mr. Peel, who was proposed by Sir John Mowbray and seconded by Mr. Bright. Then followed a curious incident, namely, the abrupt conclusion of the Bradlaugh controversy. No sooner had the Speaker taken the oath, than he announced that he had received a letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer protesting against Mr. Bradlaugh being allowed to take the oath. In reply Mr. Peel announced that, if Mr. Bradlaugh wished to be sworn, he was not to be interfered with. "When a member comes to this table," said he, "and offers to take the oath, I know no right whatever to intervene between him and the form of legal and statutable obligation." Sir M. Hicks-Beach made two futile attempts to raise a debate, but the Speaker at once cut him short, and the division, for which a special whip had been issued, could not, of course, be taken. In the interval, Lord Carnarvon resigned the Viceroyalty of Ireland, and Sir W. Hart-Dyke also vacated the Chief-Secretaryship. The step naturally provoked considerable comment, the general conclusion being that Lord Carnarvon was for a certain measure of autonomy, and that the majority of the Cabinet was opposed. Subsequently a somewhat unconvincing correspondence between the ex-Lord-Lieutenant and Lord Salisbury appeared, in which it was stated that the former had from the first only accepted office "until after the General Election or the meeting of Parliament," and that he had resigned through no difference of opinion as to his policy. The Chief Secretary's retirement was stated to be due to the feeling that his office should be held by a Cabinet Minister, and after some days Mr. W. H. Smith was appointed to the post, the Viceroyalty remaining in Commission. Mr. Smith proceeded to Dublin, and made inquiry into the vexed question whether, in view of the recrudescence of boycotting, the ordinary law would suffice, or the Government should ask for enlarged powers.

Very little explanation was forthcoming as to these changes in either House. Thus in the Lords Earl Granville commented upon the curious reason for Lord Carnarvon's resignation—that he had always meant to retire after a few months. The

Lord-Lieutenant appeared to have calculated that the career of the Government would last exactly six months; but how was it that the announcement was made only a few days before the meeting of Parliament? Lord Granville hinted that there were two rival factions in the Cabinet—Coercionist and Anti-Coercionist—and that Mr. Smith had been appointed as a temporary compromise. Lord Salisbury replied somewhat oracularly: "The government of Ireland has been changed. As the noble lord probably knows, my distinguished friend Mr. Smith undertakes the Secretaryship of Ireland, which means practically that the government of Ireland will be committed to his care. Undoubtedly we shall not have long to wait for his distinct opinion as to the precise details of any legislation we shall have to recommend."

The Queen was present at the reading of the Royal Speech on January 21st, in which past policy and the programme for the future were laid down. After dilating on foreign affairs, including the Newfoundland Fisheries question, which was somewhat prematurely described as "brought to a satisfactory conclusion," the Speech proceeded to attack the problem of the hour: "I have seen with deep sorrow the renewal of the attempt to excite the people of Ireland to hostility against the Legislative Union between that country and Great Britain. I am resolutely opposed to any disturbance of that fundamental law, and in resisting it I am convinced that I am heartily supported by my Parliament and my people." In many places, continued the Speech, there was an organised resistance to the enforcement of legal obligations, and the practice of organised intimidation continued to exist. But no effort was to be spared to protect Irish subjects in the exercise of their individual rights and the enjoyment of individual liberty, and "if, as my information leads me to apprehend, the existing provisions of the law should prove to be inadequate to cope with these growing evils, I look with confidence to your willingness to invest my Governments with all necessary powers." Finally, the legislative proposals for the session were County Government Bills for England and Ireland, other measures such as one for the cheap transfer of land, and the document concluded with a hint as to the necessity of reforming procedure.

In neither House was the debate particularly interesting, notably in the Peers, where Ministerialists and Opposition indulged in mutual recriminations, the former finding a text in Mr.

Gladstone's declarations in favour of Home Rule, the latter in the dropping of the Crimes Act. For the non-renewal of the Act by the Conservatives Lord Salisbury gave three reasons: first, that Ireland seemed to be returning to a state of

Gladstone and Mr. Parnell. The leader of the Opposition, however, still maintained his attitude of expectancy, and appealed to the House to keep the Irish question out of party politics. He objected to the phrase "fundamental law" in the



MR. W. H. SMITH. (From a Photograph by A. E. Fradelle.)

order; secondly, that the passing of repressive legislation immediately after the extension of the franchise would have been taken as an attempt to diminish the newly-conferred privileges; and thirdly, that any such proposal would have led to long and exasperating discussions. In the House of Commons the chief interest, apart from a most vigorous verbal duel between Mr. Healy and Major Saunderson, the representative of Ulster Conservatism, lay in the declarations of Mr.

Queen's Speech as applied to the Legislative Union between England and Ireland, and declared that Government ought to have given more information in regard to Ireland socially, and in relation to crime. If their attempt to govern by the ordinary law had failed let them say so, for something more must be done than the maintenance of the Union. "Whatever you think is adequate to the case, be it for social order, be it for local government, let it be done

quickly." He considered that the alteration of procedure would imply an indefinite delay of action in Ireland such as it was impossible to justify. Mr. Parnell's speech was described by Lord R. Churchill as a surprise, since he avoided all reference to the Union as defined in the Queen's Speech and devoted himself to a moderate exposition of his views on the Land question. Mr. Giffen's proposal, he declared, would, if carried, do away with all danger of Home Rule to Ireland, and make separation far less likely than any other policy. Lord Randolph Churchill's speech, which concluded the first night's debate, was of a most Conservative tone as regards the maintenance of order in Ireland, and contained the intimation that though Government were aware that they were in a minority, they would continue at their post so long as the terms granted them were "reasonably honourable."

Indeed it seemed as if the dislocation of parties would lead to the prolonged tenure of office by the Conservatives, who were at least a solid and well-disciplined body. As the debate dragged on, a hostile amendment on the annexation of Burma, moved by Dr. Hunter, was withdrawn at the instance of Mr. Gladstone, and another moved by Mr. Barolay, and having reference to agricultural holdings, was negatived by 211 votes to 183. But meanwhile the proposed changes of procedure had been tabled, and were found to contain such contentious matter that Government seemed to be "riding for a fall"; and further, Mr. Smith, after two days' deliberations in Dublin, came to the conclusion that a Bill was necessary "for the abolition of the National League, the prevention of intimidation, and the protection of life and property"; and the fact was announced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 26th of January. This naturally brought matters to a crisis, and the Opposition found its opportunity in Mr. Jesse Collings's amendment to the Address—"that this House regrets that no measures are announced by Her Majesty for the relief of the agricultural classes, and especially for affording facilities to the labourers and others in the smaller districts to obtain allotments and small holdings on equitable terms as to rent and security of tenure." The debate itself was of very little moment except for Mr. Gladstone's attitude. Though at the General Election he had practically ruled this portion of the "unauthorised programme" out of court, he now adopted it on the ground that no other method of benefiting the labouring classes was direct enough—a conversion that was hailed by Mr.

Chamberlain with much enthusiasm. Meanwhile Mr. Goschen had announced his opposition to the Bill, and Mr. Balfour had promised an allotment measure on behalf of Government, though he could not hold out a hope that they would accept the principle of compulsory sale. On a division Ministers were placed in a minority of 79 (331 to 252), and after the usual interval resigned. But though the defeat was for them complete, it had certain remarkable features: Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, Lord Ebrington, and 14 others went into the "no" lobby, while absent unpaired were Mr. Bright, Mr. C. P. Villiers, Mr. Leatham, Sir Julian Goldsmid, and other Liberals more or less prominent.

Amidst these discouraging symptoms of revolt Mr. Gladstone began to form his third administration. Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, and Sir Henry James definitely declined to join it, the last refusing the Lord Chancellorship; and the adherence of Mr. Chamberlain (President of the Local Government Board) and of Mr. Trevelyan (Secretary for Scotland) was not secured without some hesitation on their part. Eventually the Ministry was found to consist of old materials, though there was considerable significance in one of the first appointments—namely, that of Mr. John Morley as Irish Secretary. The impression was, however, somewhat neutralised by the announcement that Earl Spencer was in accord with his leader's Irish policy, and had accepted the Presidency of the Council. The transference of the important Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs from Lord Granville (who took the Colonies) to the younger hands of Lord Rosebery was generally approved; while the reversal of the former positions of Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Childers was not without its inner meaning. No more popular appointment was made than that of Sir Farrer Herschell as Lord Chancellor; while among the minor offices the leanings of Government towards Radicalism were supposed to be typified by Mr. Broadhurst's acceptance of the Under-Secretaryship for Home Affairs, and Mr. Collings's of the Secretaryship of the Local Government Board; but the latter was afterwards unseated at Ipswich. These arrangements were completed by the first week of February, and were received with fair favour by the press. Mr. Gladstone gave little indication of his intentions in his address to the electors of Midlothian save that his Irish policy was one of "examination," though Mr. John Morley, in his re-election at Newcastle, where he defeated Mr. Howard by a huge majority of 2,700

votes, made it clear that he at least would have no half-and-half measure of Home Rule.

During the interval necessitated by the re-elections London was disturbed by a very serious riot. On February 6th one of the now frequent meetings of the unemployed was held in Trafalgar Square and was addressed by two sets of orators, one advocating the doctrines of Fair Trade, the other those of the Social Democratic Federation. By the latter violent language was undoubtedly used. Thus Mr. Hyndman was reported to have said that if the multitude would follow he would lead, and that 500 men would soon produce a change, while Mr. John Burns was alleged to have reminded his hearers that in France capitalists' heads had decorated the lamp-posts. After the break-up of the meeting the Socialists formed a procession which was speedily augmented by all the blackguardism of London. The clubs were stoned in Pall Mall and St. James's Street, shops were wrecked in Piccadilly, South Audley Street, and Oxford Street, where an inspector of police named Cuthbert, acting without orders, dispersed the crowd with only eighteen men. The damage done was estimated at £50,000, but the exaggeration was ridiculous, since in the end compensation was allotted to the amount of £7,277. The following day things were fairly quiet, an attempted meeting in Trafalgar Square being broken up by the police; but on the third day the town was in a regular panic. Messages, subsequently ascertained to be false, were received by the police that gangs of unemployed "dockers" were marching from Greenwich and Deptford. Scotland Yard, completely taken in, hurriedly warned the shopkeepers, the result being that parts of London seemed as if in a state of siege; dwellings were barricaded, the Government offices were placed in a state of defence, the Bank of England kept its guard, usually dismissed in the daytime, and business was entirely suspended, to the great loss of many classes. The upshot of all this terror was that a few boys were arrested for stone-throwing in the Hampstead Road!

What was to be done to remedy this state of things? It was generally acknowledged that the lawlessness of the few should not be allowed to blind the charitable to the misery of the many thrown out of work by a hard winter. The local bodies gave a certain amount of employment in the form of road cleaning and dust-carting, and a fund was started at the Mansion House which reached the sum of £78,000, though whether it, in the result, did good or evil remained a somewhat

open question. As to the responsibility for the actual outbreak, it was at first laid at the door of Mr. Childers, whose occupation of the Home Office had been a matter of hours. With great promptitude he appointed a Committee, consisting of Lord Wolseley, Lord Edward Cavendish, Mr. Ritchie, Sir H. Holland and himself, from whose report it appeared that the person to blame was the Chief Constable, Sir Edmund Henderson, who had not only refrained from sending information to the Home Office until after the mob had dispersed, but had spent his time in Trafalgar Square rather than at the headquarters of Scotland Yard; while no instructions had been given with regard to the protection of the West End, and a detachment of police intended for Pall Mall had gone off to Buckingham Palace. Sir Edmund thereupon resigned and was replaced by Sir Charles Warren. Less fortunate was Mr. Childers's attempt to procure the conviction of Messrs. Hyndman, Burns, Williams, and Champion. They were committed for trial at Bow Street on the ground of incitement to violence, but when brought before Mr. Justice Cave on April 6th to 10th, at the Central Criminal Court, were acquitted.

Though Parliament reassembled on February 18th, the interest, owing to the delays attending the production of Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule measures, continued to be entirely out of doors, where the forces of opposition were rapidly gathering. Let us therefore briefly dispose of this portion of the session by saying that the Address, including Mr. Collings's amendment, was soon out of the way, that Mr. Labouchere narrowly failed in carrying a resolution for excluding the bishops from the House of Lords, that Mr. Dillwyn was successful with a motion for Welsh Disestablishment; that Dr. Cameron failed with a similar resolution for Scotland; that neither the Army nor the Navy Estimates, nor Sir William Harcourt's Budget, showed any features of novelty. One important measure, indeed, Government did carry into law—namely, a Crofters Bill, introduced by Mr. Trevelyan, upon the lines of the Royal Commission's report. His proposals embraced fair rent and fixity of tenure, but no right of purchasing holdings, and, though carped at as insufficient by the members representing the crofter interests, and by Mr. Macdonald, the late Lord Advocate, because they excluded any facilities for emigration, received the Royal Assent in June. Other measures of this brief session were the Shop Hours Amendment Act, the Medical Acts Amendment Act, Mr.

Bryce's Act on International and Colonial Copyright, and an Act for stopping the sale of intoxicating liquors to young children.

Meanwhile, aristocratic opposition to Mr. Gladstone was represented by the Earl of Mife, who declined the Presidency of the Scottish Liberal Association; while Lord Hartington, at the Eighty Club, delivered a speech in which was an intimation that, though he would be no party to an attempt to force the hand of Government during the interval they had demanded for the exposition of their views, he denied that the Liberal party were pledged to this completely new issue, and it was not only their interest, but their duty to judge for themselves whether the changes to be proposed seemed likely to injure Ireland or to loose the bonds in which the Empire was held together; and that they could not rid themselves of responsibility by throwing it on the shoulders of the largely increased Parnellite party. He held that 86 members could not be permitted to dictate to 584. Lord Hartington concluded with a manly appeal for forbearance to Mr. Gladstone. "I think," said he, "that no one who has read or heard during a long series of years the declarations of Mr. Gladstone on the question of self-government in Ireland can be surprised at the tone of his present declaration. Lord Randolph Churchill, himself an attentive student of Mr. Gladstone's speeches, can find no date later than 1871 in which Mr. Gladstone has spoken strongly against the demands of the Irish people for greater self-government. Well, when I look back upon those declarations which Mr. Gladstone made in his place in Parliament—and they have not been infrequent—when I look to the increased definiteness which was given to these declarations in his address to the electors of Midlothian and in his Midlothian speeches; when I look to the announcements which—however unauthorised and inaccurate—have never been asserted to be, and could not have been, mere figments of the imagination, but expressed more or less accurately—not the conclusions which Mr. Gladstone had formed, but the ideas which he was considering in his own mind—I say when I consider all these things, I feel that I have not, and no one else has, any right whatever to complain of the tone of the declarations which Mr. Gladstone has made on this subject." This speech, which the *Daily News* accepted as most conciliatory, was in tone not unlike Lord Salisbury's at the Crystal Palace; but the platform orator of the day was emphatically Lord Randolph Churchill. To his speech at Manchester, delivered

on March 3rd, appears to have been due the acceptance of the terms "Unionists" and "Separatists" by the Conservative organs to designate the opponents and advocates of Home Rule. At Paddington he wound up a stirring oration by announcing his approaching visit to Belfast, and he asked his audience what the message should be. "I believe that there will be hundreds and thousands of English hearts—ay, English hands—who, when the moment of trial comes, when the Protestants of Ireland are called upon, as they may be called upon, to give in the most practical and convincing form a demonstration and proof of their loyalty to the English throne—I believe there will be found hundreds and thousands of English hearts and hands who will be beside them and around them and behind them, and who will be of opinion that before the unity of this united Empire is for ever shattered, before the sun of England shall commence to set, a blow will have to be struck—and a blow will be struck—the sound of which shall go into all lands, and the echoes of which shall reverberate to the uttermost corners of the earth."

After this extraordinary deliverance, Lord Randolph betook himself to the north of Ireland, where he uttered the terse but foolish sentence—"Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right," accused Mr. Gladstone of having seized power by a "profligate manœuvre," and wound up a fervid "no surrender" speech in the words of Campbell:—

"Wave, Ulster, all thy banners wave,
And charge with all thy chivalry."

In the interval of suspense the Liberals, who had voted against Mr. Collings's resolution, were severely taken to task by the party managers. To Sir Henry James fell the duty of defence. He repudiated all intention of entering "a cave," the atmosphere of which would never suit him. But he hoped to be able to do something, on the one hand, to sustain the authority of the Queen over her Empire, and, on the other, to protect Ireland from the horrors of bloodshed and civil war. Finally, he desired to remain the humble member for Bury. Here we may mention a breach of discipline which had occurred earlier in the year in the well-drilled ranks of Parnellism. In room of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who had been elected also for the Scotland Division of Liverpool, Mr. Parnell nominated Captain O'Shea for the vacant seat of Galway. The Captain happening to be unpopular with the party on political, and, as eventually appeared, on personal grounds, a revolt arose, headed by Messrs. Healy and Biggar, which did

not terminate until Mr. Parnell had repaired to Galway and induced his followers to withdraw their candidate. As a relief to these party bickerings came a dinner at Willis's Rooms, the guest of the evening being Lord Iddesleigh, who was presented with a testimonial by members from both

found in a reply to Lord de Vesci on questions connected with Irish rents. He drew attention to two passages in the address to his constituents on seeking re-election. The first ran—"There are three great Irish questions demanding our care—social order, the settlement of the land question,



MR. MORLEY.

(After a Sketch from Life by Walker Hodgson.)

sides of the House. Lord Herschell, who presided, said that the recipient, after serving for thirty years in the Commons, had quitted that Assembly with troops of friends and without a single enemy, and had earned the esteem and regard of those to whom for years he had been opposed. The Earl, in a speech full of emotion, contented himself with expressing his regret at leaving a place "that was his life."

Throughout the month of March rumour was busy with the Home Rule Bill. The only real indication of Mr. Gladstone's views was to be

and a widely prevalent desire for self-government extending beyond what is felt in Great Britain on local affairs, but necessarily subject, in all respects, to the law of Imperial Unity." The second was—"It will be among the first duties of the new Government to use its official opportunities for forming such an estimate as only a Ministry can form of the social state of Ireland, especially with regard to crime, to the fulfilment of contracts, and to the pressure of low prices upon agriculture, and to personal liberty of action." Mr. Gladstone invited free communications on these points from

all classes of the Irish people. Evidently Mr. Gladstone's proposed measures were not yet ready, and on the 4th, in stating the order of business, he promised that his proposals would be produced either in whole or in part on the 22nd of March. They were to deal in a substantive and positive, and, he hoped, in a somewhat permanent form with the great question of Ireland. The Conservatives grumbled sorely at the delay, but Mr. Gladstone replied, with considerable show of reason, that the question before him was great and complex—the most complex question he had ever had to deal with; and he added, with distinct adroitness, that he had been for some time under the impression that the late Ministry were continuing their association with Mr. Parnell, and intended to apply some more permanent method to the Irish problem than that of special criminal legislation. He would have rejoiced had that Government arrived at a bold resolution to face the situation as a substantive question.

Soon followed the intelligence that a draft scheme was in preparation, of which the parents were Mr. Gladstone himself, Mr. John Morley—who about this time was compelled to refute certain hasty accusations of executing or refusing to execute evictions at his own discretion—and Sir Robert Hamilton, the Under-Secretary. Then followed stories, industriously circulated and as persistently denied, of the resignations of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan—the former, it was said, on account of land-purchase proposals, the latter on account of the scope of the future Irish Parliament. March 22nd, when the Bill was to have been introduced, passed without a sign; so did the 1st of April, the second date given for the production of the measure. The clue to this delay had been given on the 26th, when it was officially announced that the two Ministers had definitely left the Cabinet, their places being filled by Lord Dalhousie as Secretary of State for Scotland, without a seat in the Cabinet, and Mr. Stansfeld as President of the Local Government Board. For the present the seceding Ministers' mouths were shut; and it was not until the Bill was produced that Mr. Trevelyan explained his reasons for withdrawal, relating chiefly to the maintenance of law and order; while Mr. Chamberlain postponed until the introduction of the Land Purchase Bill the reading of a letter, dated March 15th, of which the salient passages were directed against the Land Purchase Bill. "Without entering into any unnecessary details," wrote Mr. Chamberlain, "I may say that you

proposed a scheme of Irish land purchase which involved an enormous and unprecedented use of British capital in order, in your own words, 'to afford to the Irish landlord refuge and defence from a possible mode of government in Ireland which he regards as fatal to him.' This scheme, while contemplating only a trifling reduction of the judicial rents fixed before the recent fall in prices, would commit the British taxpayer to tremendous obligations, accompanied, in my opinion, with serious risk of ultimate loss. The greater part of the land of Ireland would be handed over to a new Irish elective authority, who would thus be at once the landlords and the delegates of the Irish tenants. I fear that these two capacities would be found inconsistent, and that the tenants, unable or unwilling to pay the rent demanded, would speedily elect an authority pledged to give them relief, and to seek to recoup itself by an early repudiation of what would be described as British tribute." Mr. Chamberlain then passed to the new form of Irish government, and described Mr. Gladstone's proposals as those for conceding a separate legislative assembly for Ireland with full power to deal with all Irish affairs. "I understand that you would exclude from their competence the control of the army and the navy and the direction of foreign and colonial policy, but that you would allow them to arrange their own customs tariff, to have entire control of the civil forces of the country, and even, if they thought fit, to establish a volunteer army. It appears to me that a proposal of this kind must be regarded as tantamount to a proposal for separation. I think it is even worse, because it would set up an unstable and temporary form of government which would be a source of perpetual irritation and agitation until the full demands of the Nationalist party were conceded. The Irish Parliament would be called upon to pay three or four millions a year as its contribution to the National Debt and the army and navy, and it would be required in addition to pay nearly five millions of interest and sinking fund on the cost of Irish land. These charges would be felt to be so heavy a burden on a poor country that persistent controversy would arise thereupon, and the due fulfilment of their obligations by the new Irish authority could only be enforced by a military intervention, which would be undertaken with every disadvantage, and after all the resources of the country and the civil executive power had been surrendered to the Irish National Government." In answer to this letter, which concluded with an offer of resignation,

Mr. Gladstone undertook to introduce certain modifications to meet Mr. Chamberlain's views, though he was not hopeful of overcoming his main objections. Such proved to be the case, and Mr. Chamberlain resigned, in spite of Mr. Gladstone's representation that the step was still premature. The situation meanwhile was hardly elucidated by the bye-elections, for at Barrow Mr. Caine, who fought the constituency as a disciple of Mr. Chamberlain, was successful by a huge majority over Mr. Gainsford Bruce, a Conservative; while Mr. Forster, on his lamented death, was eventually replaced at Bradford by a Home Ruler in the person of Mr. Shaw Lefevre by a considerably reduced majority. More decisive was Ipswich, where Mr. Jesse Collings and his fellow-member, unseated on petition, were succeeded by two Scottish Conservatives, Lord Elcho and Mr. Dalrymple, though the Liberals, Sir Horace Davey and Lord John Hervey, were strong candidates.

On April 8th, at 4.40 p.m., Mr. Gladstone asked leave to bring in his Bill "to amend the provisions for the future government of Ireland," amidst a feeling of expectation not unmixed with apprehension that quite beggars description. The House was crowded from floor to ceiling, some members having been down to take their places as early as six o'clock in the morning, and by eleven every bench had its occupants. So great was the rush for seats that the Speaker had to veto a suggestion that the friends of members should listen to the debate in the ventilation chamber under the floor of the House. There were present the Prince of Wales, Prince Albert Victor, Prince Christian, the Duke of Cambridge, the American Minister, the French Ambassador, and many other notabilities. For three hours and a half the aged Premier held the assembly, in a speech which was not as most people had anticipated, vigorous and rhetorical, but rather closely argumentative. His first point was an emphatic declaration that the policy of Government in relation to Home Rule could not be severed from their policy on the land question. Ministers had come to the conclusion that it was their duty no longer to fence with the Irish question, but to come to close quarters with it, and their intention was to make proposals which they believed would restore to Parliament its liberty of action, and to try if it were not possible to establish good relations between Great Britain and Ireland. He dwelt first on agrarian crime, which he described as a symptom, and the coercive legislation with which it had been met, which he described as habitual. Of the agrarian crimes he

said—and the Irish members cheered loudly while parts of the House murmured dissent—that had the same causes existed in England and Scotland similar results might have followed; and with regard to coercive legislation, if it was ever reimposed—and after the refusal of Government to renew the Crimes Act he held its reimposition impossible—it must be of a different character to the coercion of the past, not fitful, irregular, and open to public scrutiny, but strong, steady, and secret in its operations. Such coercion might succeed, but would never be tried by Great Britain till everything else had failed. But had they tried every alternative? And Mr. Gladstone, amidst loud Irish cheers, declared that they had never tried the alternative of stripping law in Ireland of its foreign garb and investing it with a domestic character. The problem was whether, by giving over both Legislature and Administration into Irish hands, they could not make the law popular which had hitherto been so thoroughly hated. The general idea had been to seek in the direction indicated by Grattan when he said, "I demand the continued severance of the Parliaments, with a view to the continued and everlasting unity of the Empire."

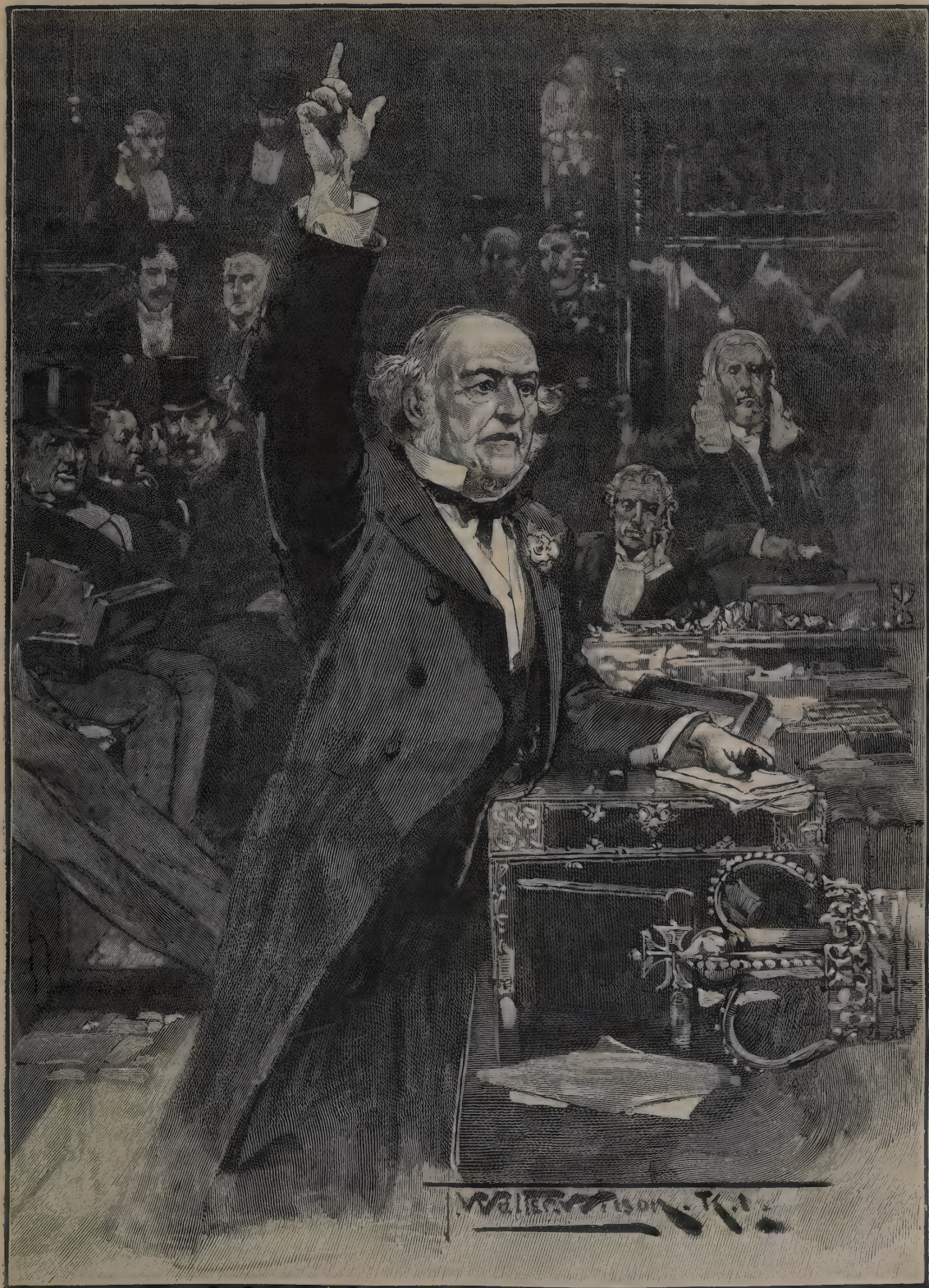
Mr. Gladstone then proceeded at some length to argue from the cases of Sweden and Norway, Austria and Hungary, which had gained, not lost, by the separation of their Legislatures. He thought that Mr. Parnell, in giving up the demand for the repeal of the Union and asking only, as he had on the first night of the Session, for "local autonomy" had come a long way to meet them, and that they ought to go some way to meet him. The only way to do so was to create a statutory Legislature in Dublin charged to deal with all Irish subjects not specially excluded. His precise words were—"the establishment, by the authority of Parliament, of a legislative body sitting in Dublin for the conduct both of legislation and administration, under the conditions which may be described by the Act defining Irish as distinct from Imperial affairs." The essential guarantees were that the unity of the Empire must not be placed in jeopardy, the minority must be protected, the political equality of the three countries must be maintained, and there must be an equitable distribution of Imperial burdens. Such an assembly might, for a time at least, submit to special guarantees—which Government were ready to consider, though none of those suggested commended themselves—for the fair influence of Ulster—for instance, its exclusion from

the Bill, its separate autonomy, or the reservation of certain matters, such as education, for provincial Councils, though in the end doubtless the minority would, as in other countries, be able to take care of itself. It would be impossible, said Mr. Gladstone, to admit into the Assembly at Westminster a special class of representatives empowered to debate and vote on Irish questions only, because it would be impossible to decide what were Irish questions only. An administrative question, such as a vote of censure on a Foreign Secretary, might involve the collapse of a Government and a change of policy for a whole Empire. It was therefore a question for keeping Irish Members for all subjects and not keeping them at all; and, looking to the difficulty of letting them interfere in English and Scottish subjects when they had a Parliament of their own, and the difficulty in Ireland of finding a duplicate set of adequate representatives, Government had decided to exclude them altogether from the British Parliament. The 28 Irish representative peers would no longer sit in the House of Lords, and the 103 Irish Members would no longer sit in the House of Commons. But if Ireland was not represented at Westminster, how was it to be taxed? The English people would never force on Ireland taxation without representation. The taxing power would be in the hands of the Irish Legislature, but Customs, and Excise duties connected with Customs, would be solely in the control of the Imperial Parliament, though Ireland's share would be reserved for her own use.

Coming to the constructive part of his scheme, Mr. Gladstone said that the statutory Parliament he proposed to create would consist of 204 or 206 commoners—of whom the present Members would be 103, while 101 more would be elected by the same constituencies, except the Dublin University, while the Royal University would be allowed, by way of balance, to elect 2. There was also to be a second order, sitting in the same House, consisting of 103 Members, of whom the 28 representative Irish peers would, during their life, constitute a portion. The other 75 were to be elected by occupiers to the value of £25 and upwards, and the persons elected must have a property qualification of either £4,000 or of the value of £200 per annum. The two orders would sit and debate in the same House, but they might vote separately, and the veto of either would postpone a proposal either for three years or until a dissolution. The body thus created was to be quinquennial, and as to its functions, it might not interfere with the prerogatives

of the Crown, nor with the army and navy, nor with foreign and colonial relations, nor with the establishment and endowment of any religious body. It was also restricted from dealing with trade and navigation, coinage, currency, weights and measures, census, copyright and quarantine. It could not be altered, except when its charter gave explicit permission, unless after an address to the Crown from the Irish Legislature with which the Crown complied, or else after a discussion at Westminster in a Parliament restored to its former dimensions by the recall of the 103 Irish Members to the Commons, and the Irish peers to the Lords. The Executive would remain as at present, but might be changed by the action of the Legislature, *i.e.* the Viceroy would be assisted by a Privy Council, and would not go out of office with the Government. Those of the judges who desired to do so would be able to retire with a pension, which might be antedated if desirable. In the future they would be appointed by the Irish Legislature, and would hold their office during good behaviour. Mr. Gladstone's compromise with regard to the constabulary was that, eventually, the Irish Legislature would have its own police, but that for the present the force was to continue independent of that body, and would be supported by the Consolidated Fund to the extent that it might cost over a million, *i.e.* about half a million.

The unwearied orator then plunged into finance, and fixed the proportion of Imperial charges which Ireland should pay at $\frac{1}{14}$ th instead of the $\frac{2}{17}$ ths intended at the time of the Union. This contribution would be paid by Ireland out of a fund composed in the first instance of all the receipts paid into the Irish Exchequer; but this would not give a true test of the amount of taxation paid by Ireland, inasmuch as by the flow of duty-paid commodities from Ireland to Great Britain upwards of £1,400,000 paid by the British taxpayer would form a part of the Irish receipts. The result would be to reduce the contribution of Ireland from a nominal $\frac{1}{14}$ th to an actual $\frac{1}{26}$ th part, and the rate *per caput* would be £1 10s. 11d. for Great Britain, and 13s. 5d. for Ireland. Mr. Gladstone then gave in illustration the first Irish Budget under the heads of revenue and expenditure. The former included Customs (£1,880,000), Excise (£4,300,000), Stamps (£600,000), Income Tax (£550,000), and non-taxed revenue (£1,020,000). The latter comprised Interest on the Debt (£1,466,000), Army and Navy (£1,666,000), Imperial Civil Charges (£110,000), the Irish



INTRODUCTION OF THE HOME RULE BILL: MR. GLADSTONE DELIVERING HIS PERORATION. (See p. 102.)

Constabulary (£1,000,000), Irish Civil Charges (£2,510,000), Collection of Revenue (£834,000), Sinking Fund (£750,000). In relation to the last charge Mr. Gladstone said: "Ireland's public credit is not yet born. It has yet to lie like an infant in the cradle, and it may require a good deal of nursing; but no nursing could be effectual unless it were plain and palpable to the eyes of the whole world that Ireland had provision in actual working order for discharging her old obligations, so as to make it safe for her to contract new ones."

From this complicated topic Mr. Gladstone passed to his concluding considerations, that Ireland was but demanding what had been long granted to the colonies, and that local patriotism was in itself not bad but good. His brief peroration, after acknowledging that he had no right to assume that Ireland would accept the offered plan, ran as follows: "There may be difficulties, sir, but I rely upon the patriotism and sagacity of this House; I rely upon the effect of free discussion; I rely more than all upon the just and generous sentiments of the two British nations; and, looking forward, I ask the House to assist us in the work which we have undertaken; to believe that no trivial motives could have driven us on; to assist us in this work which we believe will restore Parliament to its dignity, and legislation to its free and unimpeded course. I ask them to stay that waste of public treasure, under the present system of government and administration in Ireland, which is not a waste only, but which demoralises while it exhausts. I ask them to show to Europe and to America that we too can face the political problems which America twenty years ago, and which many countries of Europe, have been called upon to face and have not feared to deal with. I ask that we should practise—as we very often preach—in our own case, with firm and fearless hand, the doctrine which we have so often inculcated upon others, namely, that the concession of local self-government is not the way to sap or to impair, but the way to strengthen and to consolidate unity. I ask that we should learn to rely less upon merely written stipulations, and more upon those better stipulations which are written on the heart and on the mind of man. I ask that we should apply to Ireland the happy experience which we have gained in England and Scotland, where a course of generations has now taught us, not as dream or theory but as practice or as life, that the best and surest foundation we can build on is the foundation afforded by the affections, the convictions, and the will of men; and it is thus,

by the decree of the Almighty, that, far more than by any other endeavour, we may be able to secure at once social peace, and the fame, the power, and the permanence of the Empire."

Outside the House the speech was received with mixed feelings: the insufficiency of the guarantees for the minority, particularly the "orders;" the separation suggested by the exclusion of the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament; the absence of any provision for Ulster, being the chief stumbling-blocks. The last topic was enlarged upon within doors by a series of Ulster Members, who proclaimed clearly enough that they would have none of the Bill, either with or without modifications. But the speeches of the evening were those of Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Parnell. The ex-Chief Secretary was slightly discursive, part of his speech being devoted to his reasons for entering and leaving the Cabinet, which were that he had hoped that the Bill would be "knocked about as one does in a Cabinet," but found that he had little voice in the matter. Then he passed to the chief objections to the measure, namely, that judges and constabulary would be ineffective because of their dependence on an elective Parliament, a Parliament, moreover, in which Sheridan and Egan would have seats, and in which the Irish American influence would be paramount. He could not support the Expropriation Bill, which "left everyone to be ruined except the richer landlords. He had also grave doubts whether Mr. Gladstone's scheme of finance, with its mathematical precision, had not left out of court Irish human nature, and human nature in general. Mr. Trevelyan then proceeded to expound a scheme of his own, by which the Chief Secretary was to be responsible for law and order, while local education, public works, and county management were to be in the hands of freely elected public bodies, to whom would be assigned a fixed portion of the taxes but no legislative powers. Mr. Parnell, after a bitter attack on the last speaker, also confined himself to finance, describing Mr. Gladstone's proposals as a "hard bargain," which Ireland would only accept because of her longing for Home Rule. In particular, he demanded that if England kept the Irish Constabulary, England should pay its whole expense. Mr. Parnell wound up with a peroration a sentence in length to the effect that the concessions would result in prosperity and peace to Ireland and satisfaction to England.

The debate was adjourned by Mr. Chamberlain, who attempted to explain his reasons for withdrawing from the Cabinet. He began by reading

correspondence, of which the purport was that he had joined the Ministry, on the express understanding that he should have "full liberty of judgment and rejection;" but at this point Mr. Gladstone interposed, and after a short and sharp altercation, quashed the reading of letters which had reference to the un-introduced Land Purchase Bill. Mr. Chamberlain, somewhat galled by these interruptions, made an uncompromising speech, in which the argument was that the proposal degraded Ireland by depriving her of all control over Imperial affairs, and was, at the same time, "thinly veiled Separation;" the local Parliament, in the absence of Imperial representation, becoming necessarily co-ordinate, and Ireland a foreign country. His original objections to the Bill had been fourfold: (1) the exclusion of the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament; (2) the giving up of the power of taxing Ireland; (3) the surrender of the appointment of judges and magistrates; and (4) the plan of making the new authority supreme in all matters not especially reserved for it, instead of giving it only the authority specially delegated by the Act. Of these four, the second had been modified, but the other three remained. He would prefer to wipe out the obligations which existed between England and Ireland as a bad debt, and that Ireland should go free altogether so that we might be absolved from the responsibility entailed by a sham union. "I believe the scheme will come to that in the end, and I would rather face it at once." He also hinted at an alternative scheme in the shape of federation. After Mr. Healy had replied to Mr. Chamberlain in a sarcastic speech, Sir John Lubbock described what he considered to be the fallacies of Mr. Gladstone's analogy of Austria-Hungary. Lord Hartington maintained that Mr. Gladstone had entirely altered his views since the appeal to the electors in November, and that all arguments were valueless that were drawn from Grattan's Parliament, the Federated States of North America, or the colonies. The last were bound to us purely because they were proud of the tie: Ireland was to be set loose because she abhorred it. He thought the hatefulness of so-called coercion had been grossly exaggerated, and that the irresolution with which the law had been enforced was due to the rivalry of English parties, which ought to unite to secure the integrity of the Empire. "But, sir, I do not admit that because this has been so it must always be so. If, indeed, this be a necessity, I am afraid no alternative does lie before us but either an ultimate resort to civil war, or an abandonment at

once of our duties, our privileges, and our responsibilities. But, sir, I refuse to believe it. Now that the people of this country have been brought face to face with the alternative of disruption on the one hand, or all the evils and calamities which I admit will follow the rejection of this unfortunate measure, I believe that now, at all events, the people of this country will agree that their representatives shall in relation to Irish affairs agree to sink all minor differences, and to unite as one man to hand down to our successors the great Empire, compact and complete, as we have inherited it from our forefathers, and at the same time to maintain throughout its length and breadth the undisputed supremacy of the law." Mr. Morley, who followed, argued that the only alternative to Home Rule was repression, and that it would mean a Coercion Act that would give the Executive authority to put down meetings, to suppress newspapers, to enter houses when the police thought necessary on the chance of finding illegal meeting, and even the locking up of a good many priests, and a bishop or two. The rejection of the Bill would imply a lawless cessation of the payment of rent. The British policy towards Ireland, he declared, had gone from vacillation to vacillation and was a miserable chaos of alternative hesitations and precipitancies. As to the exclusion of the Irish Members from the House of Commons, those who were most against an Irish Legislature were for keeping a body of Irish gentlemen here in a constant state of irritation against us, and a source of mischief, dissension and inefficiency.

So far the attack on the Bill had been designedly left to the Liberal Unionists, but on the 12th Lord Randolph Churchill intervened in a speech which declared that the restrictions were either useless or evidences of a distrust that would be fatal to the Bill, and that the Irish Government, having its revenue levied for it by the British Parliament, might contrive to get on without calling a Parliament at all. The reply of the Attorney-General, Sir Charles Russell, was effective, but he admitted that "for his part he should be sorry to see, if anyone could suggest a practicable method of avoiding it, Irish Members cease their attendance in the House." Mr. Whitbread's utterances were important chiefly from his status in the House. On the last night Sir William Harcourt indulged in some adroit banter and personalities; while Mr. Goschen asked if Home Rule were to apply to Ireland, then why not to Wales, and, if to Wales, why not to Ulster? As regarded that province, it was remarkable that the

part of Ulster which returned to Parliament fifteen Loyalists and five Parnellites, showed an income-tax return of £2,200,000, while that part which returned thirteen Nationalists and one Loyalist, showed a return of only £300,000; and he quoted a significant passage from a Nationalist paper, in which the wealth of Ulster was described as the mere security of Ulster's servitude. He carefully examined the financial proposals of the scheme, and concluded by saying that as America had saved the American Union by entirely ignoring European advice, so he hoped that we should save the Union of Great Britain and Ireland by entirely ignoring American advice. Mr. Gladstone's reply, which followed a careful but hardly novel speech from Sir M. Hicks-Beach, was far more eloquent than his original statement. He insisted on the necessity of undoing the great act of fraud by which the Union was carried. As for the securities for the protection of the minority, he made light of them, declaring that it was a mistake to attribute to the Irish people "a double dose of original sin," and that they were inserted only for those who could not trust them. He also made a carefully guarded concession to the objections that had been urged against the Bill in the following terms:—He had been reported as saying that the assumption of Customs and Excise by England, and the absence of Irish Members from the House of Commons were vital and essential conditions. He did not think he had used those epithets. If he did, it was probably an inadvertence for which he apologised. What he thought to be undeniable was that the 103 Irish Members could not possibly continue as before to vote upon all matters, English, Scotch, Irish, and Imperial alike. It had been suggested that the Irish Members should come to the House of Commons with limited powers, but he failed to see where the distinction could be drawn. Nevertheless, it would be preposterous at this stage to close the door against consideration of this question. He predicted that if the Bill were rejected, no progress would be made with the business of the country. "England and Scotland will be left to a famine of needful and useful legislation, and Ireland to a continuance of social disease, the depth of which we have never understated—of social disease which you do not know how to deal with, and which, in Ireland's angry discord with Great Britain, you make no attempt to cure." Leave was then given to bring in the Bill.

From the outset the London press, with the exception of the *Daily News*, pronounced itself

strongly against the Bill; the tone of the provincial papers was more divided. But scarcely a syllable of favourable comment was spoken or written on Mr. Gladstone's Land Purchase Bill, which he explained on April 16th. From the opinion of experts like Sir James Caird and of experienced amateurs like Lord Monteagle, the public had gathered no very clear idea of the condition of Irish agriculture, except that the employment of State funds for the purpose of buying out Irish landlords was a most hazardous experiment, so formidable had been the collapse of prices of produce. Perhaps it was to cover the inherent objections to his scheme that Mr. Gladstone's statement was unusually involved, and sorely baffled the reporters. He began by saying that to hand over the land question to an Irish Parliament would be to hand over the worst part of her feuds, and then followed a long disquisition on the position of the "English garrison" and the various legislative enactments by which it had been affected. As to the cost of expropriation it appeared that the original sum, which he had fixed at 120 millions, had, after Mr. Chamberlain's objections, been altered to fifty. His plan was to allow all landlords in Ireland to claim from the Treasury Consols at par to the amount of twenty years' purchase of the judicial rent, minus certain payments, for instance, tithe charge, at present incumbent on the landlord. The State was to take over encumbrances, and either pay them off or pay interest as at present, mortgagees being forbidden to foreclose. The tenants were to become proprietors immediately with all rights, subject for forty-nine years to a quit-rent or redemption payment equal to four-fifths of the judicial rent, and in the end would become freeholders. An exception, however, was made to the congested districts, where the State might buy out the landlords, but would leave the cottiers standing at a rent. The redemption money was to be received by a statutory authority, who would pay it to a Receiver-General, who would pay all prior claims such as that of the British Treasury, and hand over the surplus to the Irish Treasury. To the Receiver-General Mr. Parnell, while suspending his criticism of the Bill, offered strenuous opposition, but the main censure came from Mr. Chamberlain, who, after reading his letter of resignation to which we have already alluded, remarked upon the absence of security; in a bad year the tenants would repudiate, and as the Irish Government could not evict whole populations, the money would not be forthcoming. At the same time Mr.

Chamberlain showed clearly enough that he had not made up his mind to part company with Mr. Gladstone. He hailed with satisfaction the contemplated alterations in the Home Rule Bill, especially the possibility of the retention of the Irish

unfortunately for a time—I hope it may be only for a short time—has separated me from my right honourable friend, has not impaired my respect or regard for his character and abilities. I am not an irreconcilable opponent. My right honourable



MR. CHAMBERLAIN. (After a Sketch from Life by Walker Hodgson.)

Members at Westminster, and declared that if Ulster were to receive separate treatment, the Bill would differ little from his own proposal of national Councils. He also acknowledged that many objectionable features had been removed from the Land Purchase Bill, and concluded—"I recognise the spirit of conciliation with which the Government has tried to meet the objections which have been already taken to their scheme. I know I need not assure my right honourable friend, or my friends around me, that the difference, which

friend has made considerable modifications in his Bill. All I can say is that, if that movement continues as I hope it will, I shall be delighted to be relieved from an attitude which I only assumed with the greatest reluctance, and which I can only maintain with the deepest pain and regret." The Conservative benches were evidently fluttered by this announcement, and Mr. Smith proclaimed that if an Irish Parliament was established he, for one, would be no party to the curtailment of its authority by illusory checks. Other critics, notably Lord

Selborne, in a letter to the *Times*, pointed out that, whereas all landlords might ask for payment, the sum provided would be insufficient; and while a few would get their money, the majority would be left to the mercy of the Irish Parliament; that the forty-nine years' quit-rent would also be intolerable to tenants who had been bewildered by Nationalist promises, and that they would force the Irish Ministry to press for further reductions.

Parliament separated for the Easter holidays, but already the Bills were doomed. Numerous resignations followed the promulgation of the Home Rule Bill, and several appointments about the Household were also vacated, for which no successors could be found. Further, an important meeting was held on April 14th at Her Majesty's Theatre, which marked a definite step in the growth of the Unionist coalition. The chair was taken by Earl Cowper, who had been Mr. Gladstone's Lord-Lieutenant, and he was supported by Conservative ex-Ministers in the persons of Lord Salisbury, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Mr. Plunket, while the revolt of Liberalism was represented by Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Lord Fife, and Mr. Peter Rylands. A resolution was carried by acclamation declaring that any proposals tending to invalidate the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland were disastrous to the best interests of both countries. Perhaps the best hit of the evening was made by Lord Hartington, who, when someone attempted to hiss Mr. Gladstone's name, roundly declared that the Prime Minister was actuated by feelings as noble and honest as had ever inspired the conduct of an English statesman. Lord Salisbury made a somewhat cynical allusion to Turkey, which State was perpetually yielding autonomy first and independence afterwards. Mr. Goschen was highly strung, and provoked loud cheers by saying that the threats of what might happen were Home Rule refused certainly produced a shiver, not of fear, however, but of indignation; also that if their houses were to be set on fire, Captain Shaw would put the fires out, and, if the dagger were to be used, Englishmen would still make their wills and do their duty. During the recess Lord Spencer and Mr. John Morley at Newcastle urged the necessity of Home Rule, mainly on the ground that coercion and separation were equally impossible; while Mr. Chamberlain obtained a vote of "unabated confidence" at a meeting of the Birmingham Two Thousand, which also expressed confidence in Mr. Gladstone for his effort to make a permanent settlement of the Irish question. Lord Hartington's

address at Rossendale was a temperate defence of his position before a hostile gathering, and was remarkable for the production of a letter from Mr. Bright, in which occurred the significant phrase—"It would be a calamity for this country if measures of such transcendent magnitude were accepted on the authority of a party, or of a Minister, however eminent, and no other member of the party was to be permitted to hold or express strong doubts, or even adverse opinions of the measure proposed." Mr. Courtney persuaded a somewhat unfriendly audience at Liskeard to pass a neutral resolution. Mr. Goschen conducted an energetic campaign in Scotland, but Mr. Gladstone's activity was confined to a written manifesto to the electors of Midlothian, in which the opponents to Home Rule were branded as actuated by the "spirit of class;" and there was a significant warning to the Irish landlords, who, "while the sands were running out of the hour-glass, had as yet given no indication of a desire to accept a proposal framed in the spirit of the utmost allowable regard to their apprehensions and their interests."

As May 10th, the day fixed for the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, drew near, rumours were prevalent that a reconciliation had been effected between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain. The latter had written to a correspondent—"My idea undoubtedly is that provincial Assemblies might be created which would occupy somewhat the same position as the separate States do in the American Union, and the separated provinces in the Dominion of Canada." Certainly the hands of Government were considerably strengthened by a vote of the National Liberal Federation, consisting of 600 delegates, which endorsed the principle of Mr. Gladstone's Bill by a four-fifths majority and condemned the attitude of Birmingham. Mr. Chamberlain seemed isolated, and on May the 8th made an overture to Government by publishing a letter to Mr. T. H. Bolton, in which he expressed his readiness to vote for the second reading, and leave even the treatment of Ulster to be settled in Committee, if the full representation in the Imperial Parliament and her full responsibility for all Imperial affairs were maintained. No reply was made to this advance, and the debate on the second reading began amidst the utmost uncertainty as to the intentions of Government and their chances of success. This much was known, that thirty-four Members had joined the Liberal Unionist Committee, thirty-nine were regarded as certain opponents of

the Bill, and thirty-nine were doubtful. For nearly a month the stream of words flowed on, but little attention was paid to the progress of discussion. The main interest in Mr. Gladstone's opening speech lay in the concessions he was prepared to make. They amounted to this, that "when a proposal was made to alter taxation in respect to Customs and Excise, Irish Members should have an opportunity of appearing, to take a share in the transaction of that business," also that Ireland should, if possible, have a direct voice on the reserved subjects, for instance foreign policy. But neither Mr. Gladstone's remarks, nor the subsequent explanations of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman gave any indication of a working plan, and doubts were freely expressed whether the remedy was not worse than the disease. For the rest, Lord Hartington, who now took upon himself to move the rejection of the Bill, had little new to say and the speech of the first evening was that of Mr. William O'Brien, who frankly admitted the violence of his party in days past, and declared his belief that Ireland would be reconciled by Home Rule, though Mr. O'Donovan Rossa would not. Mr. Lewis, a representative of the Ulster Protestants, showed that no less than 98,000 illiterate votes had been polled in Ireland at the general election, consequently that the Nationalist majority had been to a great extent without the protection of the ballot. Sir Henry James, on the second evening, attacked the insecurity of the paper-guarantees, which, he said, at the end of three years would place the second order, the judges and the constabulary, under the control of the majority; and declared that the craving which led to Home Rule would never be satisfied till it led to that Irish national independence at which it really aimed. Lord George Hamilton took up much the same line; Mr. Leatham attacked the Bill from the Radical point of view, while Mr. Dillon, on behalf of the Irish Members, gave an assurance that the Bill was accepted and would be honestly worked.

Far more important than these oft-repeated utterances in deciding the fate of the Bill were the meetings held outside Westminster. The question was how many would the seceders number, and it was found that a meeting convoked at Devonshire House on May the 14th by Lord Hartington was attended by sixty-four Members, nearly a third of the Liberal party. The significant incidents were the cordiality established between the Whig and Radical Unionists, and secondly their determination to oppose the second reading, even

if the vote were accepted by Government as a vote on an abstract resolution, inasmuch as Mr. Gladstone's concessions were regarded as increasing rather than diminishing their objections. A separate meeting of Mr. Chamberlain's adherents, fifty-two in number, raised the malcontents to the formidable figure of a hundred at least, a hundred and twenty at most. Mr. Chamberlain, who presided, declared that Mr. Gladstone's attitude on moving the second reading had completely surprised him, and that his concessions were quite illusory. The meeting determined to vote against the Bill unless it was entirely recast. Lord Salisbury was naturally jubilant, and in a speech at St. James's Hall gave vent to the following ill-timed remarks. Ireland, said he, was not a nation, but two nations, and he held that there were races, like the Hottentots and even the Hindoos, who were incapable of self-government. He refused to place confidence in a people who had acquired the habit of using knives and slugs. He doubted whether the strong organisation of the Catholic Church in Ireland had not fallen into bad hands, denounced the section of the Irish people which fought out political questions by the aid of terrorism, and propounded an alternative policy, namely, twenty years of resolute government, unaffected by party changes at Westminster. He would also, he declared, rather employ British wealth in aiding the emigration of a million Irishmen than in buying out landlords. So universal was the impression that Lord Salisbury had nothing to propose but "twenty years of coercion," that he hastened to explain that he had not recommended coercion only, but the amelioration of the condition of the people as well, and that he was not in favour of emigration, but thought it a better plan than the expropriation of the landlords. Be that as it may, the tone of Lord Hartington's speech at Bradford (May 18th) was far less exceptionable, though its significance lay not so much in its particular arguments, as in its general drift. For him, at least, retreat or reconciliation was no longer possible.

Meanwhile the debate dragged on, the best speeches on the Ministerial side being those of Mr. Stansfeld, who called Lord Salisbury over the coals for his "Hottentot" declaration, and of Mr. Bryce; while Sir R. Cross made sport of Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's naïve assertion that he had "found salvation." Tempers became heated as the debate proceeded, and on the occasion of the renewal of the Arms Act, Mr. Parnell declared that Lord Randolph Churchill in his Ulster campaign had unintentionally incited to assassination,

while Mr. Gladstone compared him with Smith O'Brien, and asserted that if "this country did not possess such solid institutions, his conduct called for severe and serious notice." Dissolution was in the air, though the *Times* thought it would be averted by a Liberal Unionist Cabinet; and at a meeting of the new National Liberal Union Lord Hartington declared that the battle would be fought in the constituencies as vigorously as in Parliament. Government, however, seemed chary of bringing the debate to a close, doubtless in the hope that the malcontent Liberals would be brought back to the fold. At a meeting held at the Foreign Office on May 27th, Mr. Gladstone agreed to withdraw the Bill if the second reading were passed, and to introduce a new Bill in an October session. Thereby dissolution seemed indefinitely postponed, and an acrimonious discussion arose in the House of Commons on Sir M. Hicks-Beach attempting to extract from the Prime Minister some indication of his intentions—Was the Bill to be withdrawn after the second reading or not? Was there to be a dissolution or prorogation? Mr. Gladstone could not say, and it was not until the adjournment of the House had been carried, with the assent of Lord Hartington, that the information was elicited that prorogation, not dissolution, was to be recommended to the Queen. Lord Hartington then pointed out that the House was asked to take an absolutely unprecedented course—namely, to assent to the second reading of a Bill which was dead. On June 1st Sir M. Hicks-Beach announced that the front Opposition bench would take no further part in the debate; it proceeded, nevertheless, with the aid of speeches from Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Parnell—who made a partial revelation of his negotiations with Lord Carnarvon, much to the indignation of Sir M. Hicks-Beach—until the morning of the 8th, when Mr. Gladstone closed the discussion in a telling speech.

The orator reprobated the term "Separatist," which he abandoned to the worst slang of political controversy. He then passed to the alternatives to the Bill, and ridiculed Mr. Chamberlain's numerous plans. That politician "had so trimmed his vessel and touched his rudder in such a masterly way that whichever of the winds of heaven might blow it filled his sails." Lord Salisbury's alternative was twenty years' coercion, and the present Bill had been produced to obviate that policy as promulgated on the 26th of January, and to

weaken the party of disorder which was behind the back of the Irish representatives and which skulked in America, and skulked in Ireland. Then came a peroration, touching upon the greatness of the opportunity; it was a golden moment in history. The opposition, he reasserted, came from the classes and their dependents; they had power, rank, wealth, and organisation on their side; with the Government was the people's heart. "I believe that there is in the breast of many a man who intends to vote against us to-night a profound misgiving, approaching even to a deep conviction, that the end will be as we foresee it and not as you; that the ebbing tide is with you and the flowing tide with us. Ireland stands at your bar expectant, hopeful, almost suppliant. Her words are the words of truth and soberness. She asks a blessed oblivion of the past, and in that oblivion our interest is a deeper interest than hers. Mr. Goschen asked us to-night to abide by the traditions of which we are the heirs. What traditions? By the Irish traditions? Go into the length and breadth of the world. Ransack the literature of all countries. Find, if you can, a single voice, a single book; find, I would almost say, a single newspaper article, unless the product of the day, in which the conduct of England towards Ireland is anywhere treated except with profound and bitter contempt. Are these the traditions by which we are exhorted to stand? They are more than a black blot on the pages of history; and what we want to do is to stand by the traditions of which we are the heirs, in all matters except our relations with Ireland, and to make our relations with Ireland conform to the other traditions of our country. So we treat our traditions, so we hail the demand of Ireland for what I call a blessed oblivion of the past. She asks also a boon for the future, and unless we are much mistaken, it will be a boon to our honour, no less than a boon to her happiness, prosperity, and peace. Think, I beseech you, think well, think wisely, think not for the moment but for the years that are to come, before you reject our plan." The division—the largest on record—was promptly taken, and the Government placed in a minority of 30 (313 to 343). No less than 93 Liberals went over to the majority; all the Conservatives voted except two (one ill, the other, Sir Robert Peel, a supposed Home Ruler), while seven Liberals were absent without cause assigned, and one Irishman, Captain O'Shea.



DEVONSHIRE HOUSE, PICCADILLY, FROM THE DRIVE.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Dissolution announced—Lord R. Churchill's Manifesto—Election Speeches—Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone—Questions at Issue—The Elections—The Belfast Riots—The final Figures—Lord Hartington's Refusal of the Premiership—Lord Salisbury's Ministry—Lord Hartington's Explanation—The National Liberal Federation—Ministerial Declarations—Sir M. Hicks-Beach's Policy—Mr. Parnell's Amendment—Mr. Parnell's Tenants' Relief Bill—The Plan of Campaign—Its Enforcement—The Landlords retaliate—Mr. Dillon's Crusade—Arrests of Irish Members—Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—Lord R. Churchill at Dartford—The Leeds Conference—Hints at Reconciliation—The Liberal Rally—The Guildhall Banquet—Trafalgar Square again—Lord Randolph's Resignation—The People's Palace—Obituary of the Year.

A CABINET COUNCIL was held, attended by Mr. Schnadhorst, secretary to the National Liberal Federation, who was said to have submitted the calculation that the Irish vote in the English constituencies would effectively turn the elections in favour of Government. At any rate a dissolution was announced in both Houses, and non-contentious business quickly disposed of; the session came to an end on June 26th, after the report of the Select Committee on Parliamentary Procedure had been laid on the table. Mr. Gladstone had promised that if Government were defeated,

Parliament should promptly be convoked. The leaders of the Liberal, Liberal Unionist, Conservative, and Parnellite parties at once issued their addresses, but they did little save stereotype their very definite positions. An exception may be made of that of Lord Randolph Churchill, which did not err on the side of restraint. "For the sake of this message of peace, this farrago of superlative nonsense," ran this ill-mannered document, "the British Constitution is to be torn up, the Liberal party shivered into fragments. And why? To gratify the ambition of an old

man in a hurry. Known to the country under various 'aliases'—'the People's William,' 'the Grand Old Man,' 'the Old Parliamentary Hand'—now in the part of 'the Grand Electioneering Agent' he demands a vote of confidence from the constituencies. Confidence in what? In the Liberal party? No! The Liberal party, as we knew it, exists no longer. In his Irish project? No! It is dead; to be resuscitated or not, either wholly or in part, just as it may suit the personal convenience of the author. In his Government? No! They are a mere collection of 'items,' whom he does not condescend to consult. In himself? Yes! This is the latest and the most perilous innovation into our constitutional practices. A pure, unadulterated, personal *plébiscite*, that is the demand—a political expedient borrowed from the last and worst days of the Second Empire."

The contest was short but sharp, and the Liberal Unionist and Conservative coalition fought with better combination than their opponents had calculated. It was agreed that no Conservative and Liberal Unionist should contest the same seat, and save in three or four instances the compact was faithfully observed; on the other hand, the Ministerialists were hampered by crippled finances, caused by the fact that the moneyed men of the party had betaken themselves to the Unionist camp. A peculiar feature in the election was the part played by the peerage; Lord Salisbury addressed several meetings, and his speeches—particularly one in which he compared his own twenty years of resolute government with Mr. Gladstone's coercion, "when he imprisoned a thousand men without trial for a political object"—became the watchwords of his party. Equally energetic was Lord Spencer, who tried to make his hearers place confidence in the land-purchase policy of the Government. Mr. Morley, on the other hand, adhered to the exclusion of the Irish Members from Westminster, while Mr. Gladstone, in yet another Midlothian campaign, drove home the point that there were but two alternatives—Lord Salisbury's and his own—and attempted to explain to the Scottish Presbyterians that no persecution of Irish Protestants would result from the adoption of Home Rule. Of the Liberal Unionists Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain both enforced their familiar views, but more important in deciding the wavering votes were the trenchant letters of Mr. Bright. "Dear Mr. Caine," he wrote to the candidate for Barrow, "I much hope you will win. It is not pleasant to see how unforgiving some of

our Liberal friends are if their representatives refuse to surrender judgment and conscience to the demands or the sudden changes of their political leader." A significant indication of the progress of the fight appeared when Mr. Gladstone was induced to make supplementary speeches at Manchester and Liverpool, so as to amplify and strengthen, if possible, his Midlothian declarations. But Mr. Gladstone's declaration that for fifteen years previously he had expressed no disapproval of Home Rule drew upon him a somewhat effective retort from Lord Hartington. "What, then," said he, "had been Mr. Gladstone's attitude to his followers or to his Cabinet? Had he ever communicated even to his Irish Secretary the least indication to accept that system? Had he not appointed to be Irish Secretary, Mr. Forster, who had been prominent among the opponents of Mr. Butt's Home Rule Bill? If, during those years, Mr. Gladstone was nurturing the belief that Home Rule might, after all, be the true remedy for the difficulties of Irish government, he was guilty of great responsibility in acquiescing silently in the avowed convictions of his colleagues, who were in favour of resistance to Home Rule." A still more painful controversy arose from a trenchant speech of Mr. Bright's in returning thanks for his unopposed election. The Premier wrote and complained of Mr. Bright's "gross charge" that he (Mr. Gladstone) had successfully concealed his thoughts in the previous November, besides other gravamina which may be gathered from Mr. Bright's reply. "You say that it is a gross charge to say that you concealed your thoughts last November. Surely when you urged the constituencies to send you a Liberal majority large enough to make you independent of Mr. Parnell and his party, the Liberal party and the country understood you to ask for a majority to enable you to resist Mr. Parnell, not to make a complete surrender to him. You object to my quotations about a conspiracy 'marching through rapine to the break-up of the United Kingdom,' and you say there is now no such conspiracy against the payment of rent and the union of the countries. I believe there is now such a conspiracy, and that it is expecting and seeking its further success through your measures. You complain that I charge you with a want of frankness in regard to the Land Purchase Bill. You must know that a large number of your supporters are utterly opposed to that Bill; if you tie the two Bills together, their difficulty in dealing with them will be much increased, and their liberty greatly fettered. I think your friends and your opponents

and the country have a right to know your intentions on so great a matter, when you are asking them to elect a Parliament in your favour. Your language seems to me rather a puzzle than an explanation, and that of your colleagues, though contradictory, is not much better." Nevertheless, a correspondence in the *Daily News* elicited the undeniable fact that Mr. Bright had, in 1866, favoured a Parliament on College Green.

The questions at issue between Government and their opponents may be briefly stated as follows:—Mr. Gladstone strenuously maintained that his was the only possible alternative to the Tory policy of coercion. His mistake undoubtedly lay in not indicating plainly the modifications that he was willing to introduce into his Bill. His clearest utterance on the subject was made at the Edinburgh Music Hall when he said—"The Ministerial Bill is dead with the Parliament, but the principle of the Bill survives," and he added, "I will never accept a new plan unless it be better than the old one." The Land Bill he allowed, as Lord Hartington remarked, to drop quietly out of sight. On the other hand the Liberal Unionists argued that a *via media* was possible. Mr. Chamberlain, who promptly founded a new Liberal Federation, declared in his election address that four objects were to be kept in view—(1) the relief of the Imperial Parliament by the devolution of Irish local business; (2) the full representation of Irish opinion on matters of Irish local concern; (3) a fair field for Irish local sentiment and patriotism; (4) the removal of all unnecessary interference with Irish government on the part of Great Britain. There must be a complete system of local government for the three kingdoms, together with a larger arrangement, subject to the concurrent and supreme authority of the Imperial Parliament, whereby the various portions of the United Kingdom should be able to legislate for their special requirements. Some of the seceders did not go to such considerable lengths, but even Mr. Goschen favoured the extension of local self-government to Ireland, on lines applicable—with necessary modifications of detail—to England and Scotland. The Conservative chiefs were content for the most part to leave the brunt of the battle to be borne by the new allies. They disclaimed, however, with one accord, any intention of having recourse to coercion. The term, however, was used a trifle ambiguously, for instance, by Mr. W. H. Smith—"We are reproached," said he, "that the only alternative is coercion. I deny that it is coercion to provide, by legislation and by

administration, that every Irishman shall be secured in the enjoyment of that individual freedom which is the birthright of all subjects of the Queen."

The elections began on the 1st of July, and continued during the greater part of the month. The main hope of the Ministerialists was that they would win back the boroughs with the aid of the Irish vote, but that expectation, founded on a strange miscalculation of the strength of that vote, was speedily dashed. The unopposed elections gave the Unionists (Conservatives 50, Liberal Unionists 10) a considerable advantage over their opponents (Gladstonians 16, Parnellites 9). On the first day of the contested elections the fortune of the fight was more evenly divided. Then, however, came a solidly Unionist return from Birmingham, the change in the London representation from 25 Liberals and 37 Conservatives to 51 Unionists and 11 Liberals to set against Liberal successes at Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds, and defeat of Mr. Goschen in East Edinburgh and Mr. Trevelyan in the Border Burghs. The English and Welsh boroughs, which in 1885 had returned 122 Conservatives and 120 Liberals, now chose as representatives 153 Conservatives, 20 Liberal Unionists, and but 69 Liberals. Would the counties, as in the previous year, stem the tide of defeat? Lord Hartington's return for the Rossendale division of Lancashire by a large majority, in spite of the opposition of the local Liberal Council, went far to decide the question, and the final result in England and Wales was 136 Conservatives, 34 Liberal Unionists, and 83 Liberals as against the 152 Liberals and 101 Conservatives of 1885. Even in Scotland Mr. Gladstone's following was reduced from 61 to 42.

In Ireland the elections were preceded, ominously enough, by some formidable rioting in Belfast, which speedily developed into a series of pitched battles between Protestants and Roman Catholics, the former being the aggressors. These turmoils continued to break out at intervals, in various parts of the country, notably at Lurgan, though the south was freer from faction fighting than the north, and the police and military had hard work to keep the peace. In Belfast the bloodshed exceeded that of one of Britain's "little wars" against some savage tribe. The collision began on the 4th of June, when a fight took place between the Protestant ship-building hands employed at Messrs. Harland's yard and the Roman Catholic navvies working at the Alexandra. The latter were eventually overpowered after that several had

been injured and one forced into the river and drowned. Here there was some doubt as to which side was the aggressor. There was none with regard to the conflict of the 10th of July, when the Orangemen organised a procession through the "Catholic" streets headed by a band. This aggressive action naturally provoked the other side to attack, greatly to its discomfiture. The police and military attempted to separate the

quite 120. On the 14th the contest was waged on scientific principles. Sharpshooters were stationed in the windows of houses, and skirmishers thrown out according to the maxims of warfare. There were marks of no less than thirty bullets in the house of a publican in Ashmore Street. The police used the butt ends of their rifles freely, but the casualties were not ascertained, as both sides carried off their wounded.



RIOTING IN BELFAST. (See p. 112.)

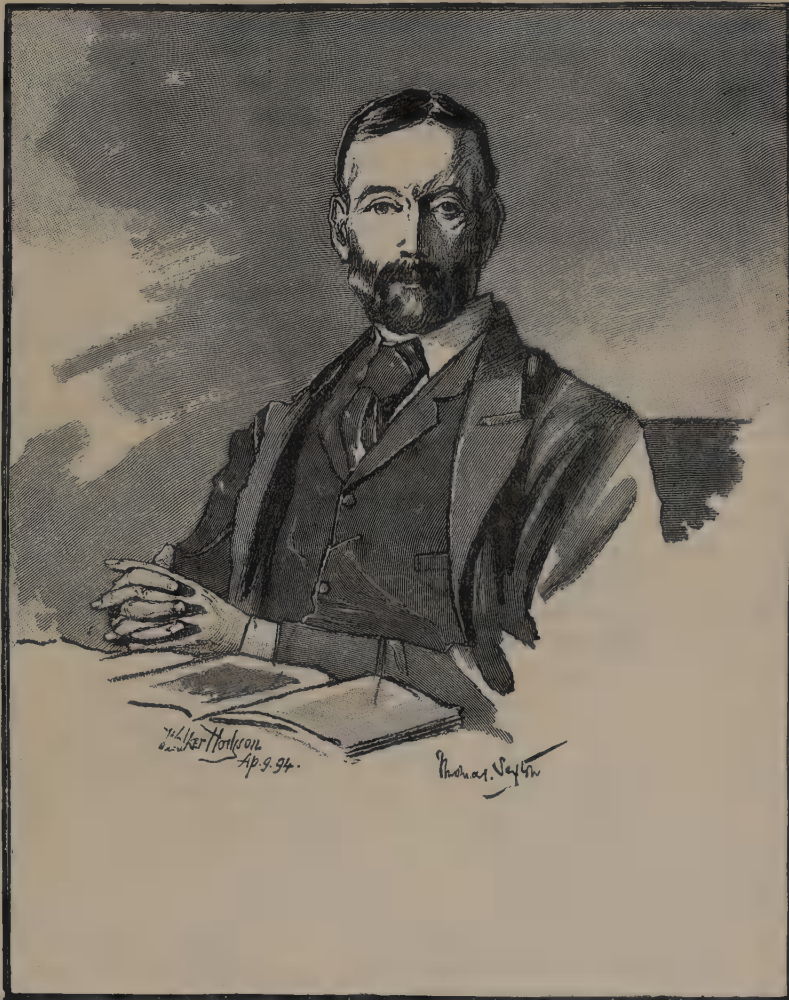
struggling masses, with the result that a constable and a private soldier were killed, and 100 persons seriously wounded. The same tactics were renewed on the 4th of August, when the police and the military were for some time unsuccessful in their efforts to disperse the crowds. In the same week the town was the scene of several days' desperate fighting. The battle began by quarrels between artisans professing the rival religions as they were returning from work; these soon became transformed into a triangular duel between Protestants, Catholics and police. The last were compelled to use their firearms in self-defence, and from the 6th to the 10th eight deaths were officially recorded besides woundings to the number of

Then the Roman Catholics took the law into their own hands, and a desperate mob attacked the prison in which a follower of that faith was confined. The police were compelled to fire, with the result that two persons were killed and several wounded, but order was not restored until the military had been summoned to the scene of action. The last set-to was on the 29th of September, when the workmen in the yards of Messrs. Combe, Barbour & Co., after fighting furiously amongst themselves, mercilessly stoned five policemen who appeared on the field, and after successfully resisting the reinforcements of constabulary for some time, were ultimately dispersed by a charge of Dragoons. These disgraceful disturbances were

made the subject of a Parliamentary inquiry under the presidency of Mr. Justice Day, and the evidence went to show that the Orange organisation was largely to blame. However that may be, the elections were not materially affected, as the Nationalist party emerged from the contest much

by the accession of the votes of the Liberal Unionists to the opposition to the measure.

On July 20th the Cabinet decided to resign, and the Queen sent for Lord Salisbury. The Conservative leader, immediately on his return from the Continent, held a conference with Lord



THOMAS SEXTON. (After a Sketch from Life by Walker Hodgson.)

as before. Mr. Sexton gained a seat at West Belfast, on the other hand Mr. Healy and Mr. William O'Brien were defeated in Ulster by two Liberal Unionists, Mr. T. W. Russell and Mr. Lea. At Derry Mr. Justin McCarthy was eventually victorious, on petition, over Mr. C. E. Lewis. The complete figures of the election were 316 Conservatives, 78 Liberal Unionists, 191 Gladstonians and 85 Irish Nationalists; that is to say, the majority of 38 against the Home Rule Bill had been converted into a majority of 116,

Hartington, and urged him to form a Government, promising Conservative support if he preferred to confine his Cabinet to Liberal Unionists. Lord Hartington, however, decided to stand aloof from party coalitions, though he promised assistance to the Conservatives, so long as the two parties were agreed. Lord Salisbury accordingly proceeded to form a purely Conservative Ministry, in which Lord Iddesleigh became Foreign Secretary, Mr. W. H. Smith Secretary for War, Sir M. Hicks-Beach Irish Secretary, and Lord George Hamilton

First Lord of the Admiralty. Sir R. Cross was promoted to the Upper House, and obtained in addition the Secretaryship of India. The chief surprise of the arrangements was Lord Randolph Churchill's investment in the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the leadership of the House of Commons. Mr. Chaplin declined the Board of Trade, because he was not offered a seat in the Cabinet as well, and there was novelty, at any rate, in the selection of Mr. H. Matthews, Q.C., as Home Secretary, a Roman Catholic who as member for Dungarvan had formerly been a supporter of Mr. Butt, but was now Conservative representative of East Birmingham. Lord Ashbourne, the Irish Chancellor, was again in the Cabinet, but the new Viceroy, Lord Londonderry, was not.

Meanwhile a meeting of Liberal Unionists at Devonshire House had resulted in the formal recognition by Mr. Chamberlain of Lord Hartington's leadership, while the latter had declared that if the Liberal party was again united, it could only be by the whole party being Unionist. Lord Hartington also hinted that the Liberal Unionists would be able to prevent the Conservative Government from adopting a retrograde course, or from taking steps dangerous to the welfare of the country, either with regard to foreign policy or to unsound domestic legislation. He explained at length his reasons for declining to form a Government: (1) because it would make the breach in the Liberal party irreparable; (2) because a Government resting upon a Conservative majority must be a Conservative Government, and the rank and file of the Tories were not prepared to accept such an arrangement; (3) it would not be acceptable to many Liberal Unionists, and so would divide the party. Lord Hartington declared that they hoped to co-operate with the Liberal party on many subjects, though they would not help defeat the present Government in order to install a Home Rule Ministry.

Lord Salisbury, at a meeting of the Carlton Club, gave a similar version of his overtures to Lord Hartington, and promised that, after a brief Session for purposes of Supply, Parliament should be prorogued until next year. The supporters of Government were further elated by events in East Birmingham, where Alderman Cook withdrew his opposition candidature to the re-election of Mr. Matthews, after a somewhat nebulous confession of faith which pleased neither side. Its opponents, as represented by a manifesto of the National Liberal Federation, took comfort from the fact that the electoral figures were more cheerful

than the result of the polls. Thus, 1,338,718 votes had been given for Home Rule, and 1,416,472 against the principle—a somewhat narrow majority. "The Liberal party," ran this important address, "has now finally committed itself to the work of effecting a real union between England and Ireland on the basis of the concession of the right of self-government to the Irish people. That task it can never abandon until the goal is reached. The Irish question occupies the first place in the politics of the day. No Government, no Parliament, no party will be able to ignore it. Until it has been settled, no progress can be made with the ordinary work of the Liberal party, nor will it be possible for the Conservatives to indulge in a congenial inactivity while the problem remains unsolved. It is one of those 'unfinished questions' which have no respect for the repose of nations." Lord Salisbury, speaking at the Mansion House, was of a very different opinion. "We come back," said he, in a spirit of somewhat rash prophecy, "as the bearers of a mandate from the people of this country deciding, in my belief, irrevocably the question which has wrecked the peace of the neighbouring island. The question of an independent government for Ireland has been referred to the only tribunal that can determine it with authority and determine it without appeal."

After the re-election of Mr. Peel to the Speakership on the proposal of Sir E. Birkbeck with Mr. Gladstone for seconder, the Queen's Speech was delivered on the 19th of August. The document was of the shortest, containing merely an allusion to the defeat of Home Rule and an intimation that the business of the Session would be confined to the voting of the Estimates. Some surprise was expressed that there was no reference to the Belfast riots, which had been renewed in the previous week with considerable loss of blood. A Session thus begun could hardly be other than prosaic; nevertheless, Lord Salisbury in the Upper House, and Lord R. Churchill in the Lower, made announcements of some importance with regard to Ireland. A Commission would be appointed to inquire into the fisheries and arterial drainage and general resources of Ireland. Sir Redvers Buller would proceed into Kerry, Clare, and Limerick to examine into the outrages and the methods of their suppression. Government would not depart from the Land Act of 1881, but, while enforcing judicial rents, would inquire into the inability of tenants to pay their rents owing to the fall in the price of agricultural produce; and one of the objects of the Land Commission, of which Lord Cowper

became president, would be to show how far dual ownership could give way to single ownerships and peasant proprietorships. Further the Prime Minister promised a measure of local government "on lines generally similar at the same time over the whole kingdom." In the Commons the debate lasted for many nights, but was not especially noteworthy, except for warnings from Mr. Gladstone and Mr. John Morley that judicial rents could be maintained with difficulty in Ireland, until the Irish Secretary, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, made a statement of his policy, which amounted to this—that it was sober, and intended to give the island rest after a long period of agitation. He defended the Commission on the ground that it was simply impossible to produce remedial legislation without due inquiry. As to the local government scheme, Government were aware that it would not satisfy Irish demands; nevertheless, they would do their best, within the lines of the Union, to leave Ireland in a more peaceful and prosperous condition than that in which they had found it. He repudiated certain constructions that had been placed on Lord Salisbury's and Lord R. Churchill's speeches, to the effect that they encouraged landlords to exact the uttermost farthing from their tenants. Mr. Parnell, on August 24th, gave point to the debate by moving an address to the Crown, representing the great loss to the farmers caused by the fall in the price of Irish produce and the consequent impossibility of paying the rents recently settled. He explained his support of Lord Ashbourne's Act by saying that he approved of it only so long as he believed the Tory Government to be supplementing it with a Home Rule measure, and remarked with some sardonic humour that the State could not now be guaranteed from loss under the Act. He advised Government to have a "triennial revision" of rents and to make them vary with the price of provisions. His anticipation, however, was a coercion secretly administered, "a coercion worthy of the name," accompanied by the imprisonment of political opponents in Ireland, and followed by the suspension of the Irish representatives in England. Mr. Gladstone proclaimed his intention of not taking part in the division on Mr. Parnell's amendment on the ground that it would be better to await the report of the Commission on rents, while Mr. Chamberlain defended Government for resisting a proposal, which he described as "an unnecessary affirmative and a gratuitous negative." Eventually the amendment was rejected by a majority of 123, and then the debate wandered drearily and aim-

lessly on through discourses on the Belfast riots, the occupation of Burma, and the Crofters. As a relief to the monotony came a series of incidents on September 2nd, when Sir William Harcourt, the temporary leader of the Opposition, was called to order thrice and Colonel Saunderson twice, and Mr. W. Redmond was twice forced to apologise by the Speaker. The Address disposed of on the following day, the Estimates were discussed at length, though a useful reform was effected in the abolition of the Secret Service Fund of £10,000.

The interest of the remainder of the Session was confined to Mr. Parnell's Tenants' Relief Bill. When the text of this measure was published, it was found that it differed considerably from the forecasts in the press, to which, said rumour, the Cabinet were not unfavourably disposed, though Lord Hartington was determinedly hostile. Be that as it may, both the Conservative party and the Liberal Unionists were found in the "No" lobby, when the division took place, with the result that the Bill was rejected by 297 votes to 202. Mr. Parnell's speech was decidedly moderate, and overlaid with figures. His main argument was that the fall in the price of agricultural produce had been fully 20 per cent., and that consequently the tenants would have been better off if the old prices had been continued and the old rents. His remedies were threefold:—(1) that any statutory tenant, whose rent had been fixed prior to 1885, and who could not now pay without depriving himself of the means of cultivation, might apply to the Land Commission on condition that he paid half the rent and half the arrears; (2) that leaseholders might apply at once to have a statutory rent fixed; (3) that proceedings for the recovery of rent should be suspended on payment of half the rent and half the arrears. The Bill was opposed by Sir M. Hicks-Beach on behalf of Government, mainly on the ground of its inopportunity, and by Lord Hartington on behalf of the Liberal Unionists in an uncompromising speech, of which the upshot was that under its provisions the payment of rent would be suspended throughout Ireland. Mr. Matthews argued that the settlement of the question would be a matter of years, and in the meantime the landlords would lose half their rents. Mr. Gladstone's speech traversed nearly every argument produced by Mr. Parnell, but declared himself prepared to support his general principle because Government had admitted, in conceding a Commission of Inquiry, that the judicial rents were excessive. Sir William Harcourt likened Lord Hartington to the last rose of summer

with one "lovely companion," Mr. Heneage, by his side, but the others mostly "faded and gone." The largeness of the Government majority was something of a surprise, and was probably the resultant of Lord Hartington's very pronounced attitude.

In a passionate speech, delivered just before the close of the debate, Mr. Dillon threatened an agrarian war if the Bill was refused, and he was as good as his word. Early in September, Mr. O'Brien's paper, *United Ireland*, evolved the suggestion that evicted tenants should enter the workhouse and make it an "encampment against landlordism," which was to be supported on a generous scale of dietary at the expense of ratepayers and owners of property. This notable device was considerably bettered by the "Plan of Campaign" which was published in *United Ireland* on October 23rd, in consequence of numerous forcible evictions on Lord Clanricarde's Woodford estates. According to this document, of which the fathers were Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien but which Mr. Parnell, as afterwards appeared, did not regard with complete approval, tenants on an estate were to agree together on the amount of abatement they were to demand. If this was refused by the landlord, the tenants were to form a Managing Committee which was to take charge of the rent and "hand it over to some one reliable person whose name would not be known to any but members of the committee." The fund so collected was to be employed by the National League in the support of tenants who were dispossessed either by sale or ejection, but not one penny was to go to law costs, since to pay them meant to arm the enemy for the quarrel. The most ingenious directions were given for the evasion of the law. Thus, if a man had a valuable interest in his farm he could place it beyond the sheriff's power by mortgaging it to some one to whom he owed money. At a sale of cattle the bids were to be run up in order that the beasts might be left in the hands of the emergency men at the full price. "In bidding for a farm it should also be run to the amount of debt, but by a man of straw, who, if it were knocked down, would ask the sheriff for time to pay. By making the landlord's bidder run it up to the amount of debt and costs, and leaving it in his hands, the sheriff cannot follow the tenant further." Tenants were invited to stand together and refuse to pay rent if one of their number had been unjustly evicted. Police and emergency men were to be boycotted by publicans and shopkeepers. "The fullest

publicity should be given to evictions, and every effort made to enlist public sympathy. That farms thus unjustly evicted should be left severely alone it is hardly necessary to say. But the man who tries boycotting for a personal purpose is a worse enemy than the evicting landlord, and should be expelled from any branch of the League or combination of tenants." The *pronunciamento* was met by the Liberal leaders with a somewhat embarrassed silence, though it was approved by some thorough-going Radicals, for instance Professor Stuart and Mr. Stansfeld. It was enforced upon some forty estates, chief of which were those of Lord Clanricarde and Lord Dillon, and the Irish Members were soon busily employed in collecting the rents withheld under the Plan. Several of these scenes were described by a special correspondent of the *Daily News*, notably one on the estate of Mr. Murphy, near Castlerea, where Mr. Redmond, M.P., and Mr. Fitzgibbon, a draper of the town, held their informal audit and collected the money from the tenantry. Here the question at issue was between a 15 per cent. reduction offered by the landlord and a 30 per cent. demanded by the peasants. The correspondent asserted that the tenants knew perfectly well what they were doing, and were acting of their free will, not under compulsion.

Certainly the winter was a very hard one and voluntary reductions were made by liberal landlords, for instance the Marquess of Waterford, Lord Lansdowne and the Duke of Devonshire, of 10 and even 50 per cent. There were, however, landlords who hardened their hearts, their argument being that their rent had been guaranteed under the recent land legislation in return for considerable concessions, and therefore they were but exacting their due. Lord Clanricarde's was probably the most notorious case, and the proceedings on his Woodford estate earlier in the year had evoked indignant comments even from the Government organs. He was an absentee landlord, who never went near his property from one year's end to another; he would grant no reductions, and altogether had amply earned his popular title of "Lord Clanrackrent." The tenants asked for a reduction of 25 per cent. It was refused, and to the number of three hundred and odd they abstained from paying any rent at all. Ejections were the consequence, and the "battle of Saunders's Fort," a stone house in which a family of farmers held out for more than a week against the emergency men, reinforced by some seven hundred soldiers and police, gained for itself a place

in Irish annals. Lord Clanricarde was not the only landlord who resolved to exact the November rent to the full. On Lord Kingston's estate in the Arigna mountains the *Daily News* correspondent witnessed the eviction of a little old widow by some two hundred policemen. Her offence was an inability to pay a year and a half's rent, £6, together with sheriff's costs, £3 15s. Two evictions early in 1887 upon Mr. Herbert's

but the only money the family had been able to obtain for many months past was by begging, and their squalid appearance moved the crowd, among which were five members of Parliament. Sir M. Hicks-Beach was telegraphed to, but his reply attempted to fix the responsibility upon Mr. Parnell's lieutenants, and a similar line was taken up by Mr. Chamberlain, who further remarked that Mr. Parnell's Tenants' Relief Bill would not have



ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY PROTECTING A GOVERNMENT REPORTER AT A PLAN OF CAMPAIGN MEETING.

estate in Kerry also excited much public indignation, because they resulted in whole families of women, children and aged grandparents being turned out of their homes to face the cruel winter's night as best they could. But perhaps the greatest commiseration was aroused by the proceedings in the valley of Glenbeigh. There the estate of Mr. Rowland Winn had fallen into the hands of money-lenders, who determined to insist upon the uttermost farthing. With the protection of fifty police, the bailiffs proceeded to the glen and turned out family after family, firing the straw roofs of the houses and pulling down the walls. In one case the rent owed was £4 19s.,

helped the Glenbeigh tenants because they could not pay the 50 per cent. required under its provisions. On the other hand, the *Standard* frankly acknowledged that there had been undoubted cases in which the owners of property had not behaved with any show of respect to the principles of equity, and had done gross wrong to those whose happiness, whose lives even, depended upon their forbearance. "Such landlords," it continued, "have no right to be supplied by the Government with the means of carrying out the decrees granted to them by process of law."

The Irish Government, after some hesitation, took action against the authors of the Plan. On

November 28th Mr. Dillon was served with a notice to find securities for his good behaviour, and warned that in default of such securities he would be committed to prison. Nevertheless, he continued his agitation, and at Roscommon delivered a speech of so violent a character, particularly in its threats towards the officers whose duty it was to enforce the law, that Lord Kilcoursie, M.P., was constrained to write to the *Daily News*, that if Mr. Dillon correctly represented the Irish party, he and others would not again vote for Home Rule. Meanwhile the Irish judges declared Mr. Dillon's crusade illegal, and as he continued to deliver orations up and down the country, he was summoned before the Irish Court of Queen's Bench, and while absolved of all corrupt motives, required to find the necessary securities, himself for £1,000 and two others to the same amount, to desist from incentives to social disorder. This he did, but interpreting his promise on a somewhat liberal scale, continued his operations with unabated zeal. On December 16th Government proceeded to a further exercise of authority; at Loughrea Messrs. Dillon, O'Brien, Mat Harris and Sheehy were taken into custody and their account-books and cash-boxes confiscated. This vigorous measure produced no inconsiderable effect, more especially as it nearly coincided with a curious manifesto from Mr. Parnell to the effect that he had never heard of the Plan, and declined to express an opinion upon it until he had consulted the gentlemen responsible for its organisation and working, "whom he had not seen since the last Session." And so the year closed in Ireland, but not before Sir Robert Hamilton, the permanent Under-Secretary, had been removed from Dublin Castle and transferred to Tasmania. He was a pronounced Home Ruler, still the change was considered significant of a more determined line of action.

In Great Britain, meanwhile, food for discussion was provided by Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on the Irish question, which, while in part retrospective, contained the significant intimation that "the sentence which had gone forth for the severance of Home Rule from Land Purchase was irresistible, and that the twinship, which had been for some time disastrous to the hopes of Ireland, existed no longer." Mr. Gladstone estimated that the secession from the Liberal party was about two-sevenths of the whole. He pointed out, however, that it was very unequally divided so far as classes were concerned. Thus five-sixths of the Liberal peers had gone, and perhaps four-sixths of the employers, but not more than a twentieth of

the working men. He calculated that the Liberal votes were 300,000 more than the Tory votes, and came within 76,000 or 4 per cent. of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionist votes put together, so that if the Liberal party were recruited, its ascendancy in Parliament was assured. Lord Randolph Churchill, too, produced a programme of some breadth, and a deal of inconsistency with his former declarations, at Dartford (October the 2nd), which included (1) the reform of procedure by the enactment of closure by a bare majority; (2) an Allotments Bill; (3) an alteration of tithe, so that it should fall in the first instance upon the landlord; (4) an alteration of railway rates, so that the home producer should not be underbid by the foreigner; (5) a system of registration for the cheap and prompt transference of landed property; (6) local self-government on a broad basis with a fresh incidence of local taxation; (7) a diminution of the national expenditure. This programme, said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, would be more than sufficient for one Session of Parliament, but other questions that could not be shirked by any Government or any party were the Irish land laws recently modified in an impulsive manner, but now to be reformed on pacific lines, and a system of "popular local government" must be established in Ireland. He further hinted that Government would act upon the report of the Royal Commission on Education.

Further subjects of debate appeared in the shape of a manifesto from the National Liberal Federation of Scotland advocating Home Rule for that kingdom, and in a Conference of the National Liberal Federation at Leeds, on November the 3rd, at which Mr. Morley supported (1) Home Rule, (2) reform of the land laws, (3) a popular system of county government, (4) local option, (5) equality between the State and all forms of religious belief, (6) free schools, (7) reform of Parliamentary procedure, (8) reform of the registration of electors, (9) non-intervention in European affairs so as to prepare the way for the reduction of the Naval and Military Estimates. To this programme was subsequently added the disestablishment of the Church in Wales on the demand of Mr. Stuart Rendel, M.P. Clearly, both parties were prepared to make a big bid for popular support, while the Liberal Unionists, in conclave at Willis's Rooms, reiterated their determination to stand by the Government. The Leeds Conference incidentally disposed of the suggestions as to Mr. Gladstone's retirement, which had emanated from the Liberal Unionist

camp. "There is," said Mr. John Morley, "a combination to-day of men who agree in nothing so much as that her Majesty would be graciously pleased to remove Mr. Gladstone from her counsels for ever. Gentlemen, we are all for union, but with those who are in that state of mind we cannot consent to argue. We will make no terms with them. We are not here to choose our leader. There is no vacancy." Nevertheless, there had previously been distinct overtures on the part of Mr. Gladstone's personal followers. Thus Lord Rosebery had suggested that the Liberal Unionists should make concessions to the Liberals, and agree to accept Mr. Gladstone's leadership and the general principles of his Irish policy. Lord Monck thought that harmony might be restored between Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Parnell by the delegation of certain powers to an Irish Assembly, subject to a supervision of its acts by the Imperial Parliament. Significantly enough, Mr. Bright seemed in a very conciliatory frame of mind, and in declining to attend a farewell banquet to Mr. Schnadhorst on his departure from Birmingham to London, expressed a hope that "the present clouds might be dispelled." Lord Hartington, however, appeared under no such illusion. He declared that though the Home Rule Bill had been defeated, yet Mr. Gladstone was bound to adhere to his Home Rule policy.

Meanwhile the Chancellor of the Exchequer continued very much in evidence. At the annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations held at Bradford, he repeated the Dartford programme, and congratulated himself on having made the Radicals writhe on their bed of sickness and anguish. He added, however, in a fit of unwonted modesty, that it was a mere repetition of the programme promulgated by Lord Salisbury in the previous November, "in that great historical speech which he made at Newport." Mr. John Morley remarked in sarcastic comment that, so long as the Conservatives played Liberal tunes, it did not matter much who conducted the orchestra, and that for his part, if principles were thus to be thrown to the winds, he would rather be a highwayman than a politician. "A highwayman has more exercise, has more open air, keeps better hours, and his trade is quite as reputable." Sir William Harcourt, in a remarkably clever prophecy, said that Lord Randolph had spoken "in a tone of childish and insolent triumph, which, according to the belief of the ancient Greeks, was the precursor of an early Nemesis." Throughout

the country there was a vigorous Liberal rally, as expressed by conferences held at Leicester on November 25th, Chester on the 6th of December, Rhyl on the 14th, and Cardiff on the 24th. The last two were held under the auspices of the North Wales Liberal Federation, and a new item was added to the Opposition demands in the shape of a Welsh Land Bill on the basis of the "three Fs." Meanwhile Lord Randolph Churchill had caused some dissatisfaction in the Tory ranks by his opposition to the metropolitan coal and wine dues, and a split was nearly produced in the Unionist camp by a bye-election at Brighton. Mr. Goschen refused to stand except as a Liberal, Sir George Trevelyan followed his example, but finally the difficulty was surmounted by the choice of the president of the local Conservative association, Dr. Robertson, who was returned unopposed. At the City Conservative Club, Lord Salisbury palpably attempted to explain away the declarations of his headstrong lieutenant by the assertion that they were in no wise inconsistent with Conservative principles.

Lord Salisbury's Guildhall speech on November 9th, though luminous on foreign affairs, contained little of moment with regard to Ireland except an intimation that Sir Redvers Buller, though he had repudiated the notion that Government claimed any "dispensing power" in relation to the enforcement of the law, had in private exhorted all to exercise their legal rights with due consideration for their fellow-citizens. Out of doors during the day the excitement ran high in consequence of the announcement of the Committee of the Social Democratic Federation, that they would accompany the Lord Mayor's Show in procession. This procedure was forbidden by Sir Charles Warren, the Chief Commissioner of Police, and Lord Salisbury, while expressing his sympathy for the unemployed, declined to receive a deputation. Nevertheless, they succeeded in holding a small meeting in Trafalgar Square, though its effect was somewhat marred by the presence of many police, and the Life Guards eventually dispersed the crowd, which made off, followed by the constables, in the direction of Hyde Park. This performance was repeated on November 21st, but on neither occasion was there a breach of the peace, though the shopkeepers barred their premises on the 9th and in consequence lost a day's custom.

Finally, the year seemed about to flicker out peacefully enough, when on the 22nd of December appeared in the *Times* the startling announcement that Lord Randolph had resigned the desirable

positions of Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons. His ostensible reason, as subsequently published, was a desire "to sacrifice himself on the altar of thrift and economy," when the Cabinet supported Mr. Smith and Lord George Hamilton in presenting very high precautionary estimates for the army and navy. It was also asserted that he was not satisfied with the impending legislative measures for Great Britain,

support. Then application was made to Mr. Goschen, whose views on many points were more Conservative than those of his chief, and at the beginning of 1887 came the intelligence that he had accepted the Chancellorship.

So entirely political had been the interest of the year that at its close its *raison d'être* appeared to have been confined to the Houses of Parliament and to popular platforms. Nevertheless, men



THE PEOPLE'S PALACE, LONDON.

(From a Photograph by W. Wright, Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C.)

as they did not seem to him suited to the requirements of the country. Gossip mentioned some twenty or more motives, of which the most plausible was a divergence from the Prime Minister as to the necessity of prosecuting the "Plan of Campaign." Lord Randolph, however, held his tongue, nor was he urged to retrace his precipitate steps. Instead, Lord Salisbury turned to Lord Hartington, and, when the latter arrived from Rome, renewed his proposal for a coalition Government, of which he offered the Premiership to the leader of the Liberal Unionists. Lord Hartington, after some consideration, declined office, but repeated his former promise of

remembered that the Queen had opened a highly successful International Exhibition of Navigation and Commerce at Liverpool on the 11th of May, while a few days previously a similar display was made public at Edinburgh by Prince Albert Victor of Wales. Of greater permanency was the People's Palace of Recreation, of which institution the Queen's Hall received a foundation-stone at the hands of the Prince and Princess of Wales on June 28th. The idea was due to "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," one of Mr. Besant's novels, and of the funds part consisted in a bequest by Mr. Beaumont, while the Drapers' Company subscribed £20,000, and the public some £40,000.



ST. GEORGE'S HALL AND LIME STREET, LIVERPOOL.

For the rest the year was not especially remarkable, even in its losses. In Mr. Forster's death, on the 5th of April, England was deprived of a statesman of rare integrity of purpose, the author of the Public Education Act of 1870, the sturdy supporter of law and order in

Monkswell, better known as Sir Robert Collier. A great divine perished in Archbishop Trench, a courteous and gentle prelate and no inconsiderable poet. Of more enduring fame, perhaps, is the "Philip van Artevelde" of Sir Henry Taylor, who, besides being a poet of dignity and worth, was also an



SIR WALTER BESANT.

(From a Photograph by Elliott & Fry.)

Ireland, the staunch advocate of Imperialism in its best sense. Two other Liberals passed away—Lord Cardwell, whose name was inseparably connected with the Army Regulation Bill, and the able, if impracticable, Mr. Ayrton. Mr. Samuel Morley filled a unique position in the world of Nonconformity and philanthropy, and his death was mourned as a national calamity by men of the most diverse cults and creeds. Diplomacy missed Sir Douglas Forsyth, who in his time undertook various successful missions to Cabul, Kashgar, and Burma; law, Lord

important public servant. A similar position was filled by Sir Erskine May, who became Lord Farnborough shortly before his death, but who was more familiar as Clerk of the House of Commons, and the luminous author of the familiar "Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings, and Usage of Parliament," "The Constitutional History of England," and "Democracy in Europe." A Whig rather than a Liberal, and an arrayer of facts rather than enunciator of fundamental principles, he produced works of permanent value as store-houses of precedents and rules.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Colonial and Indian Exhibition—Sir Frederick Roberts and the Frontier—The Afghan Boundary—Disorder in Burma—The Canadian Fisheries Question—The Extradition Convention—The New Hebrides—The Zululand Protectorate—Quarrels in Mauritius—Agreements with Germany—The Rise of Boulanger—The German Septennate—The Decline of Mahdism—Moukhtar Pasha's Plan—Progress of Reforms in Egypt—The Disturbances in the Balkans—Greece refuses to Disarm—Lord Rosebery's Policy—Remonstrances to Greece—The "Pacific Blockade"—End of the Crisis—A Despatch of Lord Rosebery's—Servia makes Peace—Modification of the Organic Statute—The Anger of the Czar—Alarm of the Porte—Abolition of the Free Port of Batoum—Correspondence between Lord Rosebery and M. de Giers—The Kidnapping of Prince Alexander—His Triumphant Return—His Telegram to the Czar—His Abdication—Perplexities of the Regency—Lord Idlesleigh's Line of Conduct—The Kaulbars Mission—The Bulgarian Elections—Nekliudoff's Threats—Departure of Kaulbars—Lord Idlesleigh and M. de Staal—English, Austrian, and Italian Declarations—Wanted, a Prince—The Spanish Commercial Treaty.

AMONG the important events in the annual history of the dependencies was the opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition at South Kensington, by the Queen in state on May 4th. The ceremonial was most magnificent, and beneath the bright sunshine an immense crowd of some 12,000 persons, including delegates from one-fourth of the human race, assembled to welcome her Majesty. The prayer of the Archbishop of Canterbury spoke of dominions stretching "from sunrise round to sunrise," and a notable feature in the pageant was the singing of a strophe of the National Anthem in Sanscrit, as the representative language of India. Lord Tennyson contributed a hymn which was set to music by Sir A. Sullivan, in which occurred the stirring appeal—

Sharers of our glorious past,
 Brothers, must we part at last?
 Shall we not thro' good and ill,
 Cleave to one another still?
 Britain's myriad voices call,
 'Sons, be welded, each and all,
 Into one imperial whole,
 One with Britain, heart and soul!
 One life, one flag, one fleet, one Throne,
 Britons, hold your own!
 And God guard all!'

Throughout the summer and the early autumn the Exhibition attracted some five and a half millions of visitors, who came away, it is to be hoped, permanently impressed with the evidences of the Empire's wealth and might, notably as displayed in the gorgeous cloths and cunning metal-work of the Indian gallery.

India, that vast assemblage of nations and languages, passed through a twelvemonth of calm most welcome after the turmoil of the previous year. The most gloomy feature was that of finance, owing to the rapid depreciation of the rupee. This loss was the more to be regretted, because of the increased military expenditure

necessitated by the occupation of Burma and the preparations to strengthen the northern frontier against a possible Russian advance. To the latter task, the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Roberts, had set himself soon after his arrival in India. On one side the Bolan line was carried into Quetta, while farther east cantonments and entrenchments were begun in the Boree, Kojak and Pishin valleys. The general aim of his policy was to prepare for defensive operations on the Khyber line, and offensive from the Quetta base, while Rawul Pindi was fortified to form an arsenal, and the crossing of the Indus was protected at Attock. The expenditure thus incurred severely tried the finances, and Sir Auckland Colvin, in consequence, was compelled to resort to direct taxation in the shape of an income-tax, which was accordingly imposed, much to the indignation of the classes affected. Nevertheless, the year was calculated to have produced a deficit of three millions, owing chiefly to the military preparations of 1885; and the Estimates for 1886-87 only provided a small surplus of £182,000. In the circumstances, the refusal of the Treasury in England to consider proposals for establishing less variable relations between the two precious metals, was regarded as injudicious. However, Lord Dufferin did his best by instituting a Finance Committee, which during the year went from province to province, inquiring minutely into resources and possible reductions, while in Madras a special investigation disclosed wholesale frauds by the native revenue officials, who had made false returns on nearly a fifth of the amount collected.

To vary the monotony of the year came a manifesto from Dhuleep Singh, the deposed Maharajah of the Punjab, who had latterly been living in England, laying claim to the throne of his fathers. It was received with indifference by the Sikhs, and

when the claimant attempted to make his way to India he was detained by the orders of the Government at Aden, and found his way to Paris. Eventually he was pardoned, impecuniosity being apparently regarded as the explanation of his violent language. Of more importance were the deaths of Scindia and Holkar, also that of the Maharajah of Manipur, which was ultimately to be the cause of a British military disaster. Upon the northern frontier an attempt to send a commercial mission to Lhasa fell through, owing to the bellicose attitude of the Tibetans; and in Afghanistan the Ameer had to put out his strength against several risings, which he punished with ruthless severity. By way of compensation the Boundary Commission finished its labours in November, and his northern boundary thus received international sanction. The latter part of the investigation, from the Murghaub to the Oxus, must have been trying to the tempers of the British Commissioners, since the Russians raised endless difficulties, notably with regard to the important position of Khoja-Saleh. The question, which was obscured by the defectiveness of the official maps, finally produced a deadlock. The Commission fixed its final pillar at Dukhdu, and then its members separated, the problem being referred to the Russian and British Cabinets. Lord Salisbury treated the matter in a conciliatory spirit, and secured the district for Afghanistan, Russia obtaining by way of compensation a modification of the frontier in the Khusk valley. Thus the North-Western frontier of Afghanistan was settled by a dividing line running from Zulfikar to Khusk, thence to Meruchak and finally to Dukhdu and Bosaga on the Oxus, but no understanding was arrived at with regard to the debatable lands in the North-East, and the difficulty was shelved rather than solved.

Meanwhile, in Burma the situation was extremely grave. Soon after the annexation came the question of the country's vassalage to China, which was eventually settled by an Anglo-Chinese convention signed July the 24th, the British Government agreeing that native Burmese should as heretofore take the decennial tribute to the Emperor at Peking. On her side the Celestial Empire recognised the British rule in Upper Burma, surrendered all claims on Bhamo, and agreed to provide facilities for trade between Burma and the Chinese province of Yunnan, also between China and India *via* Tibet. Inside the frontier all was confusion; Mandalay, the capital, was fired by incendiaries and a portion of the town

swept away by the accidental bursting of a dam. Pretenders rose up on all sides, who defied the British authority, and when defeated crossed the frontier to organise fresh intrigues. The hill tribes were undecided, and a punitive expedition had to be despatched against the Kachins. More serious still were the depredations of the Dacoits under their redoubtable leaders, Bo-Shway and Hla-Oo. They stripped the country, killed British officials, among them Mr. St. Barbe, the Deputy-Commissioner at Bassein, and made vigorous resistance from behind stockades. At the request of Sir Herbert Macpherson troops were poured into the country to the number of some 35,000, and on his death from fever, Sir Frederick Roberts arrived on the scene, and the hunting down of the gangs proceeded with redoubled vigour. In spite of the difficulty of conveying food, which nearly paralysed extensive operations, the country was being slowly, but surely, reduced when the year closed. Already Lord Dufferin had paid a visit to the new dominion, and arranged a scheme of government by which the two provinces of Upper and Lower Burma were placed under a Chief Commissioner, Sir Charles Bernard, who was to be directly responsible to the Viceroy, and a military police was levied from the Punjab and the North-West Provinces. An excellent effect was produced by the declaration that the Buddhist religion would be freely protected as formerly.

In Canada a significant event was the resolution moved by Mr. Blake, the leader of the Liberal party, in favour of Home Rule for Ireland. It was rejected in favour of a long amendment, much to the same effect, which was moved by the Hon. John Costigan, the Minister of Inland Revenue, which was carried by 140 votes to 8. On the other hand, the majority was disposed to view with displeasure the desire of Nova Scotia to secede from the Confederation, in spite of which the elections for the Provincial Legislatures ended in the victory of those who held views embracing, at any rate, a commercial union with the United States. This was notably the case in the seaboard provinces, where a desire was felt for a settlement of the fisheries dispute between Canada and America, now in its acute stage. Of this long-standing quarrel, which had existed, in fact, since the formation of the American Union and had been revived by the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty in 1865, it is enough to say here that the Canadians under the Convention of 1818 claimed to exclude the Americans from the "inshore fisheries." As to the limits, however, of the said preserves,

and how far American fishermen were within their rights in entering Canadian ports for the purposes of bait and other supplies, there was considerable divergence of opinion. The question was brought to an issue by the seizure of several American vessels in Canadian waters by the Dominion authorities, on the ground that they were exceeding their rights. A tremendous paper-war thereupon arose between the Canadians and New Englanders, in which the British Government seemed chary of intervention. In fact, the United Kingdom was not particularly fortunate in its negotiations with the United States just then, the Senate having rejected an Extradition Convention, which included in the list of extraditable offences malicious injury to property—a provision framed to secure the perpetrators of the dynamite outrages. The force behind these worthies—the Clan-na-Gael—was represented by proxy at the Irish National League Convention by Mr. Patrick Egan, who was also president of the assembly at its meeting at Chicago on August 16th. In this instructively double capacity he was responsible for various resolutions expressing approval of the efforts of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell, while the treasurer handed over to the Irish Parliamentary party the good round sum of £7,556. The Convention was preceded by meetings of the Clan-na-Gael, at one of which Mr. Davitt, who was present, said he believed that “we in Ireland can work out the destiny of our country, vindicate the Irish national sentiment, realise Irish patriotic aspirations, without the aid of dynamite or any policy of that kind.” Almost simultaneously Mr. Parnell, in the Home Rule debate, repudiated Patrick Ford, with whom, said he, the Irish party had not agreed for five or six years.

In Australia, apart from the question of defence, which received considerable impulse from the publication in October of Admiral Tryon's report, the burning question of the year was the occupation of the New Hebrides by a detachment of French troops. Those islands had for years been a bone of contention between France and Great Britain, though in 1883 the Republic voluntarily pledged herself to respect their independence, and not to entertain the idea of their annexation without consulting the Australian Colonies, and without granting them satisfactory conditions. Under this understanding a black Alsatia was established, where outrages on Europeans and sanguinary reprisals were of constant occurrence. In 1886 came new proposals from the French—namely, that they should be allowed to occupy the

New Hebrides, on condition that they discontinued sending convicts to the Pacific. Lord Rosebery agreed to negotiate on these terms, provided that the Australian Colonies gave their consent, that the French agreed to respect freedom of religion and trade in their new acquisition, and, thirdly, that they ceded the island of Rapa to New Zealand. It speedily appeared, however, that the Australasian Governments, notably Victoria and New Zealand, were determinedly against the annexation of the islands by France under any consideration, and Lord Rosebery wrote with much firmness to the French Foreign Minister, M. de Freycinet, that in the face of colonial opinion the Queen's Government were unable to consent to any departure from the understanding of 1883. This vigorous despatch was accepted by the colonies with enthusiasm, when their joy suddenly collapsed before the news that on June 1st a body of French troops, some 300 in number, had been sent from New Caledonia to the New Hebrides, and had hoisted the French flag at Port Havannah and Port Sandwich. M. de Freycinet attempted to explain away the incident, first, on the ground that it was unauthorised, and secondly because it was apparently intended for the protection of French traders, and did not in the least imply annexation. The assurance was accepted by the British Government, but in Australia excitement was at fever-heat. The Victorians were especially wroth at the idea that the Presbyterian missions, which had done much excellent work on the islands, were liable to the treatment which their fellow-labourers had suffered at the hands of the French on other islands of the Pacific, while Australia in general was indignant at the probable creation of a fresh convict settlement close to her doors, when New Caledonia was already full to overflowing. The French troops remained, nevertheless, in New Hebrides until the end of 1887, and everything pointed to a permanent occupation. At last the strong remonstrances of Lord Salisbury prevailed, and the soldiers were withdrawn, though France, as a reward for having grudgingly kept her word, obtained the island of Raiatea.

The British colonies in South Africa, namely the Cape and Natal, suffered during the year from commercial depression, though otherwise their position was satisfactory, especially in the border state of Basutoland, which country was settling down under Sir Charles Warren's award. The fate of Zululand was at last decided, though not until its imminent annexation by the Boer filibusters had driven Government to action.

Not only did the invaders dispossess the Zulus, but they slew the chief Dabulamazi in the Reserve, and treated with contempt Sir Arthur Havelock's representation that their titles would not be recognised, nor would they be allowed to encroach upon the coast. Public opinion in Natal was, meanwhile, much exercised by the danger of an immigration of evicted Zulus across the frontier of the colony, and the Legislative Council offered to take over the country and join it to their

settlement was that the Boers were driven back from the coast, and forced to concede sundry trade routes through their territory. Its demerits consisted in the acquiescence in the spoliation of a fine race of savages, though it must be acknowledged that the Zulus courted destruction by inviting the Boers to take part in their civil feuds.

In the neighbouring island of Mauritius the monotony of sub-tropical life was disturbed by a violent quarrel between the Governor, Sir John



HOISTING THE FRENCH FLAG IN THE NEW HEBRIDES. (See p. 124.)

territory. Mr. Stanhope, the Secretary for the Colonies, proposed, however, the alternative of a British Protectorate, and Sir Arthur Havelock resumed the interrupted negotiations. He was prepared to recognise the Boer claims to a portion of the disputed territory, which was to form the New Republic, but the farmers were roundly informed that if they would not come to terms, the British Government would decide its own boundary without them. This display of firmness had its effect, and an agreement was signed in November whereby one half of the country passed to the Dutch, while the other half became a British Protectorate in 1887. The main merit of the

Pope Hennessy, and the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Clifford Lloyd. So sharp did the strife become that Sir Hercules Robinson, on instructions from the Colonial Office, proceeded to the scene of action; Mr. Lloyd was appointed to the Seychelles Islands and Sir J. Pope Hennessy temporarily suspended, until an inquiry had been held on his administration, from which he emerged with a somewhat dubious acquittal.

Of the great Powers, the relations of Great Britain with Germany were excellent, both during Lord Rosebery's tenure of the Foreign Office and that of Lord Iddesleigh. To the skilful diplomacy of the former were due three arrangements regulating

the spheres of influence of the two Governments in various quarters of the globe. The first concerned the Western Pacific, where a line starting from a point on the 8th parallel near White Rock on the N.E. coast of New Guinea was conceived to divide the territories and protectorates of Great Britain from those of the German Empire, to the exclusion of the Friendly Islands and of Samoa, which was allowed to remain under the control of England, Germany and the United States. Freedom of trade was also guaranteed, besides liberty of settlement and ownership of property to the subjects of either nation, while both sides bound themselves not to establish penal settlements in the Western Pacific. The second arrangement delimited the frontier of the two Powers on the west coast of Africa, while in regard to East Africa, Lord Iddesleigh negotiated an agreement whereby the sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzibar was recognised as embracing the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Mafia, and a strip of coast-line ten miles in breadth on the mainland. The good offices of Britain were also promised to induce the Sultan to agree to the surrender of the Customs of Dar-es-Salaam and Pangani to the German East Africa Company in return for an annual payment. The main point of the understanding was, however, the division of the German and British spheres of interests by a line from the mouth of the Rovuma river to the Kilimanjaro Mountains, and thence to Victoria Nyanza, the Germans securing the district to the south, by far the larger in area; the British that to the north, which possessed an excellent harbour in Mombasa. Decidedly the paper-partition of Africa was proceeding right merrily, and without much regard to the wishes or intentions of the partitioned "nigger."

The neighbouring democracy of France was disturbed meanwhile by the rise of General Boulanger, a soldier who as Minister of War at first lent himself to the Radicals, though at a subsequent period he was as ready to intrigue with the Monarchists. His inordinate popularity with the mob was soon recognised as a peril to the stability of the Republic, nor was his fame at all injured by a curious misuse of power. It happened in this way: the General was one of the main supporters of a Bill authorising the expulsion of the Orleanist and Napoleonist princes, and followed up this illiberal measure by striking their names off the army roll. One of the officers thus cashiered was that illustrious soldier the Duc d'Aumale, who promptly wrote a haughty letter to the President

of the Republic, in which the decree was characterised as a violation of the charter of the army. The only result was an order to quit the country, while the Minister of War incurred the first of his many duels, because he characterised in the Senate the Duke's letter as "an insult to the Republic." From this ordeal he escaped unharmed, nor was his reputation seriously damaged by the publication of several fulsome letters to the Prince, from which it appeared that he owed his promotion to the General whom he had degraded. The appearance of this fire-eater was naturally regarded by the Central Powers as a menace to the peace of Europe. The members of the Triple Alliance drew closer together, and in Germany a new military Septennate implying an addition of 41,000 men to the peace establishment, was proposed to the Reichstag in November. The Bill was supported by Count von Moltke in an impressive speech, of which the purport was that France was intent upon the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, and that if the Septennate were rejected the country would probably be exposed to a hostile invasion. The Committee, however, decided to cut down the grant from 468,000 men for seven years to 450,000 for three, and as the year ended, the consequences of Prince Bismarck's haughty rejection of the compromise appeared to portend a political struggle of the most uncertain issues.

So far as Britain was concerned, the renewed activity of the Frenchman abroad was productive of no inconvenient consequences. Rumour had it that the new French Ambassador at Berlin, M. Herbette, had tried to incite Prince Bismarck to overt action against the British occupation of Egypt, and that the German Chancellor declined the insidious overture. Be that as it may, the position of Great Britain, both military and civil, in the land of the Pharaohs was easier than during the previous year. We have already mentioned the victory of Ginnis, which on the 30th of December, 1886, effectually checked a Mahdist attack upon Upper Egypt, and the lesson thus inculcated sufficed to keep the invaders quiet for the rest of the year. All the Egyptian posts south of Wady Halfa were withdrawn, and the reduced British force went into cantonments at Assouan, leaving the frontier to the care of the native regiments. The Emir Nejumi, meanwhile, continued at Dongola his preparations for invasion, with the full approbation of the Khalifa, but so serious were the revolts in other parts of the Soudan that no advance in force could be effected. Some 1,500 men under Nur-el-Kanzi made, indeed,

a reconnaissance upon Halfa towards the end of November, and tore up part of the railway line, but on the appearance of Colonel Chermiside with the mounted corps, and General de Montmorency with the main body, they retreated without striking a blow. Osman Digna, meanwhile, was troubled by the secession of numerous tribes, notably the Amaras. Hence Suakin was never seriously menaced, and on the departure of Osman Digna from Tamai in August, the "Friendlies" proceeded to lay vigorous siege to that place. On the 7th of September it fell, and by orders of Colonel Kitchener, the Governor of Suakin, the camp was completely destroyed and the fort blown up. With the return of the Mahdiist commander, however, designs for an attack on Tokar were incontinently abandoned, and the neighbourhood relapsed into its usual state of intertribal warfare.

In pursuance of the terms of the Anglo-Turkish convention, Sir Drummond Wolff and the Turkish Commissioner, Moukhtar Pasha, proceeded to hold conferences on the reforms necessary for Egypt. It may be noticed that the instructions of the British envoy were of the vaguest; he was to strengthen the Khedive's Government, to secure the due payment of the debt, and so avert all pretext for foreign intervention, and to see that European civilisation was not forced too rapidly on the people. Clearly his cue was to induce his colleague to take the lead, and this after a good deal of pressing on both sides, he succeeded in doing. With Oriental deliberation Moukhtar Pasha prepared a scheme for the reorganisation of the Egyptian army, which appeared in March. His advice was that the force should be raised to 16,800 men, officered by natives as formerly, not by Englishmen, and that while a portion of this force should garrison Egypt, some 12,000 men should be dispatched to occupy Dongola, keep the Mahdiist warriors in check, and ultimately reconquer a portion at least of the Soudan. He insisted especially on the necessity of the departure of the British, declaring that their presence, by exciting religious susceptibilities, was the real cause of the Soudanese danger. Then followed various proposed economies, such as the reduction of pay, and the relinquishment by the British Government of the £200,000, charged upon the Egyptian revenue towards the expenses of the army of occupation. This plan was in the fulness of time submitted to the British Government and declared entirely inadmissible. The number of men was stated by Lord Rosebery to be far in excess of Egypt's requirements; the departure of the

English officers described as fatal to the discipline of the native army; the conquest of the Soudan as opposed to British policy, and the Egyptian contribution to the army of occupation as absolutely indispensable. Moukhtar Pasha was invited to modify his scheme, and write home for fresh instructions. These, however, did not arrive, and no progress was made towards a settlement, beyond the dispatch of an Egyptian functionary to Wady Halfa, with a view to receiving any overtures for peace that the Soudanese might make.

Nevertheless, under cover of the Turkish Commissioner's presence, the British advisers of the Khedive succeeded in effecting some useful reforms. The coinage was improved by the issue of new silver, though counterfeit money was simultaneously smuggled into the country. Considerable irregularities in the administration of the Domain lands were detected, and the perpetrators punished. Again the finance displayed a most welcome elasticity, and the Budget, everything taken into consideration, actually displayed a surplus albeit a narrow one. The worst feature in the situation was the hostility of the French representatives on the caisse of the Public Debt to the partial abolition of the *corvée*, or compulsory labour on public works. A sum of £250,000 had been authorised to meet the charge, but to this outlay the French Government refused its consent, and the decree in consequence remained a dead letter. This vexatious piece of interference was followed by a speech of M. de Freycinet in the Chamber in which occurred the sentence, "The Great Power that owns Egypt is master of the Mediterranean," with the more significant commentary that England had been informed, without any definite notice to quit, that her indefinite stay in the country would be considered an unfriendly act to France; which remark was generally regarded as a covert threat, portending no good to the British occupation, though whether the Sultan had been induced to make a joint remonstrance did not immediately appear.

Far more serious than this revival of French antagonism in Egypt was the prolonged disturbance of the Balkan Peninsula. At the beginning of the year Turkey, Greece, Servia, and Bulgaria were all under arms, and evidently "spoiling for a fight" as soon as spring arrived. On the initiative of Russia collective Notes were thereupon sent by the Powers to Athens, Sofia, and Belgrade, calling on the Governments to cease at once their warlike preparations. The replies of Bulgaria and the Porte, if evasive, were more or less conciliatory

and were to the effect that they would disarm if their neighbours did. Greece, however, through her bellicose Premier, M. Deliyannis, sent the defiant answer that she would not disarm because the Balkan question had not been satisfactorily settled, and Servia, though a trifle more guarded, used words of similar import. Lord Salisbury then proposed that a second batch of collective Notes should be sent to Athens, warning the Greeks against a naval attack on Turkey. It was delivered on January 24th. Nevertheless, the Greek fleet sailed forth as if bent on warfare, and on February 2nd M. Deliyannis retorted that, as an independent State, Greece could not consent to any obstacle to the free disposal of its naval forces. The Porte, meanwhile, assumed its familiar attitude of injured innocence, dwelling on the sacrifices incurred, and the impossibility of avoiding conflict did the Greeks continue their provocations.

The danger of a European war was considerable, for if Greece declared hostilities against Turkey on the pretext of the aggrandisement of Bulgaria, Servia would certainly follow suit. Then would come the probability that Russia would occupy Bulgaria on the pretext of preserving order, and such a step could hardly fail to bring Austria at least into the field. Fortunately the change of Government in England produced no change of policy, for Lord Rosebery kept the British squadron at Suda Bay, which had been sent thither by his predecessor, in concert with the other Powers, France excepted, for the purpose of preventing a descent upon Crete; and during the following months he did his utmost to bring M. Deliyannis to reason by numerous and severe lectures to the Greek Minister, M. Gennadius. Thus, the latter was informed, for instance, that England was acting in harmony with the other Powers, and could make no communications to the Greeks without consultation. Would a previous warning be given to the Greek Government before commencing hostilities? Lord Rosebery really could not say, but he gave it as his strong opinion that M. Deliyannis was extremely ill-advised if he considered that the Sultan would consent to peace on the basis of a concession of Turkish territory. That hot-headed politician, the Greek Premier, however, continued to defy the Powers and the Opposition in the Athenian Parliament, and certainly seemed to carry with him the confidence of the nation, for a vote of want of confidence was rejected by 129 votes to 83, and the king was forced by public opinion to call out reserves after reserves. To the piteous appeal of the Sultan

against the ruin incurred by the necessity of counter-armament, the Powers, Britain again taking the lead, responded by a collective Note in which Greece was firmly requested to disarm, and to give assurances that within a week her forces would be placed on a peace footing. This Note was delivered on April 26th, and simultaneously more ironclads, belonging to Britain, Austria, and Italy, arrived off the Piræus. France, however, while advising Greece to yield, declared that she would ultimately assist in pressing the claim upon Macedonia and Epirus, and M. Deliyannis adroitly availed himself of the friendly intervention by replying to the Powers that he would disarm gradually and prudently, while in a public speech he asserted that he would declare war against Turkey and leave the Powers to do their worst. As a further collective Note produced no effect, the representatives of the Powers, after some hesitation due to the uncertainty as to the line which France and Russia would take, left Athens on May 10th, after proclaiming a "pacific blockade" of the Greek ports at the instigation of Lord Rosebery. This demonstration of force brought M. Deliyannis to the end of his tether; on the same day he sent in his resignation, and, after several failures, the King of the Hellenes succeeded in appointing a stable Ministry under M. Tricoupis. Already the foolhardiness of the retiring Premier had produced its expected consequences in the shape of a collision on the frontier (May 22nd) near Tirnova, in which the Greeks suffered a reverse. After this nothing was to be done but to recall the troops and issue a decree of disarmament. M. Tricoupis, with much good sense, embraced the unpalatable necessity, and, with the raising of the blockade by the Powers on June 7th, a somewhat silly crisis came to an end.

Lord Rosebery's good offices contributed not a little to this excellent result. "I told M. Gennadius," he wrote on May 25th, "speaking confidentially and unofficially, that I was afraid that the absence of any communication from the Greek Government would create an unfortunate impression among the Powers, and that, although he knew I had never been a stickler for form in the matter, yet unless some communication were made to them, I feared they would not consider that they were treated with common courtesy. The natural course in any considerable event of this kind would be that M. Tricoupis should communicate the decree of disarmament to the Greek representatives at foreign Courts. That proceeding would be no humiliation to him; it would simply be the

ordinary course of business. I did not wish him to make any communication on the subject to our *chargé d'affaires* at Athens, if that were distasteful to him; but I feared that the mere issue of the decree without any diplomatic communication would hardly satisfy the Great Powers of Europe.

declined to add "and friendly relations"—was signed at Belgrade, and with the prompt demobilisation of the two armies matters soon quieted down. The reason for this prudential move was that the Porte, with some astuteness, had made common cause with Prince Alexander. Thanks



THE KING OF THE HELLENES.

(From a Photograph by the London Stereoscopic Company.)

I pointed out to M. Gennadius that it would be well for M. Tricoupis to send such a communication spontaneously, before receiving, as he possibly might, expressions of dissatisfaction from some of the Powers. He must also remember, I said, that the Decree of Demobilisation would remain a dead letter if the blockade were not raised, and we might have a renewal of those regrettable incidents on the frontier which had recently taken place."

Servia, after much blustering and military preparation, had taken long since a similar course. On March 3rd a treaty of peace—King Milan

to the strong representations of Sir William White, the Sultan signed a decree on February 2nd, appointing the Prince Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia for five years, the tenure to be renewed at the expiration of that period with the consent of the Powers. Further, the Prince, with the sanction of the Sultan, was empowered to execute certain alterations in the Organic Statute of the province. In case of foreign aggression troops of either State were to come to the aid of the other, and Prince Alexander, in token of his fidelity, accepted a Field Marshal's command in the Turkish

army. To this very sensible arrangement came objections from two quarters: from Prince Alexander, who boggled at the fixed term, fearing apparently the renewal of Russian intrigues at its close; while the Czar, furious at the stipulations for mutual military assistance, took his stand on the letter of the Treaty of Berlin respecting the Organic Statute. He prevailed so far that by the Convention of April 5th the Powers sanctioned the Prince's appointment to the Governor-Generalship for five years only, and decided that the revision of the Organic Statute should be submitted to them in Conference at Constantinople.

The hostility of the Czar against the Porte and Bulgaria deepened as the year went on. Full scope was given to his wrath by the proceedings of Prince Alexander, who made a triumphal progress through his new dominions, and on June 14th opened the Bulgarian Assembly in a speech, containing the significant remark that the union of the two Bulgarias into a common fatherland was accomplished. The implied intention to disregard the protocol irritated not only Russia but the Porte; for the moment, however, these two Powers seemed in greater likelihood of collision than coalition. On May 29th the Czar visited Sebastopol, and issued a General Order, in which he congratulated his country on the reconstruction of the Black Sea Fleet. "My will and thoughts," he continued, "are directed to the peaceful development of the nation's welfare. Circumstances, however, may render the fulfilment of my wishes difficult, and may force me to the armed defence of the dignity of the Empire." This warlike declaration, accompanied by the concentration of troops in Bessarabia, was followed by an address from the Mayor of Moscow on May 25th, in which "hope" was said to "gain wings, and strength to be imparted to the belief, that the Cross of Christ would shine upon St. Sofia." The address was received without rebuke, and therefore was virtually endorsed with its direct threat to Turkey. The next step was a strong remonstrance presented at the Turkish Foreign Office by the Russian *chargé d'affaires* against the Porte's supposed intrigues with England and Bulgaria to further the union of the Provinces, followed by an equally abrupt demand for the £200,000 of indemnity due to Russia under the Treaty of Berlin and never paid. Further, the Sultan was informed that if Prince Alexander again infringed the Treaty of Berlin, his suzerain would be held responsible. Abdul Hamid was thoroughly alarmed by these hectorings, and he issued a despatch

announcing that he had recommended moderation to the Prince; nor were the events which followed calculated to restore his equanimity.

The first was a circular from the chief of the Russian Foreign Office, M. de Giers, declaring the intention of abolishing the free port established by the Berlin Treaty at Batoum. The reason assigned was plausible, that the loss of trade since the annexation, and its immunity from customs was burdensome to the Exchequer. Besides it had necessitated the establishment of a customs-cordon at the very gates of the town, and this barrier created an insurmountable obstacle to the development of local industry, and weighed heavily upon the neighbouring population, which was obliged to obtain from thence all the necessities of life. Furthermore, as Batoum was to preserve the character of an essentially commercial port, the measure in no way modified the actual state of things in the Black Sea, and could not consequently be considered as contrary to the Treaty of Berlin, as a whole, which the Imperial Government had never, in any circumstances, failed to observe. None the less did Lord Rosebery launch an outspoken protest against this disregard of treaties, and quoted with telling effect the protocols of the Congress of Berlin, proving that the action of Russia in "constituting" Batoum a free port was recognised as a definite act endorsed by Europe; the protocol of the Black Sea Conference, in which it was laid down as an essential principle of the law of nations that "no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the contracting Powers by means of an amicable arrangement." His remonstrance, however, was unsupported by the Continental Governments, and M. de Giers prudently minimised the encroachment by assurances that Russia's intentions were entirely pacific. He offered, besides, a specious argument to the effect that the late Czar's creation of a free port had been a "spontaneous declaration of intention," not an obligation. With this characteristically Muscovite quibble public opinion in England had perforce to be content. Lord Rosebery, however, had entirely the best of the controversy. "To say," he remarked, "that Russia can free herself from the engagements of the Treaty of Berlin on the ground that it was a spontaneous declaration of the late Emperor is not a valid argument. In the first place, if we are not to consider the declaration of the Emperor as binding, where are we to find in Russia the Government and the authority whose declarations can be

considered as valid? In the second place, it is to be remarked that, as the protocol clearly showed, the Emperor's declaration with regard to Batoum was in the nature of a solemn contract between his Imperial Majesty and the other Powers, and in no sense a free gift of his own unaccompanied by other stipulations." M. de Giers professed to receive this communication with "painful surprise." He argued that the Russian Cabinet had gone out of its way to communicate to the British Government a regulation "of a purely internal character," which might possibly affect British commerce. "Be good enough to tell Lord Rosebery," he wrote to M. de Staal, "that we adhere to our opinion that the spontaneous declaration of the intention of the Emperor to make Batoum a free port did not constitute an obligation, and that, consequently, the modification of that intention, which circumstances require, could not be considered as a departure from engagements that did not exist."

In Bulgaria, meanwhile, the situation gave every reason for disquietude. The Russian party under the leadership of M. Zankoff was abnormally active, and local riots were frequent. Even the Prince's well-wishers implored him to make peace with the Czar, to which he replied that he could not discover that potentate's wishes, as all his overtures remained unacknowledged. This confession may have further encouraged the philo-Russians; at any rate they proceeded to a fresh act of violence. In the early hours of Saturday, August 21st, the Prince was seized in his palace at Sofia by a band of conspirators after the garrison had been removed on various pretexts to the frontier, forced to sign a paper announcing his abdication of the throne, and then smuggled on board a yacht, which steamed down the Danube and landed him on Russian soil at Reni-Russi. The atrocious piece of kidnapping was universally attributed to the Czar's Ministers; nevertheless, no proof was ever forthcoming that they were ever associated with it, and the act was after a while regarded as altogether below their or their master's dignity. At most it was deemed likely to have been the work of some intriguing minor official, and certainly the Provisional Government, established by the authors of the *coup de main* under the leadership of M. Zankoff and the Metropolitan of Tirnova, did not act as if they were sure of foreign support. They sent a humble appeal for protection to the Czar, and, instead of terrorising, attempted to deceive. The Prince's abdication was represented as purely voluntary, and they attached to their mendacious proclamations the name of M. Karaveloff,

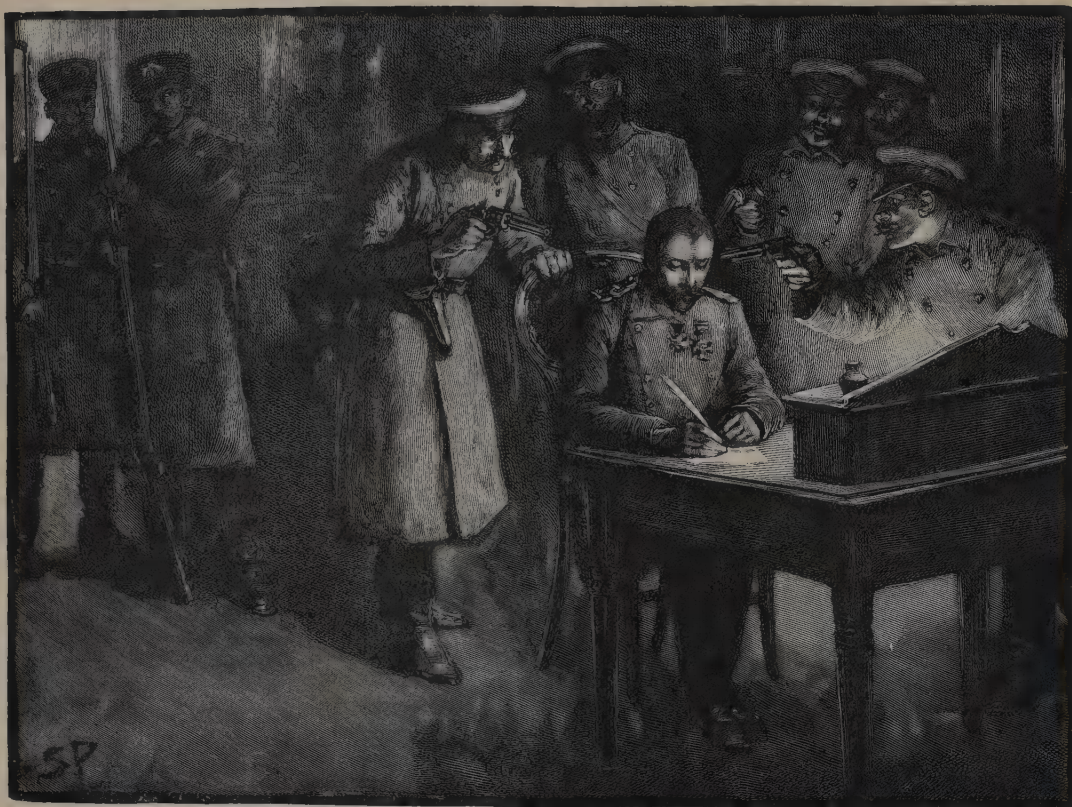
his Prime Minister and staunch supporter. But the clumsy ruse was successful for little more than a day. When the truth leaked out, a counter-revolution at once began. Both at Widdin and Philippopolis the troops declared for Prince Alexander, and a new Provisional Government was promptly constituted under the energetic President of the Bulgarian Assembly, M. Stambouloff, which clapped Zankoff and his associates under lock and key. The return of the popular Prince was eagerly awaited, and, after two days' detention at Reni-Russi and a journey through Russian, Roumanian, and Austrian territory, he was received with general demonstrations of enthusiasm.

It appeared, however, that the victor of Slivnitza, like other heroes in the open field, was unmanned by secret conspiracy. Before the return to Sofia, he dispatched a submissive telegram to the Czar, begging that Prince Dolgorouki might still be sent on his proposed mission of pacification, since he would be furnished with proofs "of my unalterable devotion to your august person. The monarchical principle," continued the strange appeal, "has compelled me to establish legality in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. Russia having given me my crown, it is into the hands of Russia's Sovereign that I am ready to render it." The autocrat's reply was haughty and sinister. He promised indeed to refrain from intervention so long as the Prince was on the throne, but he declined to send Prince Dolgorouki, pronounced a deliberate disapproval of the restoration, and concluded—"Your Highness will decide for your own part what course should be taken. I reserve to myself to judge what my father's venerated memory, the interests of Russia and the interests of the East, require of me." Against this implacable hatred Prince Alexander was left practically defenceless. The Porte was utterly cowed by the Czar, Prince Bismarck expressed cynical indifference to his fate, Austria mildly platonic interest, the English press alone gave utterance to cordial sympathy. Weary of contending with destiny, apprehensive perhaps of further attempts on his person, the Prince no sooner reached his capital than he resolved to abdicate. The Ministers and officers remonstrated with insistence—the latter it is said even threatened to detain him against his will—but he was not to be dissuaded, and on September the 7th quitted the Principality whose liberties he had championed so valorously and so ably.

Before his departure Prince Alexander appointed as Regents Stambouloff, Karaveloff, and Colonel Moutkouroff, the Commander-in-Chief of the army.

Further, the Czar, in reply to a telegram announcing the Prince's abdication, promised to respect Bulgarian independence. Nevertheless the Regents deemed it advisable to propitiate the Czar by asking him to nominate a Russian candidate for the throne, and to send a Russian general to act, if necessary, as Minister of War, which request was accepted with almost alarming promptitude. Europe, meanwhile, remained quiet, and in reply to

risky in the extreme, after Prince Bismarck had published in the *North German Gazette* a somewhat brutal declaration that it was not worth Germany's while to find cause of quarrel with Russia, and that Great Britain was only searching for a Power to do the work without her help. In the circumstances the Bulgarian Sobranje (Assembly) could do little. A large majority was in favour of Prince Alexander's restoration, but it feared to



PRINCE ALEXANDER OF BULGARIA SIGNING HIS ABDICATION. (See p. 131.)

questions in the Hungarian Parliament, M. Tisza delivered an enigmatic reply, which pointed to the conclusion that, though the Dual Monarchy would recognise no right of interference in the Balkan Peninsula except that of Turkey, peace would be preserved if no Russian occupation was attempted. In the British House of Commons, Sir James Fergusson, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, publicly deplored "the treachery and violence by which the Prince's reign had been interrupted," and Lord R. Churchill spoke, shortly afterwards, to the same effect; nevertheless if any idea existed in the Cabinet of using diplomatic pressure to promote the restoration of the abdicating ruler, it was soon abandoned. In fact intervention became

act, and did little more than pass resolutions expressive of anger mingled with alarm.

By this time Lord Rosebery had been succeeded at the Foreign Office by Lord Iddesleigh, but the change of men produced little alteration of policy. During the last weeks of the former's tenure of the seals, the Bulgarian question appeared to have slept. Sir Robert Morier even ventured to congratulate M. de Giers on the prospects of a quiet summer, and the latter echoed the sentiment, though he murmured displeasure against the Radicals in Bulgaria. Then came the kidnapping, and Lord Iddesleigh, on being interrogated by the Turkish ambassador, Rustem Pasha, declined in the first instance to give any advice

at all. Things, he opined, would probably develop themselves, and then we should see our way more clearly. On August the 26th he took the important step of advising the Porte to summon Prince Alexander to return to the Principality and restore order. After the Prince's arrival at Philippopolis, Lord Iddesleigh told the Turkish Ambassador that he considered his position in no way changed from what it had been before the revolution, and that if Turkey adopted a friendly policy towards Bulgaria, the latter would become a great support, but a great danger if intrigues were abetted in any way. He also wrote on September 2nd to her Majesty's representatives at Berlin and Vienna, that "a frank and open support of Prince Alexander" would, in the opinion of the British Government, be the means best calculated to preserve order in Bulgaria and keep the peace of Europe; and that it would be advisable that support should be given in such a manner that his Highness could devote himself without anxiety to the task of governing his country. He was extremely opposed to the Prince's abdication, and told Sir F. Lascelles to urge him to remain, and did his best, when the retirement was accomplished, to patch up amicable relations between Bulgaria and Servia. His line of conduct was certainly strong, but could not be said to exceed the requirements of the case.

The arrival of General Kaulbars, the envoy dispatched by the Czar, on September the 25th, was a new and formidable incident in the revolution. Already the Russian Consul, M. Nekliudoff, had roundly demanded the command of the Bulgarian troops by Russian officers, and the postponement of the trial of Prince Alexander's captors, until public opinion had become calmer. These large orders were bettered by General Kaulbars, who prefaced his arrival by a bitter speech against the Government. The Regents were informed that they had no legal status, and were then abruptly ordered to raise the state of siege, liberate the political prisoners, and postpone the meeting of the Sobranje until two months after the civil administration had been restored. M. Stambouloff replied by compliance with the first condition, but he refused the second, though he undertook to inflict banishment instead of death, and would only postpone the Sobranje for some three weeks. General Kaulbars was irritated beyond measure by this display of firmness, and the Russian consuls were ordered to publish and placard on the walls of the Bulgarian towns a solemn indictment of the Regency, in which twelve

gravamina were verbosely and pompously enumerated. Popular demonstrations were the natural result, and when the envoy proceeded to appear at a general meeting of the citizens of Sofia and announce the "commands" of his master, he was received with loud cries of "Down with Russia." Disappointed in the capital, the Muscovite coercionist betook himself to the provinces, where he was not a whit more successful. On October 5th he telegraphed to the Commandant of Rustchuk, ordering him to release all political prisoners under penalty of being held responsible. The Commandant naturally declined, and the General had equally bad luck with the garrisons of Schumla and Sistova. His tour, nevertheless, had a deplorable effect on the elections, which were frequently attended by Zankoffist demonstrations and consequent riots, in one of which two deputies and a prefect were murdered. The result, nevertheless, was a triumph to the Regents, as out of 520 deputies, a handful of some thirty were classed as Zankoffists, while the others were staunch supporters of M. Stambouloff. Had the Assembly followed the bent of its inclination, it would have re-elected Prince Alexander by a large majority; but the fear of Russia was too great, and Prince Waldemar of Denmark, to whom the perilous throne was offered, prudently declined the honour. Affairs seemed at a deadlock, and meanwhile the menaces of the Czar's agents were hurled at the Regency with redoubled vigour.

Thus, in answer to a circular warning foreigners from taking part in the elections, M. Nekliudoff, the Consul at Sofia, told the Government that Russian subjects would be molested at their peril, and he even broke off diplomatic relations pending the return of General Kaulbars. Two days afterwards he resumed them in a series of notes—(1) censuring the Bulgarian Government for their appeal to the Powers, (2) declaring that the elections were illegal and, therefore, null and void, (3) protesting against the coercion of the Zankoffists by the Bulgarian police. When the terrorist-in-chief returned to the capital, he was followed thither by Gadban Effendi, the Commissioner of the Porte, who, in pursuance of orders from the Sultan, supported his most outrageous demands. By way of further intimidation two Russian ships of war were sent to Varna. In the circumstances M. Stambouloff yielded so far that to an ultimatum threatening terrible things if punishment was inflicted on the political prisoners, he complied by letting them out on bail. He even offered to take M. Zankoff into the Regency.

Still the Sobranje kept up a good heart, and towards the end of November it became evident that General Kaulbars had shot his bolt. Public spirit was aroused by the plots fomented by Russian agents for the seizure of the chief towns, and the General's attempts to procure the resignation of the Regents and the dissolution of the Sobranje were altogether fruitless. For some weeks he had been threatening to quit Bulgaria, and on November 20th, having ingeniously created a pretext in the arrest of a drunken servant of the Russian consulate at Philippopolis, he shook off the dust of his feet against Sofia, and departed with all the Russian consuls for St. Petersburg.

Lord Iddesleigh's language with regard to the Kaulbars mission had been unusually strong. It partook, said he to M. de Staal, of the character of an intervention in the internal affairs of the country. The Russian Ambassador blandly remarked that the envoy was only giving advice, and declared that Russia's only wish was to obviate the danger of disturbances. Lord Iddesleigh retorted that the Government seemed perfectly capable of carrying on the administration of the country, and expressed his regret that General Kaulbars had urged the postponement of the elections. In a circular telegram to Her Majesty's representatives abroad he said that "it appeared to Her Majesty's Government that it was very desirable that the elections should take place as early as possible, so as to shorten the time during which the administration was weakened by the vacancy of the throne." In any case, he continued, "they were strongly of opinion that the Great Powers should give their earliest attention to the condition of the country, and should offer to the Bulgarian Government such advice as they might think calculated to meet the exigences of the case." This step produced, on October 5th, a fresh interchange of views with M. de Staal, who again attempted to explain away General Kaulbars, and to justify his proceedings on the ground that a special obligation lay upon Russia, who had "called Bulgaria into existence." The Earl drily replied that the emissary's methods of giving advice were very strange, and that Bulgaria had been constituted a Principality not by Russia, but by the Treaty of Berlin. A still more heated conversation took place on the 14th, when the Foreign Secretary remarked that General Kaulbars' language was open to objection on two grounds—(1) because it tended to intimidate the Bulgarian people in the exercise of their constitutional duties; (2) because it was an assumption of a right on the

part of Russia to establish a separate authority in Bulgaria, which was an affront to the other Powers parties to the Treaty of Berlin. He did not know whether the language was the General's own, or whether it was used by the order of the Government. In either case he objected to it, and commented with severity on the Russian contention that the elections were illegal, and could not be legalised. When the question of the political trials was mooted (October 26th), Lord Iddesleigh asked the Russian Ambassador how affairs were to continue in this condition—"Here is a Government striving to carry on its administration independently and well, and when that Government endeavours to punish offenders, it is forbidden to do so because another Government does not recognise its legal status."

The departure of General Kaulbars was regarded as a confession of failure, and the general conclusion was that if the Czar had ever intended to occupy Bulgaria, or to instigate the Porte to reoccupy Eastern Roumelia, the idea was now abandoned. For it was clear that the public mind of Europe was dead against the coercion of the newly-born nationality. Of English statesmen, Mr. Gladstone wrote a letter to the Bulgarian leaders informing them how completely the British nation sustained their cause; while Lord Salisbury at Guildhall (November 9th) used the manly words—"England has an interest in maintaining the Treaty of Berlin, but not an isolated interest. She will do her part, if the Powers of Europe or any considerable portion of them do theirs." He went on to point out that the first interest in the Balkans was that of Austria, and the policy pursued by Austria would largely help to shape the policy pursued by England. If England were assailed in her interest or her honour, England would act at once and alone; but the duty of defending Bulgaria fell to her only as one Power in Europe. He expressed his belief that peace would be maintained, and that the infant liberties of Bulgaria would not be destroyed; and, meanwhile, his denunciation was very scathing of "mutinous officers debauched by foreign gold," and "encroachment after encroachment upon the rights of a free and independent people." Austria's indirect reply to this overture took the form of two speeches from the Foreign Minister, Count Kalnoky, delivered on November 16th, of which the upshot was that while Germany and Austria had many separate interests—Bulgaria, for instance, was one of them—each was determined that the other should remain a strong first-class

Power. As to the Principality, Austria took her stand on the Berlin Treaty, and would not interfere so long as the treaty remained unbroken. "Had Russia attempted to take advantage of the union between Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia to send a Commissioner to Bulgaria and seize the reins of government, and taken steps for the occupation of the ports and the country generally, Austria would, in such circumstances, have arrived at a decision." He hoped that the crisis would not occur, but if it did he hoped that England "would join us if necessary," while Italy, as a Mediterranean nation, would hardly allow the balance of power in Eastern Europe to be disturbed. Shortly afterwards followed a speech from Count Robilant, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, which regretted the deposition of Prince Alexander, "a prince worthy of a better fate;" said that Italy would adhere to the Austrian policy of maintaining the Treaty of Berlin, and would be vigilant and, if necessary, act. "With England," continued the orator, "we desire to maintain and, if necessary, to develop, should events require it, that frank friendship which is the traditional policy of Italy and which cannot alter."

These utterances proved clearly enough that, with the exception, perhaps, of France, where public opinion, influenced by the British occupation of Egypt, was somewhat divided, the Czar had not a single well-wisher among the Christian Powers. In the circumstances Bulgaria was left to its own devices, and promptly assumed all the appearances of a free and orderly State. The Russian candidate for the throne, Prince Nicholas of Mingrelia, whom Lord Iddesleigh called "a vassal, or rather a subject" of the Czar, was wholly unacceptable to the Regents on account of his mediocre status, and complete subserviency to St. Petersburg. Unable to find a Prince, the Sobranje deputed M. Stambouloff and two other

Commissioners to visit the Courts of Europe and sound the various Powers. Everywhere they met with a cautious reception, particularly from Prince Bismarck, who was influenced no doubt by his aged Emperor's strong desire for peace, and were advised to come to an understanding with Russia. At Vienna they lighted upon Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, and he showed some inclination to accept the uneasy throne. The Czar, however, declared himself prepared to veto the candidature, and to insist upon his former conditions—the resignation of the Regents and the election of a new Sobranje; and thus the year terminated in an absolute deadlock. In his last despatch, dated December 8th, Lord Iddesleigh, while stating that the British Government had formed impressions widely different from the Russian as to the Kaulbars mission, expressed his desire to discuss the Bulgarian question in all its bearings, "whether in the form of an exchange of ideas, or of a Conference of Plenipotentiaries, or an International Commission."

So absorbing had been the interest of the Bulgarian Revolution that Lord Salisbury's—or perhaps we should say Lord Iddesleigh's—policy elsewhere passed almost unnoticed. One event, however, was generally approved, namely, the conclusion of the Anglo-Spanish Commercial Treaty. This agreement, which had hung fire for several years, was finally arranged by the energy and ability of Sir Clare Ford, the British Minister at Madrid. The Spanish vine-growers, to whom it proved a considerable boon, accepted the measure with enthusiasm, but the manufacturing districts, fearing British competition, were not so enthusiastic. Nevertheless, the Bill passed the Cortes and came into force on the 15th of August, after being fiercely debated in both Chambers, and causing a Ministerial resignation of little moment.

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of the Jubilee Year—Reconstruction of the Ministry—Death of Lord Iddesleigh—Mr. Goschen's Defeat at Liverpool—Mr. Chamberlain's Overture—The Round Table Conference—The Article in the *Baptist*—Rupture of the Conference—Lord Hartington's Attitude—Sir G. Trevelyan's Explanation—State of Ireland—Baron Palles's Pronouncement—A Coercion Bill threatened—Mr. Balfour becomes Chief Secretary—The Queen's Speech—The Debate on the Address—Mr. Parnell's Amendment—The Foreign Office Meeting—The Procedure Rule—The Ratepayers' Defence Association—The Estimates and the Budget—"Parnellism and Crime"—Another Foreign Office Meeting—Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham—Preliminary Skirmish on the Crimes Bill—Mr. Balfour's Speech—Progress of the Debate—The First Reading carried—Opinion Out of Doors—Scenes in the House—Sir Charles Lewis's Interposition—Mr. Gladstone's Suggestion—The Facsimile Letter—The Bill in Committee—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright—The Bill carried by Closure—The Report Stage—The Third Reading—Lord Cadogan's Land Bill—Report of the Cowper Commission—The Fall in Prices—The "Dispensing System"—Provisions of the Bill—The Second Reading in the Commons—A Liberal Unionist Protest—The Bill altered—The Allotments Bill—The Coal Mines Regulation Bill—Miss Cass and Lipski—The State of Parties.

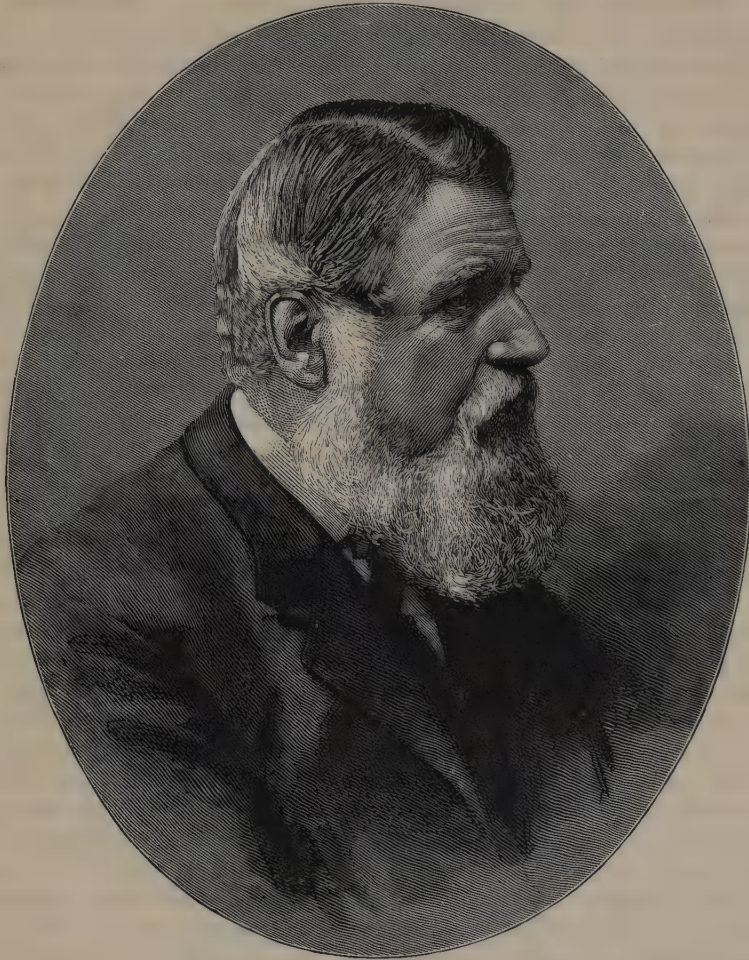
THE year 1887, long remembered as the Jubilee Year, began so far as English politics were concerned with the curious crisis caused by Lord Randolph Churchill's abrupt resignation. The entrance of Mr. Goschen into the Cabinet, on condition that he should still be regarded as a Liberal Unionist and follower of Lord Hartington, was undoubtedly an accession of strength, and under the existing state of Conservative feeling the refusals of office by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Northbrook were probably for the best. The choice of Mr. W. H. Smith as First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the House of Commons was something of a surprise, but Mr. Stanhope's acceptance of the War Office, and Sir Henry Holland's of the Colonial were generally acceptable. Nevertheless, the rearrangements were not completed without a catastrophe, which resulted in the sudden death of one of the most unselfish and the most generally beloved of English statesmen. The Earl of Iddesleigh had, to all appearances, occupied the post of Foreign Secretary in exceptionally difficult times to his own and his country's credit. There were indeed reports of failing health and inability to attend to business, but these are strenuously contradicted by his biographer, Mr. Andrew Lang. Lord Iddesleigh was in all his usual strength when, on the reconstruction of the Cabinet, he, with his invariable unselfishness, placed his seat at the Premier's disposal. His offer was accepted, but, through some clumsiness or haste, the announcement was allowed to appear in the newspapers of January the 4th, and a telegram from Lord Salisbury announcing that he had found it desirable to go to the Foreign Office did not arrive at Pynes, Lord Iddesleigh's seat, until the afternoon of that day. Lord Iddesleigh cheerfully accepted the decision, and regarded

the transaction as complete, when there was sent a second telegram offering him the Presidency of the Council. This proposal, "being anxious to have no more bother," he declined, although it was renewed in a letter from Lord Salisbury, because, we are told, "to have accepted would have been to suggest various misconceptions of his position, powers and character." He continued, however, true to his party, and apparently unaffected in health or spirits by his changed position, since after his resignation he presided over a county meeting, summoned to consider the Prince of Wales's scheme of an Imperial Institute in commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee. On the 12th, having arrived in town, he had a long interview at the Foreign Office with Sir James Fergusson, and then went to Downing Street to see Lord Salisbury. On reaching the anteroom, he sank into a chair, and was there found by Lord Walter Lennox and Mr. Henry Manners, very ill and breathing with great difficulty. He never rallied, and died from failure of the heart at five minutes past three in the presence of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Henry Manners, and two doctors. Though wholly unconscious of his impending end, Lord Iddesleigh had said on the day before, "I shall leave no arrears." The sentence was true, and of no man could it be said with greater appropriateness that his work was done. Even the report of the Commission on Trade appeared within a few weeks of his death, and testified to the energy and completeness of his labours. His fine character, his absolute freedom from all petty self-seeking, his great and various abilities caused Lord Iddesleigh to be regretted by all parties more, perhaps, than any English statesman since Lord Althorp.

The gloom cast over the prospects of the Government by this untoward tragedy was deepened

by the defeat of Mr. Goschen for the Exchange division of Liverpool. There the death of Mr. Duncan, a Home Rule Liberal, offered the prospects of a seat for the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Goschen issued an address, in which he described himself as a Liberal all his life,

argument in an address to his supporters, which was also memorable for the hint of a possible Coercion Bill. The Opposition, however, were provided with an excellent candidate in Mr. R. Neville, who was victorious by the narrow majority of seven votes, and so, when Parliament met, the



LORD IDDESLEIGH. (From a Photograph by A. Barraud.)

whose acceptance of office was cordially approved by Lord Hartington and the Unionist party. "The Union," he continued, "is our watchword. I have broken some cherished ties in order to take my post at that point of the line of battle where Lord Salisbury, and the leader of the Liberal Unionists, thought that I could render most effectual service. I do not conceal from myself that, in voting for me, some of you also may be sacrificing life-long habits and traditions. But I ask you to make that sacrifice for the sake of the common cause." He adopted the same line of

Treasury Bench was devoid of one of its most important occupants. Shortly afterwards, however, a seat was provided for him by the resignation of Lord Algernon Percy, Member for the Hanover Square division of London. The Liberals unwisely contested the constituency, and Mr. Goschen defeated his opponent, Mr. Haysman, by some four thousand votes.

Meanwhile the hopes of Mr. Gladstone's followers were cheered by the prospect of attracting to their side a portion, at any rate, of the Unionists, those, namely, who were in closer

agreement with Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan than with Lord Hartington. At a speech delivered at Birmingham on December the 23rd, Mr. Chamberlain had asked why Gladstonians and Unionist Liberals were still divided, when they held similar opinions on all topics outside Ireland, and only differed about Ireland on one point out of four. He declared that the situation had been entirely altered by the resignation of Lord R. Churchill, "whose position in the present Government had been a guarantee that they would not pursue a reactionary policy." It was now possible and even probable that old Tory influences had gained the upper hand and that no consistent Liberal would be able to support the present Administration. Why, then, should there not be some attempt at settling the Irish Land question, at any rate by some three or four men, leaders of the Liberal party, sitting round a table? Without solving the Land question, Home Rule was impossible, and if it was solved he believed that Home Rule would be unnecessary. Even on the question of local government "the difference recedes when you come to think of it." He was thoroughly prepared to decentralise the system of administration known as Dublin Castle. He was also prepared to give any extension they asked to what was purely municipal government, and it was not until they had done all this that the debatable ground was reached upon which, for the present at all events, agreement was impossible. This significant overture, which seems to have been followed by communications by letter or word of mouth, was adroitly turned to account by Sir William Harcourt, who, in pursuance of instructions from Mr. Gladstone, initiated "the Round Table Conference," as it was termed, in which himself and Mr. John Morley represented the Home Rule cause; Mr. Chamberlain and Sir George Trevelyan Unionism, with Lord Herschell as president. The first meeting took place on January the 13th, and after sitting for three consecutive days an adjournment was made until after Parliament had met. As the Conference was resultless, so far as the sinking of differences was concerned, it may be disposed of here, more especially as no authentic account of the debates ever appeared. From the very numerous explanations and counter-explanations, however, it may be gathered that there were some prospects of reconciliation. According to Sir George Trevelyan, the subjects of discussion were first limited to two possible points of agreement and the cessation of hostile oratory. Then the area of the discussion

seems to have been widened, apparently at Mr. Gladstone's suggestion; at any rate the Unionists drafted their proposals, which were—(1) the retention of the Irish Members at Westminster; (2) the revision by the Imperial Parliament of the decisions of the Irish Parliament; (3) the definition by statute of the subjects to be treated by the Irish Parliament; (4) a separate arrangement for Ulster; (5) the maintenance of the Constabulary under the Imperial Parliament. According to Sir George Trevelyan, the first discussions were harmonious in the extreme, and it was noticed that his speech, and that of Mr. Chamberlain at Harwich on January the 22nd, were full of hope. Thus Mr. Chamberlain, in allusion to the Conference, said, "I am well aware that even if we are as successful as we hope in bringing about common agreement among ourselves, our task is only half accomplished, unless we have the sanction and approval of others who are more influential than we. But that is a prospect which does not discourage me. I am not hopeless of an appeal to the patriotism of our statesmen. Do you not think this question of Ireland has been long enough the sport of parties? Has not Ireland been long enough a playground for British politicians and for Irish agitators? May it not be possible even now at this last moment to arrange a national settlement of what is, after all, a national difficulty? This great Irish problem has baffled all statesmanship and distracted our politics for centuries." He even roundly made a positive suggestion that Ireland might stand to the Imperial Parliament as the Canadian Provinces and Parliaments stood to the Dominion Legislature, and quoted Mr. Justin McCarthy in support of the idea. "In these circumstances," he added, "I do not dismiss as absolutely impossible the hypothesis that the time may shortly come when we shall all be once again a happy family." The speech read like pacification and the Conservative organs were evidently alarmed.

Nevertheless, as time went on, the discussions appeared to have become sterile and profitless. According to Mr. Chamberlain, it was impossible to obtain a definite statement from Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Morley, presumably because Mr. Gladstone found himself under the necessity of writing a memorandum on the points of agreement, and found it a very difficult task. According to Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain's public utterances were to blame, namely, a speech at Birmingham, and an article in the *Baptist* newspaper. The purport of the former,

delivered on January 29th, was that Ireland could not be allowed to have any military or *quasi*-military force at her disposal, or have the control of the administration of justice; on the other hand, the legislative authorities in Dublin and Belfast might have power to deal with certain domestic matters, such as education, local government and public works. If the Irish desired to have a cabinet with Prime Minister and Ministers of Agriculture, Public Works, and Education, he would not interfere. This speech, according to Sir William Harcourt, rendered compromise difficult, nevertheless Sir George Trevelyan's hospitality averted a breach. On the 14th of February the Conference met again at Sir George Trevelyan's house, and separated with the highest hopes of an amicable settlement. They appeared to have agreed upon most points; two only remained—the separate treatment of Ulster and the constabulary. The communication to the *Baptist* dwelt on the misfortunes of “poor little Wales,” of the crofters of Scotland, and the agricultural labourers of England in having to wait ten or twelve years until Mr. Parnell was satisfied and Mr. Gladstone's policy adopted. Mr. Chamberlain failed to see why thirty-two millions of people should go without legislation because three millions were disloyal, while nearly six hundred Members of the Imperial Parliament would be reduced to forced inactivity because some eighty delegates, representing the policy and receiving the pay of the Chicago Convention, were determined to obstruct all business until their demands had been conceded. “The issue of the Round Table Conference will decide much more than the Irish question. It will decide the immediate future of the Liberal party, and whether or no all Liberal reform is to be indefinitely adjourned.”

To this challenge Mr. Gladstone issued a brief reply in the next number of the *Baptist*. He dealt only with one aspect of Mr. Chamberlain's letter, the assertion that he was preventing the Welsh question from being discussed. This, said he, was not the case. He had not said that Ireland ought to occupy Parliament to the exclusion of British questions, he had merely said that it would. “I am not creating a difficulty, but only pointing it out; the finger-post does not make the road.” Sir William Harcourt's subsequent explanation, indirectly confirmed by Sir George Trevelyan, was that Mr. Chamberlain's polemic produced the breakdown of the Conference, since its tone rendered all compromise impossible. He appears to have written to Mr.

Chamberlain, at Mr. Gladstone's instigation, suggesting that the Conference should be adjourned until the storm raised by the article had blown over. But the debaters never met again, for in the second week of March Mr. Chamberlain broke off negotiations. He, however, stoutly denied that his contribution to the *Baptist* was the cause of the rupture; it was, said he, a pretext invented afterwards to account for the rupture; and he pointed out that twelve days after the appearance of the article, Sir William in a speech at a banquet to Mr. Schnadhorst spoke of the prospects of reunion with much hopefulness. And there the matter must be left, since a reconciliation of these various versions passeth the wit of man.

Lord Hartington's attitude towards these negotiations was significant. He wished them well, was his explanation at Newcastle on February 2nd, but he would not take part in them; and the purport of his speech was that nothing could be conceded “from the point of view of satisfying the so-called national aspirations of the Irish people,” but merely “an extension to Ireland, and not only to Ireland, but to other parts of the United Kingdom if they desire it, on a larger scale, and over larger areas, something in the nature of municipal government, which our great cities already enjoy.” These remarks were clear enough, but the utterances of Sir George Trevelyan, after the rupture of the Round Table Conference, were somewhat difficult to follow. At one moment he showed a strong desire to rejoin the Liberal majority; at another, for instance, while supporting Mr. Leonard Courtney at Liskeard, he dwelt upon the necessity of being very clear on the points upon which the Unionists insisted before they came to any agreement whatever. Perhaps his mind was affected by the state of affairs in Ireland, which indeed was full of perplexities and alarms. Despite the Plan of Campaign, the lenient enforcement of the law by Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Sir Redvers Buller, called by some their use of the “dispensing power,” had resulted in a fairly quiet winter. That policy, however, became impossible after the Chief Baron Palles, in the case of the Woodford rioters, had given the opinion that the law did not sanction the withdrawal of the police from supporting the legal claims of private individuals. He complained that in four days, while the sheriff was attempting to execute the eviction decrees of the courts, the police stood for an hour amid breaches of the peace, gross and open violations of the law, and open defiance of the authority of the Queen and of her mandate to

the sheriff. Such a course, said the judge, was entirely illegal, and could not be taken without risk of heavy liability by an official person, whether he were Inspector-General, Under-Secretary, or Chief Secretary. The hands of the Executive thus paralysed, the Plan held the field, and Government were forced to join issue with the representatives of the National League. Upon the unfortunate tenantry the hand of the law was heavy, and, as we have already mentioned, at the Glenbeigh evictions, resistance simply resulted in their expulsion with violence, where peaceable methods might possibly have produced, at any rate, a *modus vivendi*. Further riots followed in other parts of the country, and in many quarters the authors of the Plan were severely censured for interference between landlord and tenant, when both parties were anxious to come to a settlement. Whether the accusation was just or not, the Plan, censured by the Irish Court of Appeal, was vastly strengthened by the outspoken support of Archbishop Croke. Mr. Dillon, too, succeeded in evading the consequences of his agitation; he was prosecuted for denouncing a landlord at Enniscorthy, but after a protracted trial the jury were unable to agree. Evidently a crisis was at hand, and so early as January 18th the *Standard* announced, apparently with authority, that a Bill was "to be introduced, at the beginning of the Session, to deal more effectually with the agrarian conspiracy." The initiator of the measure was not, however, to be Sir M. Hicks-Beach, for Parliament had not been long sitting when he was forced to resign owing to an affection of the eyes, and was succeeded by Mr. A. J. Balfour, a politician who, unlike other members of the "Fourth Party," had come to the front both slowly and steadily.

When Parliament met on January 27th, the expectation that the Queen's Speech would contain some reference to the renewal of coercion was speedily realised. In the forefront of the legislative programme was an allusion to the serious disturbance in the relations between owners and occupiers of land in some districts of Ireland, owing to "organised attempts to incite the latter class to combine against the fulfilment of their legal obligations." "Your early attention will be called to proposals in reforms of legal procedure, which seem necessary to secure the prompt and efficient administration of the criminal law." Then followed an allusion to Lord Cowper's Commission and its report, and the announcement that Local Government Bills would be produced for England and Scotland; and, "should circumstances render it

possible, they will be followed with a measure dealing with the same subject in Ireland." These were the main items of the speech, which, nevertheless, contained also promises of a Land Transfer Bill, an Allotments Bill, a Bill providing for the readier sale of glebe lands, a Tithes Bill, a Railway Rates Bill, and one for preventing the fraudulent use of merchandise marks. Clearly, the influence of Lord Randolph Churchill was still powerful, for, despite his resignation, Government promised the reforms of the Dartford speech, and others to boot. As for foreign policy, an allusion was made to the success of the British operations in Upper Burma, to the progress of tranquillity in Egypt, "though the task undertaken by the Government is not yet accomplished." As for Bulgaria, "while deploring the events which compelled Prince Alexander to retire from the Government of the Principality," Great Britain was not going to interfere in the election of his successor until a stage was reached at which her assent was required under the Treaty of Berlin.

Many days were to pass before the legislative machine got into working order. In both Houses there were naturally allusions to the death of Lord Iddesleigh, to whom Lord Salisbury paid the high compliment of saying that "when perplexity or danger existed, no man was ever freer from any counsel of fear;" while Mr. Gladstone worthily dwelt on his temper and courtesy, which were based upon a gentleness which was at the very foundation of his character. "He seemed to be a man incapable of resenting injury; a man in whom it was the fixed habit of his life to put himself wholly out of view, when he had before him what he deemed to be the attainment of great public objects." In the House of Lords the Government speakers challenged the Opposition to make some definite declaration on the Plan of Campaign, but failed to extract any fixed expression of opinion either from Lord Granville or Lord Spencer, on the plea that Mr. Dillon and his friends were yet awaiting their trial. The Address was passed after a few allusions to foreign politics, in the course of which Lord Salisbury denied emphatically that Government were engaged in an attempt to bring about the restoration of Prince Alexander of Bulgaria; on the contrary, they recognised that his re-election was not within practical politics. In the House of Commons, on the other hand, the debate covered many weary nights, after Lord R. Churchill had explained his resignation on the ground of departmental incompetency and financial extravagance, which his colleagues would not

allow him to curtail. Mr. W. H. Smith briefly replied that retrenchment was undoubtedly good, but the expenditure on the fortification of commercial ports and coaling stations was also undoubtedly necessary. In a subsequent explanation Lord Randolph sneered at Lord Salisbury as "a master of tactics," who had contrived to make his resignation depend on a refusal to defend the coaling stations, and girded at the Conservative

had ever attempted to exercise a dispensing power, or that a landlord enforcing his rights had ever been refused police protection. He pointed out the unsoundness of the analogy between Sir R. Buller's policy and the Plan of Campaign, on the ground that the former was persuasive, the latter compulsory; and concluded with a significant hint that "the criminal law as it existed was, in their judgment, insufficient to cope with the Plan



THE CONSTITUTIONAL CLUB, LONDON.

and Liberal Unionist alliance, which he uncere-
moniously termed a "confab." "I frankly admit,"
said he, "that I regarded the Liberal Unionists as
a useful kind of crutch, and that I looked forward
to the time—no distant time—when the Tory party
would be able to walk alone." Meanwhile, Mr.
Gladstone had expressed a guarded opinion on the
Plan of Campaign, that it was due to the policy of
Government and the rejection of Mr. Parnell's
proposals in the previous autumn, and had com-
mented unfavourably upon Lord Salisbury's holding
the offices of Premier and Foreign Secretary.
The most important contribution to the first night's
debate was Sir M. Hicks-Beach's denial that he

of Campaign." It would be mere waste of words
to describe the course of the debate, which was
prolonged by the action of the Opposition over
seventeen nights. At one point Mr. Parnell gave
it vitality by interposing with an amendment,
which contended that the crisis in Irish affairs
should be met, not by a reform of criminal pro-
cedure, but by such abatement of rents as was
called for by the state of prices of agricultural
and pastoral produce. His speech was a power-
ful indictment of Government for jury-packing,
change of venue, and invocation of the inherent
jurisdiction of the Queen's Bench, instead of re-
sorting to the ordinary expedient of trial by jury.

He carefully abstained from any direct approval of the Plan of Campaign, for which he was not responsible, but hinted that Government winked at the device, until jealousy of its success prompted its suppression. Finally, he appealed to Government to substitute, even at the eleventh hour, ameliorative measures for processes of pressure, which demoralised the Irish tenantry more than all the criminal agitators from New York to San Francisco. Mr. Morley supported the amendment, because it asserted that Home Rule was the only true remedy. Lord Hartington condemned discussion on the Plan and Home Rule as irrelevant, and pointed out that Mr. Parnell's Eviction Bill had been rejected because it was unnecessary. This conclusion he considered proved by the subsequent action of Irish landlords as a whole, and by the fact that cases such as that of Glenbeigh would have been unaffected by the Bill. The debate closed with a duel between Sir William Harcourt and Sir M. Hicks-Beach, in which the former compared the Plan to Hampden's illegality and the proceedings in Boston Harbour with the tea; while the latter rejoined that the former Home Secretary had taken so complete a bath of Parnellite juice that he had not only thoroughly changed his principles but even forgotten those that he formerly held. Mr. Parnell's amendment was rejected by 352 to 246, and the Address was voted by 283 to 70.

In one respect Government were fortunate, namely, that the prolonged conversations on the Address gave them a pretext for introducing the question of procedure. They had numerous precedents to guide them, subsequent to Mr. Gladstone's attempted reform of 1882, also the report of Lord Hartington's Committee. Still it was not forgotten that the closure had been in past years the object of the Conservative party's keen dislike. Accordingly Lord Salisbury felt it advisable to hold a meeting of his followers at the Foreign Office to discuss the state of business. It was attended by seventy peers, and 214 Members of the House of Commons. The Prime Minister remarked that Government had been compelled to take up the question of procedure by sheer necessity, and he strongly urged the party's support. Mr. Smith explained that the plan would be carefully safeguarded by the proviso, that the motion should not be made by a Member of the House, without the previous consent of the Speaker. On one point all were agreed, that the responsibility of closing the debate could not be left, as under Mr. Gladstone's rule, to the Speaker. Mr. Smith's

proposal was that the question could be put without amendment or debate on the initiative of any Member, "provided always that it shall appear by the numbers declared from the Chair that such motion was supported by more than 200 Members, or was opposed by less than 40 Members, and supported by more than 100 Members." Other rules related to motions of adjournment, divisions by show of hands and so forth; but the first occupied thirteen nights, and it alone was adopted. A summary of the debates is not needed, though Mr. Gladstone executed a somewhat remarkable change of front, when during the discussion on the general scope of the new rules, he attached more importance to "devolution" than the closure. All amendments were rejected, and the rule passed with an addition proposed by Mr. Smith, out of deference to the Opposition—"Provided always that this rule shall be put in force only when the Speaker or Chairman of Ways and Means is in the chair." The weapon was forged by the 18th of March, and Government were soon employed in putting it to effective use.

Supply occupied the time of the Commons until Easter, the Lords, meanwhile, passing several useful measures, which eventually failed to become law owing to the congestion at the end of the Session. As an interlude came Mr. George Howell's charges of corruption against the City of London for subsidising a Ratepayers' Defence Association, which held bogus meetings against the Government of London Bill, and hired "chuckers-out" to break up the rival meetings of the Municipal Reform League. The matter was referred to a Committee, presided over by Lord Hartington, which decided that the Corporation was not guilty of malversation, inasmuch as it had a right to expend its money at will; nevertheless Mr. Howell was substantiated to the extent that the City was guilty of extravagance, made no attempt to control its agents, and that the system of subsidising so-called political associations was calculated to mislead Parliament by the appearance of an active and organised public opinion which had no existence. "The improper use," continued the report, "of a portion of the funds derived from the City's estate, under the authority of a special committee of the Corporation has been proved." Some of the evidence adduced by Mr. Howell had been very funny. Thus at a meeting held at Battersea "to express the opinion of the working-classes," committee men were paid twelve pounds, stewards thirty shillings, organisers and speakers sixteen pounds, and attendants hired

to compose the meeting. At Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, Lord George Hamilton had addressed a gathering of a hundred and thirty-two persons, all of whom were paid. Meetings held in support of the Bill were broken up: for instance at the Bridge House Hotel, the platform was stormed at the cost of £26; at the Kensington Town Hall, hostile resolutions and speakers and voters upon them were provided at the cost of £82.

The Estimates contained no special features beyond a laudable desire for economy, which induced Lord Randolph Churchill to declare, by a somewhat obscure process of arithmetic, that his resignation had saved the nation some £1,400,000. At the same time, though numerous explanations were given concerning the defective cutlasses and bending bayonets, served out to the soldiers and marines in the Soudan, they were of a somewhat non-explanatory character. Mr. Goschen's Budget showed a comfortable surplus of £2,975,000, which the Chancellor used to take a penny off the income-tax, to reduce the tobacco duty from 3s. 6d. to 3s. 2d., to surrender £280,000 in aid of local taxation in England and Scotland, and £50,000 in aid of arterial drainage in Ireland. Regrets were made that there were no proposals for amending the currency—this was before the issue of a Jubilee coinage of peculiar ugliness and inefficiency—while Mr. Gladstone made some weighty objections to the principle of local subventions, chiefly on the ground of their extravagance. Sir William Harcourt also criticised Mr. Goschen's proposal for sacrificing Sir Stafford Northcote's sinking fund. By this contrivance the money devoted to the redemption of the debt went on increasing every year, because the interest saved on the amount paid off was devoted to augment the amount released in the following year. It was a valuable piece of financial ingenuity, and its abandonment was criticised unfavourably in many quarters, especially as Mr. Goschen would, in any circumstances, have preserved a surplus.

It was not until close upon Easter that Mr. Smith, who, although no orator, had developed quite unexpected qualities as leader of the House, moved that the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Bill should take precedence over other business. In the meantime the *Times* newspaper had been vigorously denouncing the mild administration of the law by Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Sir Redvers Buller, and urging the abandonment of the "dispensing power" together with a recourse to the strong and steady government which was

Lord Salisbury's remedy for Irish evils. These attacks were followed up by the publication of a series of remarkable articles entitled "Parnellism and Crime," which were in the end to involve Government in many grave complications. Meanwhile, there had been considerable discontent among the Conservative rank and file at the slow progress of events. Lord Salisbury in consequence called a meeting at the Foreign Office on the 21st of February, at which he announced Sir M. Hicks-Beach's resignation and Mr. Balfour's appointment. He then turned to the question of the hour, and said that present politics were summarised in the name of Ireland. "The Irish question, as we look at it now, seems to us like an evil dream. It is one of those nightmares where a danger or a horror presses upon you, which you feel that you ought to be able to dissipate but something fetters your limbs and paralyses your energies, and you are unable to make the necessary movement by which the danger or the horror can be dissipated. A stern duty," he proceeded, "is imposed upon those men, whoever they are, who have to rule in the times that are before us, and from that duty they will not escape, under pain of betraying the most sacred trust that can be reposed in them." There was considerable doubt how this intimation would be received by the Liberal Unionists; it was removed by a speech of Mr. Chamberlain's at Birmingham on the 12th of March. He declared that Government proposed, as he understood it, to renew those clauses of the Crimes Act for the suppression of outrages and intimidation, which Mr. Gladstone had declared to be necessary in 1885. "I have no sympathy," he continued, "with outrage and intimidation. I have no sympathy with scoundrels who shoot old men in the legs, who cut off the hair of young girls and pour pitch on their heads, because they speak to a policeman; who hoot and jeer at the widow of a man that they have assassinated, and have no mercy on her sufferings, and no respect for her sorrow; who even refuse to provide, or to allow to be provided a coffin to contain the murdered remains. I say with these men, at all events, I have no sympathy, and I am perfectly prepared to do anything that will secure to the law the power of punishing them for their infamous offences."

Mr. John Morley met Mr. Smith's motion with an amendment, to the effect that the House declined to set aside the business of the nation in favour of the Crimes Bill, while no effectual security had been taken against the abuse of the

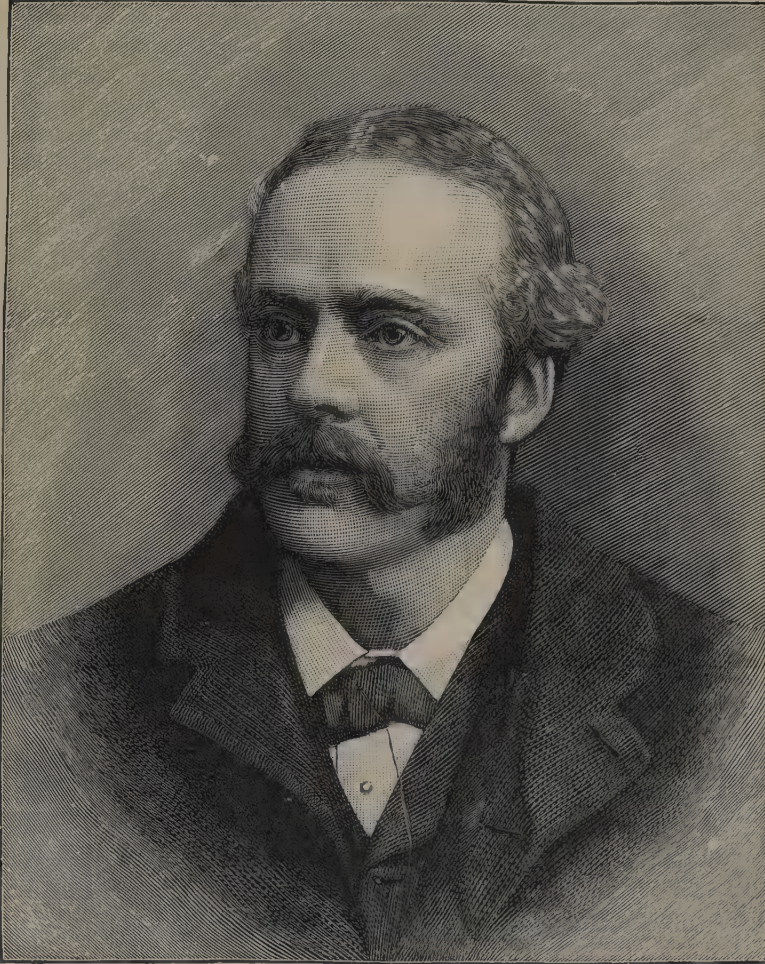
law by the exaction of excessive rents. Four full days the preliminary skirmish lasted, the main point at issue being whether the state of Ireland authorised the introduction of a measure of stringent character, carried, as Mr. Gladstone ominously remarked, by a frequent application of the closure. Mr. Morley also made much use of the report of the Cowper Commission, urging that the Bill would be used, not for putting down sedition, but for the suppression of combinations against those rents which the Government would have to declare excessive and exorbitant. Mr. Balfour pointed out that the Act of 1881 had established contracts for fifteen years, and that it was impossible to break them before the measure had been six years in operation. Government did mean to bring in a measure of temporary relief—not as a solution of the Irish Land question, because that could only be done by a large measure of land purchase, but remedies must be preceded and prepared for by the restoration of order. It was on these conditions that Mr. Chamberlain declared his resolve to support the Bill. The motion was carried by 349 votes to 260, and on March the 28th Mr. Balfour moved for leave to introduce the Bill. The Chief Secretary's speech, though a powerful plea, was somewhat overlaid by facts and quotations. His object was twofold: to prove that the law was not enforced over a large and important part of Ireland; and, secondly, that the vacuum left by the absence of the ordinary law was filled up by law which was not that of the Crown and of Parliament. After saying that 498 persons were under special police protection in Munster, 175 in Connaught, 221 in Leinster, and 23 in Ulster, and that the total cost of this extra constabulary was £55,000 a year, Mr. Balfour proceeded to illustrate the state of affairs from the judges' charges in the west and south-west of Ireland—especially in Mayo, Clare, Limerick, Kerry and Cork. In these counties, said he, the number of agrarian offences since the summer assizes was 775; no clue was obtained in no less than 536, and in 422 the injured persons declined to give information. He then dwelt upon the intimidation of juries, and illustrated his remarks by pertinent quotations from *United Ireland* and the leaders of the National League, who "mixed a policy of terrorising the individual with that of the disruption of the Constitution." As for boycotting, there were on a given day 836 boycotted persons in Ireland, and in consequence of the edicts of the National League against the "land-grabber," the tenant-right clauses of the Act of 1881 were reduced to a

dead-letter. He then proceeded to give a brief account of the provisions of the Bill, which were, first, that in cases where there was a difficulty in getting evidence, judges, as was the custom in Scotland, would be empowered to hold inquiries, even in cases where no one was charged with crime. Then, in certain cases the jury system was to be abolished and two magistrates were to try cases of criminal conspiracy, boycotting, rioting, offences under the Whiteboy Act, assaults on the officers of law, forcible and unlawful imprisonment, or incitements to these offences, with the power of inflicting a *maximum* penalty of six months' imprisonment. Where fair trial could not be had, on the motion of the Attorney-General the venue could be changed in imitation of the Crimes Act of 1882, and both prosecution and defence could ask for a special jury. Sir William Harcourt's Bill of 1882 had proposed to dispense with juries altogether. Mr. Balfour's, however, provided that on the certificates of the Attorney-General of England and Ireland, prisoners charged with certain crimes—namely, murder, attempts to murder, grave crimes of violence, arson, breaking into and firing dwelling-houses—could be brought over to be tried in England. The Bill would only apply to districts proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant, but though limited in space it would be unlimited in time. Under it he might proclaim associations interfering with the administration of the law as illegal, but the proclamation must be laid before Parliament within seven days if sitting, if not sitting, it must be summoned, and an address from either House could nullify the proclamation. "Our Bill," said he, "is a Bill not for putting down agitation, but for enforcing the law; and the law that we wish to enforce is not the law which establishes or which regulates the relations between landlord and tenant; the law which we want to enforce is that which gives to every man in this country and in every other country security for his life and property, the law which prevents your pocket from being picked and your head from being broken. It is the law which enables you to go home with some security that a midnight murderer will not invade your dwelling, possibly shoot you, and drag your wife and daughters out of bed. There are those who talk as if Irishmen were justified in disputing the law because the law comes to them in foreign garb. I see no reason why any local colour should be given to the Ten Commandments."

Here it may be convenient to follow the Crimes Bill through its various stages, and leave out of

consideration for the present the Irish Land Bill, introduced in the Lords by the Earl of Cadogan on March 31st. Mr. Dillon answered Mr. Balfour in a defiant speech, in which he openly rejoiced that he had succeeded in paralysing the law in one respect—namely, in the exaction of unjust rents. Mr. Gladstone, who followed, quoted statistics to

every sacrifice to secure the early passing of the Bill, and similar advice given to his followers by Lord Hartington. This “conspiracy” was rebuked by Mr. Parnell while speaking to his amendment—“That the House resolve itself into a Committee to consider the state of Ireland.” In reply Mr. Balfour urged that the present Bill was far milder than



MR. A. J. BALFOUR.

(From a Photograph by Lafayette, Dublin.)

show that there had been no very large increase of crime, though he admitted that threatening letters had risen in number. He also dwelt upon two features of the Bill—the removal of certain Irish trials to London, and the absence of a fixed date for the duration of the Bill, a feature which made, said he, his blood run cold. So the debate proceeded, accompanied by copious speeches out of doors, the most important being Lord Salisbury's injunction at the Carlton Club to the Conservative M.P.'s that they should make

many of the previous measures for restoring order in Ireland; and, Mr. Smith having moved the closure, the first reading was carried on April 1st amidst a scene of great excitement. The strength of Government was shown in the closure division, in which they had a large majority (361 to 253). No less than seventy Liberal Unionists went into the “Aye” lobby, including Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain. For the present the Ministerialists could count upon their support; indeed, the meeting at Devonshire House had

made the Government safe. There Lord Hartington had declared that the majority of the party had agreed to support the Government Bill, and were ready to help the Conservatives in a useful and effective manner. Mr. Chamberlain had also promised his vote for the first reading, on the understanding that the new powers should not be used for the exaction of unjust rents. Meanwhile, a bye-election had shown that the constituencies were hardly disposed to be equally complacent. For the Ilkeston division of Derbyshire Sir Walter Foster defeated Mr. Leeke by 5,512 votes to 4,180, a considerably increased majority. Thus encouraged, the Opposition began to hold anti-coercion demonstrations in many parts of the country. Mr. John Morley led the way by an important speech delivered to the London Liberal and Radical Union on the 30th of March. He attacked every proposal in the Bill, especially the clause for removing the venue of trials to England. This to an Irish peasant, he said, would be as strange an experience as transportation to Siberia would be to a Russian.

The second reading was carried by 370 votes to 269 on April 18th, but not until numerous "scenes" had marked the discussion of Sir B. Samuelson's amendment for the rejection of the measure, on the ground that it would tend to increase disorder in Ireland and endanger the union between that country and other parts of the Empire. Mr. Healy and Mr. Sexton gave Colonel Saunderson the lie for saying that they had associated knowingly with murderers and traitors, and the charge was withdrawn after the first had been suspended. Mr. Dillon furiously repelled Lord Hartington's quotations from the speeches of Boyton and Sheridan, as published in the *Times'* articles on "Parnellism and Crime," declaring that the famous speech of the former about "bread and lead" was merely a joke, and did not refer to assassination at all. This question was carried to further lengths by Sir Charles Lewis, who had clumsily attempted to force an issue by moving that the *Times'* leading article on Mr. Dillon's explanation constituted a breach of privilege. He first read the chief passages in the article, which accused Mr. Dillon of having deliberately misled the House as to his connection with P. J. Sheridan, "Invincible, dynamiter and assassin," and then caused them to be read by the clerk at the table. Government were evidently annoyed by this imprudent step, and Mr. Smith, on the suggestion of the Speaker, moved the adjournment of the debate, after that Mr. Dillon had cordially

welcomed the motion, and Sir William Harcourt had declared that Government could not shirk the responsibility. The adjournment was carried by 213 votes to 174, and on resumption the Solicitor-General was put up to move an amendment that the House declined to treat the matter as a breach of privilege. Sir Charles Lewis's motion was defeated by 297 votes to 218, and Mr. Gladstone moved a further amendment that a Select Committee should be offered to inquire into the charges made by the *Times*. After two nights' debate, Mr. Gladstone's amendment was rejected by 297 votes to 216, and the Irish Members declined Government's alternative proposal that a prosecution should be instituted by the Attorney-General against the *Times*, and that Mr. Dillon should have the conduct of the proceedings. There can be little doubt that Government were ill-advised to reject Mr. Gladstone's proposal, and Mr. Parnell naturally persisted in the attitude of contemptuous indifference which he had adopted from the first. The famous facsimile letter, purporting to have been written by him on the occasion of the Phoenix Park murders with the sentence—"You can tell him and all others concerned that, though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death, I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts"—was naturally imported into the debate. With marvellous self-control the great strategist contented himself for the moment with a brief and contemptuous denunciation of the epistle as a barefaced forgery. "I never," he said, "had the slightest notion in the world that the life of the late Mr. Forster was in danger, or that any conspiracy was on foot against him or any other official in Ireland or elsewhere. I had no more notion than an unborn child of such a conspiracy as that of the Invincibles, and no one was more astonished than I at the Phoenix Park murders. It was a bolt from the blue; I knew not in what direction to look for that calamity. It is no exaggeration to say that had I been in Phoenix Park that day I would gladly have stood between Lord Frederick Cavendish and the daggers of the assassins—(cries of 'Burke!')—or, for the matter of that, between their daggers and Mr. Burke." Mr. Parnell was equally unmoved by Lord Salisbury's suggestion that he should prosecute the *Times* for libel, and by other attempts to force his hand.

"Parnellism and Crime" in general, and the facsimile letter in particular, had an important influence on the debates both inside and outside

Parliament. Of the first, it is enough to say that Mr. R. T. Reid moved an amendment on going into Committee, to the effect that the House declined to proceed further with a measure for strengthening the Criminal Law against combinations of tenants, until it had before it the full measure for their relief against excessive rents. His amendment was rejected by 341 votes to 240, and then the rate of progress may be judged by the fact, that though the Committee stage was reached by April 29th, the first clause was not disposed of until May 9th. The most important debate was on Sir William Harcourt's motion (rejected by a majority of 62) to add a rider exempting from its operation matters relating to public meetings, the letting of land, or dealings between employers and employed. From this talk people turned to the agitation out of doors, which during the Easter holidays and onwards assumed increasing vigour. A mere enumeration of the various meetings that were convoked during those stormy weeks would occupy too much space; enough that the most important against the Bill was that held in Hyde Park on the Bank Holiday. Its significance was marked by Mr. Gladstone in a letter to the *North Eastern Daily Gazette*, in which he pointed out that a meeting of the working men in London had first given force to the movement for Bulgaria, which brought about the election of 1880. He hoped that the meeting of the following Monday would ring the death-knell of the worst, most insulting, and most causeless Coercion Bill ever submitted to Parliament. Meanwhile Mr. Chamberlain, at Ayr, justified Mr. Balfour's Bill on the ground of the supposed Nationalist complicity with crime, and imported a good deal more acrimony into his speeches than Lord Hartington, who, at Edinburgh, said that some day the Irish question would be settled, and that till then he would do nothing to prevent the reunion of the Liberal party. The Conservative leaders, meanwhile, were jubilant over the revelations of "Parnellism and Crime." Thus Lord R. Churchill, at Nottingham, informed his audience that the truth of its charges might be considered proved, if the Irish leaders refrained from prosecuting the *Times* for libel. Lord Salisbury repeated the same line of argument in rather stronger language at the fourth meeting of the Grand Habitation of the Primrose League, and then proceeded to implicate Mr. Gladstone in the conspiracy. "His trusted friends," said he, "have mixed on terms of comradeship and intimacy with those whose advocacy of assassination is well known,

and the language of himself and his friends, in speaking of the fearful crimes that have been committed in Ireland, has not been above reproach. It has been marked by indifference to, and perhaps even a tolerance of, murder." Mr. Gladstone, on the other hand, maintained in an eloquent speech to the Eighty Club, that the burden of proof lay with those who had launched these outrageous charges. "Unless," he proceeded, "they make these charges with evidence that will bear the test of investigation, and will carry with it, at the very least, the highly rational probability of truth, they are wanton calumniators, and should be shunned as pests to society." Sir William Harcourt, at Shoreditch, adopted these contentions, and endorsed the statements of Lord Spencer and Sir George Trevelyan, that the late Government had never discovered any evidence, either in Ireland or England, to connect the Irish Members with criminal associations.

By the Whitsuntide recess the second clause had barely been passed, and on the resumption the debates became wearisome in the extreme. In fact, more attention was still paid to platform speeches, notably Mr. Gladstone's advocacy of Welsh nationality at Singleton Abbey, together with some rather vague concessions to his opponents on the subject of Home Rule, and his assertion at Cardiff that the "civilised world" was unanimous in favour of his proposals. Upon which Mr. Bright commented in a letter to a correspondent that, "Ulster may be a nationality differing from the rest of Ireland, at least as much as Wales differs from England, but Wales is treated to a flattery, which, if not insincere, seems to me childish, and Ulster is forgotten in the discussion of the Irish question. . . . Mr. Gladstone conceals the fact that there are more loyal men and women in Ulster than the whole population of the men and women in Wales." A correspondence ensued between the two statesmen, in which Mr. Bright admitted that he was wrong in saying that Mr. Gladstone spoke as if there was no province of Ulster, but characterised the ex-Premier's proposals as "unsatisfactory." As for the Crimes Bill, Mr. Smith, on June 10th, moved that if the Bill were not reported by 10 p.m. on the 17th, he should propose that the Chairman should put the remaining clauses without debate. The Bill, he remarked, had already occupied thirty-five working days of Parliament, and the advice of Mr. Parnell and Sir William Harcourt to confine discussion to vital amendments had been neglected by their followers

Mr. Gladstone said that if this Bill had occupied thirty-five days the Irish Land Bill of 1881 had occupied fifty-eight days. He suggested that the best method of securing the passage of the Bill was to make it temporary instead of permanent, and to eliminate the clauses against combination. Sir William Harcourt, who was in an ironical vein, wanted to know how the Conservatives would like to see Home Rule or the Disestablishment of the Church carried by the same process. The motion was carried by 245 votes to 93, and, after an evening had been devoted to a discussion on the Bodyke evictions, the appointed day found the House still busy with Clause 6. At ten o'clock the Chairman called on Sir Charles Russell, who happened to be speaking, to resume his seat, and moved that the clause be added to the Bill. The Irish Members filed out of the House without waiting for the division, and, after the clause had been carried by 332 votes to 163, were followed by the Opposition. The remaining clauses passed without a division in the space of two minutes, and the Bill was reported to the House.

On the report stage an unsuccessful attempt was made by Mr. E. Robertson to secure that the Act might be repealed at any time by an Order in Council, made on an address from either House of Parliament. Mr. Morley also failed to limit the duration of the Bill to three years, though supported by Mr. Gladstone in a powerful speech, by 180 to 119. Then followed some more or less irrelevant amendments, moved by Mr. Chance and Mr. Healy, and on the 30th of June Mr. Smith having moved, according to promise, that the report stage should conclude by July 4th, Parnellites and Liberals, being defeated by 220 votes to 120, quitted the House. The amendments standing in their names were negatived without divisions, and Mr. Balfour made one or two modifications, the most important being the abandonment of the clause changing the venue of trials to England. The debate on the third reading began on July 7th, and was saved from flatness by the speeches of Mr. Gladstone, Colonel Saunderson, and Mr. Balfour. The ex-Premier moved the rejection of the measure in an eloquent speech, of which the purport was that the Bill was an "alternative to Home Rule," and exceeded in severity all previous experiences of the kind. Its aim was, said he, not the suppression of crime, but a blow at the freedom of political associations. Mr. Balfour's reply urged that Mr. Gladstone had forgotten the provisions of his own Coercion Acts. He did not blame Mr. Gladstone for altering his policy,

but he did complain that the whole system of morality under which people lived was to be changed also, and "what was wrong, immoral, and illegal in 1882 was to become legal, moral, and right, and to be sedulously and religiously preserved by the Parliament of the United Kingdom." The Bill was read a third time by 349 votes to 262, and in the House of Lords its career was unexpectedly brief, as the Liberal peers hardly raised a debate. After months of weary and perfectly fruitless discussion, so far as the amendment of the Bill was concerned, it became law on July 18th.

Lord Cadogan's Land Bill, which was introduced in the House of Lords on March the 31st, was based on the report of the Commission, of which Lord Cowper was President, and the other members the Earl of Milltown, Sir James Caird, Mr. Nelligan and Mr. Thomas Knipe. They had held sixty sittings during the previous autumn and winter, and examined 305 witnesses of all classes connected with agriculture in Ireland. In brief, their conclusions amounted to this: (1) that the operation of the Land Act of 1881 had been affected by combinations of tenants; (2) that boycotting had prevailed to a great extent; (3) that the fall in the prices of Irish produce had been considerable. Their recommendations were: (1) that the revision of judicial rents should be fixed at a period not of fifteen years, but of five; (2) that this provision should be applied to tenants whose rents had been fixed prior to 1886; (3) that it should be fixed with regard to the price of produce; (4) that the middlemen could make surrender of their interests; (5) that in cases of eviction for non-payment of rent, the period of redemption should run from the date of the verdict.

They urged also that charges on estates of which the value had become reduced should be lowered, and that Crown rents or tithe rent charges should be redeemable or apportionable. They also recommended that a landlord should not be allowed to bring an action for arrears of rent of more than two years' standing. Upon the fall in prices they spoke most explicitly, basing their statement on a return made by the Registrar-General of the value and quantity of live stock and crops, the produce and the average prices of each year, from 1881 to 1886. The average fall in the last two years, as compared with the average of the four preceding years, in the values of the agricultural capital of the occupiers of land in Ireland, amounted to $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., a loss which went far to explain the present depressed condition of Irish

agricultural property. "The sudden fall in prices during the past two years," added the report, "has been intensified in its effect by the gradual deterioration that had been going on in the quality and produce of the soil, both tillage and grass, during a series of years of low temperature and much rain, especially in 1879, the worst year of the century. During this period much of the

with their circumstances. All classes are thus suffering from the defective produce of the soil over a period of years, a state of things much aggravated by the fall in prices in the last two."

Some of the evidence elicited by the Commissioners was remarkably illustrative of the "dispensing system" exercised by Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Sir Redvers Buller. Thus Captain Hamilton,



THE MEMBERS' LOBBY, HOUSE OF COMMONS.

tenant's capital in Ireland, as in other parts of the United Kingdom, has disappeared. The cost of cultivation, compared with that of an earlier period, has also greatly increased; the land has, in consequence, been much drawn upon, and reduced in condition by the increasing exigencies of the tenants, and has thereby brought poorer crops and consequent scarcity of money to meet engagements, both to landlords and to other creditors. The withdrawal of the credit to the farmers by the banks and other lenders of money, which began after 1879 (although to some extent to be attributed to the difficulty of collecting debts, owing to the organisation of the National League), is strong evidence of the diminishing means of the Irish farmers, given by persons most closely acquainted

of the Landlords' Defence Association, complained that at nearly every eviction the divisional magistrate and resident magistrate, and very often the district inspectors, all bore down upon the landlord's representative, and, as it were, put themselves on the side of the tenant. He even considered that this mediation was the cause of all the trouble at evictions. Sir Redvers Buller, on the other hand, in the course of some very striking evidence, said that, in his opinion there should be a discretion in giving decrees, and some means of modifying and redressing the grievance of rent being still higher than the people could pay. Peace, he considered, would never return until a legal equivalent was created, that would supply the want of freedom of contract existing

between landlord and tenant. He was asked if there was any sympathy between the people and the League, and he answered, "Yes; I think so; they pay to it. I think there is sympathy, because they think it has been their salvation!" He proceeded to state as the opinion of the bulk of the tenants in the West of Ireland, that rents had been reduced and evictions had been stayed by the direct action of the League. They believed, whether rightly or wrongly, that nobody did anything for the tenants until the League was established, and when the landlords could not let their farms, they were forced to consider the question of rent. There were in the district of Killarney 1,680 acres of derelict farms from which the tenants had been evicted and allowed to return as caretakers; Sir Redvers owned that it was impossible to exact legal obligations, and said that there was not much law in that part of Ireland. What little there was, however, he considered to be on the side of the rich.

As for the Bill founded on this report, Lord Cadogan said that it was not complete in itself, but would have to be supplemented by a measure of land purchase, which, by assisting tenants in buying their holdings, would aim at the abolition of the dual ownership created by the Act of 1881. With the recommendation of the Commission for the reduction of the period for the revision of judicial rents Government were unable to agree. They regarded the period of fifteen years as a final settlement, with which it would be inexpedient to meddle, and he quoted Lord Milltown's opinion to that effect, on the feeble ground that high prices were often concurrent with bad years, and that a revision would diminish the value of the tenant right. He proposed, however, (1) to admit all leaseholders to the benefits of judicial revision of rent; (2) to allow all middlemen (*i.e.* leaseholders who had sublet their lands) to throw up their leases, if the courts had reduced the rents of their tenants; (3) to allow a landlord who had obtained judgment of eviction, to re-admit his tenant as caretaker. Besides, a landlord who could not get his rent was exempted from payment of rates, and the county courts were invested with powers to exercise a bankruptcy jurisdiction in respect of tenants unable to meet their engagements. Several business-like debates took place in the Lords, Lord Spencer objecting especially to the bankruptcy clauses, and to the absence of any provision for the abatement of judicial rents which had become excessive, but the Bill passed without any amendment that could be considered as vital.

The second reading was moved by Mr. Balfour in the Commons on July 11th. The debate was not of much moment, and the Chief Secretary's speech was in principle a repetition of Lord Cadogan's. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman moved an amendment advocating the revision of judicial rents so as to meet the fall in agricultural values, but Mr. Chamberlain supported the Government to the extent that no case was made out for a general revision of judicial rents all round, though he wished the inclusion of all leaseholders, the admission to the court of tenants whose landlords refused abatements, and the withdrawal of the bankruptcy clauses. So did Lord Randolph Churchill, who stigmatised those clauses as "an attempt to build up a national credit on a foundation of national insolvency;" wished the whole scope of the Bill to be widened, and made the ingenious suggestion that mortgages and rent-charges should be reduced in proportion to the reductions of rent. Of the Irish Members, Mr. Dillon regarded the Bill with contempt, but Mr. Parnell advised its acceptance, and, the amendment being withdrawn, it was read a second time without a division. The alliance between Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Randolph Churchill soon bore important fruit. A meeting of the Liberal Unionists was held at Devonshire House, and a series of amendments drawn up in accordance with Mr. Chamberlain's suggestions, which Lord Hartington pressed the Government to accept. At first the Cabinet was for no surrender, and Mr. Goschen at the Alexandra Palace declared that a general revision of judicial rents was out of the question. The Liberal Unionists, however, were masters of the situation, and Government had to give way with the best grace they could muster. Lord Salisbury accordingly announced at a meeting of his followers at the Carlton Club on July 29th that, in compliance with the wishes of the Liberal Unionists, considerable alterations would be made in the Land Bill. These were the inclusion in the Bill of all leaseholders, except perpetuity leaseholders; the abandonment of the bankruptcy clauses; the extension of the equity clauses; the restraint of all creditors, landlords included, from the use of the action of *fieri facias* against the tenant-right and the agricultural produce; and the application by the Land Court of a reduction to judicial rents, paid before 1886, calculated on a sliding scale regulated by cost of produce, the reduction to vary with each district and each year, and to extend only for three years until a Purchase Bill could be passed. Several of

the politicians present, notably Mr. Chaplin, showed a disposition to revolt against these concessions, but they yielded to Sir John Mowbray's argument that the Union must be maintained at all costs. The Bill, thus amended, was in closer conformity with the recommendations of the Cowper Commission. Government, however, were bitterly taunted for their change of front by Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Labouchere, while Mr. Parnell was coldly patronising. When the House of Lords came to consider the Commons' amendments, several were struck out, including one admitting tenants of accommodation-land near towns with a population of less than 2,000 to the benefits of the Act of 1881. Also the adjustment of judicial rents was made to vary with the price of agricultural produce. These limitations were vigorously opposed by Mr. T. W. Russell—who subsequently threatened to secede from the Liberal Unionists—and Mr. Parnell; nevertheless, after a powerful speech by Mr. Balfour, the Upper House was supported by 206 votes to 164, and after other alterations, which were rather verbal than material, had been also accepted, the Bill became law.

Decidedly this was an Irish session, and of the large programme advanced in the Queen's Speech very few items were destined to find place in the Statute Book. Among the measures that happily escaped destruction were a useful, though unpretentious, Allotments Act, a Trade Marks Act, and several Scots Acts. The first was introduced very late in the Session by Mr. Ritchie, in consequence, so the Opposition asserted, of Mr. Halley Stewart's victory at a bye-election for the Spalding division of Lincolnshire. Its purport was that the sanitary authority for any district, whether the Town Council, Local Board, or Board of Guardians, was empowered to buy or rent land for the purpose of allotments. A memorial from six ratepayers and electors would suffice to set the Bill in motion, but compulsory powers of purchase, in the event of land not being obtainable at a reasonable price, were only to be put in force after a somewhat circuitous process. The sanitary authority had to apply to the Court of Quarter Sessions for a Provisional Order to empower the local authority to put in force the Land Purchase Act of 1845, and to promote a Bill in Parliament for the bestowal of compulsory powers. Mr. Cobb attempted to substitute for the Provisional Order a certificate from the Local Government Board, but was defeated by 144 votes to 68, and Mr. Channing failed to carry two amendments—one providing that land should only be let or sold at a

fair price; the other that allotments should be more than a single acre. A certain number of allotments were purchased under the Act throughout the country, but the Opposition urged that it was largely inoperative owing to the weakness of the compulsory clauses. On the other hand, there was some doubt if much desire for allotments existed, except in the neighbourhood of the large towns.

Of somewhat more importance was the Coal Mines Regulation Bill, which, varied by "baitings" of the Irish Parliamentary Under Secretary, Colonel King-Harman, occupied many sittings towards the end of the Session. The measure, which had in view the control of female and juvenile labour, was entrusted to the Home Secretary, Mr. Matthews, who proved both conciliatory and thorough. Eventually the age at which girls and boys could be employed was fixed, on the advice of Mr. Burt, at twelve, though Mr. Mundella was anxious that no girls under sixteen should go down the mines. There was considerable difference of opinion as to the "pit-brow women." Mr. Bradlaugh, true to his individualistic principles, protested against the growing tendency of Parliament to interfere with private affairs, and the Home Secretary, having received a deputation of those ladies, said that there was no case for their exclusion from work.

The skill with which Mr. Matthews had piloted proposals bristling with contentious matter, somewhat atoned for his mismanagement of the case of Miss Cass. The girl, a milliner's assistant, was arrested in Regent Street on a charge of solicitation, and though the evidence was of the most doubtful character, the magistrate, Mr. Newton, dismissed her with a caution. At first Mr. Matthews refused to grant an inquiry, and it was not until Government had been beaten in a division that Sir Charles Warren investigated the conduct of the peccant constable Endacott. Eventually Endacott was tried for perjury at the Old Bailey, but was acquitted on the ground that his statements, though mistaken, did not amount to a false oath. On the other hand, Mr. Matthews gained considerable credit for standing to his guns in the case of Lipski, a Polish Jew, convicted of murder on circumstantial evidence. A reprieve was granted pending the production of fresh evidence, and meanwhile the *Pall Mall Gazette* made wild attempts to bring popular pressure to bear upon the Home Secretary. Thus in an article entitled "A Legal Murder" occurred the sentences—"In the case of Lipski [as contrasted with that of Miss Cass] all will be safe. Dead men tell no

tales, and the ghosts of the legally murdered never haunt the corridors of the Home Office." No apology was made by the editor when Lipski, finding all hope at an end, made a voluntary confession of guilt, and was hanged on August the 21st.

The close of the weary Session (September 16th) left parties fairly evenly balanced in public opinion. The Opposition had gained considerably at the bye-elections, commencing with several seats in the spring, and followed by the victories of Mr. Halley Stewart for the Spalding Division of Lincolnshire, Mr. Ballantine's at Coventry, and that of Sir George Trevelyan, who had now made his peace with Mr. Gladstone, over Mr. Evelyn Ashley in the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow. On the other hand the Crimes Act had produced no division between the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists, nor drawn the latter as a body nearer

to Mr. Gladstone. Indeed the old sections of the Liberal party were drifting farther and farther apart. Mr. Chamberlain at one time cherished a hope that the bulk of the party would return to the fold, "since it was only held together by the temporary and exceptional influence of a great personality." At another he expressed his reluctant conclusion that the cleavage was irreparable. And Lord Hartington, speaking at Manchester, confessed that new differences had arisen which had undoubtedly increased the difficulty of immediate reconciliation or reunion. Mr. Gladstone's overtures at Singleton Abbey passed unnoticed, and indeed they were hardly remarkable for definiteness. Government were further strengthened by the courteous patience of Mr. Smith as leader of the House, and by the unexpected fire and resource displayed by Mr. Balfour.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Preparations for the Jubilee—The Colonial Delegates at Windsor—Opening of the People's Palace—The Jubilee Day—The Guards of Honour—The Royal Processions—The Queen and her Escort—Inside the Abbey—Arrival of the Queen—The Service—The Illuminations and Beacon Fires—The Celebration Abroad—The Children's Jubilee Festival—The Women's Jubilee Offering—The Queen's Letter to the Nation—The Volunteer Review—The Founding of the Imperial Institute—The Aldershot Review—The Naval Review—The Manœuvres—The Welsh Anti-Tithe Agitation—The Scottish Crofters—Report of the Commission—The Crimes Act in Force—The National League Proclaimed—Mr. Gladstone's Motion—The Mitchelstown Disaster—Finding of the Jury—Mr. O'Brien in Tullamore—The Murder of Wheelahan—"Remember Mitchelstown"—Lord Hartington's Comments—Mr. Gladstone and Colonel Dopping—Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, Mr. T. D. Sullivan, and Mr. E. Harrington—Other Imprisonments—Unionist Speakers in Ireland—Revival of Fenianism—Oratory of the Recess—Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury—Mr. Balfour on Sir G. Trevelyan—Mr. Gladstone at Dover—The Unemployed again—The Lyons Incident—"Bloody Sunday"—Mr. Gladstone's Letter—Collapse of the Movement—Obituary of the Year.

POLITICS were completely at discount during the summer of 1887, partly from their dreariness, but chiefly because the nation was wholly given over to the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee. Long before the day appointed for the Thanksgiving Service, the 21st of June, the influx into London of the representatives of the crowned heads of Europe, and of the British colonies and dependencies had begun, and royal and private hospitality was taxed to the uttermost. By a happy inspiration Mr. Stanhope, the Secretary for the Colonies, had summoned a conference of the representatives of Greater Britain (to the proceedings of which allusion is made elsewhere), and it was their lot to assist in the first ceremonial connected with the

Empire's festival. On the 4th of May they were presented to the Queen at Windsor Castle, when an address was read by Sir John Thorburn, the Premier of England's oldest offshoot, Newfoundland. The paper set forth the hearty congratulations of the colonial delegates, and assurances of the continued loyalty and devotion of the colonial subjects of the Crown, and proceeded as follows:—

"Your Majesty has witnessed the number of your colonial subjects of European descent increase from under 2,000,000 to 9,000,000, and of Asiatic race in your Indian Empire from 96,000,000 to 254,000,000, and of other people in your colonies and dependencies from 2,000,000 to 7,000,000. The area now governed by your



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THE QUEEN'S JUBILEE PROCESSION ON THE WAY TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY, JUNE 21, 1887.

FROM THE PAINTING BY R. DUDLEY, FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN THE POSSESSION OF MRS. F. E. COLMAN, OF NOEL PARK, EPSOM.

Majesty in India is 1,380,000 square miles and in colonies 7,000,000 square miles. The increase of trade, of shipping, and of revenue has been in proportion to that of population; and no one in your wide dominions is subject to any other sway than that of even and impartial law." In reply the Queen, after dwelling on her satisfaction at the loyal and dutiful address, said, "I have discovered with the liveliest interest the steady

of the Belgians. The Princess Louise, two days afterwards, opened the Liverpool Jubilee Exhibition, and banquets and balls in honour of the occasion, at which royalty was present, were the order of the day. On the 22nd the Speaker, and two of his predecessors, Viscounts Eversley and Hampden, and about 450 Members of the Commons attended in state a special service at St. Margaret's, Westminster, where a sermon was preached by the



QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE: ESCORT OF PRINCES IN THE ROYAL PROCESSION. (See p. 154.)

advance of my colonies in wealth, population and good government. This has been a constant and increasing source of gratification to me during the fifty years on the completion of which you now offer me congratulations; and nothing can give me greater pride and pleasure than to know that the loyalty and affection of my subjects in distant lands have developed along with their prosperity and success."

Then the royal ceremonies became numerous indeed; on the 14th of May the Queen opened the People's Palace in the Mile End Road, and both on going and returning was received with striking demonstrations of loyalty. The foundation stone of the Library was subsequently laid by the King

Bishop of Ripon, for which that divine subsequently received the thanks of the House. These observances naturally paled before that of June the 21st, upon which day the sun rose gloriously. At an early hour, nay, in some spots, overnight, the route was lined by deep masses of people, whose behaviour was orderly in the extreme, and who bore without complaint the almost oppressive heat. Every house in the principal streets was decked with flags and flowers: triumphal arches had sprung up at every street corner; and the tiers of platforms erected at each available position caused the leading thoroughfares to assume the appearance of vast grand stands filled with legions of happy faces. From beginning to end the general

scene was indescribably imposing and bright. About 9 a.m. the lines of military and Volunteers with mounted police in the rear, took up their positions along the route selected for the progress to Westminster Abbey, which, starting from Buckingham Palace, traversed Constitution Hill, Piccadilly, Waterloo Place, Cockspur Street, Trafalgar Square, Northumberland Avenue and Parliament Square. The first two guards of honour were formed by the Grenadiers and the popular bluejackets; while of the remaining bodies the most applauded, perhaps, were the gentlemen cadets from Woolwich and Sandhurst. At 10 o'clock the Indian chiefs and the deputation from the Indian princes started from Hyde Park Corner, and drove down in eleven carriages, the last of which was occupied by the dignified person of the Maharajah Holkar, all ablaze with diamonds. At 11 o'clock the first of the royal processions set out from the Palace amidst a fanfare of trumpets, and drove rapidly to the Abbey followed by the others in quick succession. Whenever they were recognised, the foreign Sovereigns were warmly received, particularly the King of Denmark and the King of the Belgians. The principal procession did not set forth until half-past eleven, when the advanced party of the First Life Guards emerged from the gates, followed by the headquarters staff of the Commander-in-Chief. Then came the carriages of the suite, then more Life Guards, and then in open barouches the royal princesses, of whom the Princess Beatrice, the Princess Louise, and the daughters of the Prince of Wales were warmly greeted. But the full force of cheering was, of course, reserved for the Queen, who was seated with her eldest daughter the Princess Imperial of Germany, and the Princess of Wales. Her Majesty, who was in excellent health, was greatly touched by the outbursts of loyalty and personal devotion all along the line of march. Accompanying her Majesty came a brilliant cavalcade of horsemen composed of the Queen's sons, sons-in-law, grandsons and grandsons-in-law. The three royal brothers, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh and the Duke of Connaught, who rode abreast, were heartily greeted, while towering above his neighbours moved the stately form of the Prince Imperial of Germany, clad in the white uniform and silver helmet of an officer of Cuirassiers, but already, though but few among the vast multitude had even an inkling of the coming misfortune, doomed to a speedy and painful death. A detachment of Indian cavalry brought up the rear, and the picturesque uniforms

and soldierly bearing of these sons of the East were among the most striking features of a pageant unequalled by any of the splendid celebrations of Tudor or Stuart times.

Meanwhile the venerable interior of the Abbey was filled by the Empire's most illustrious sons, whether distinguished in statecraft or war, in law or divinity, in letters, art, or science. By half-past ten the nave was packed with well-known faces, and by eleven the upper portion of the Abbey began to be occupied by Ministers of State, Foreign Ambassadors, who had a gallery to themselves, and Members of the Upper House. After some of the junior members of the royal family had entered almost unobserved, came the resplendent group of Indian princes, the dusky Queen of Hawaii, the Duke and Duchess of Teck and their family. After this the Imperial, Royal, Serene and Grand-Ducal Highnesses arrived thick and fast, and their uniforms and dresses added agreeable colour to the scene. At length, shortly before half-past twelve the Queen alighted at the Abbey and her escort dismounted. With commendable rapidity the procession was formed and entered the nave, consisting first of the clergy, then the grooms-in-waiting, next the royal princes in threes as before, but in inverse order of precedence, and then the Queen, escorted in courtly obeisance by the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Steward. After her Majesty came the processions of Royal and Imperial princesses. Arrived at the royal dais the groups of princes and princesses disposed themselves facing the altar, to the right and left of the Queen, who was seated opposite the coronation chair, while the royal personages not of her immediate family were placed within the sacrum. The service was brief, consisting of versicles, prayers and thanksgivings varied by special music, some of which, notably the *Te Deum*, had been selected by the Queen from the compositions of the Prince Consort. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury, who officiated with the Dean of Westminster and the Bishop of London, pronounced three special prayers, one of which yielded humble thanks to Almighty God for "the abundance of dominion wherewith He had exalted and enlarged the Queen's Empire, and for the love of her in which He had knit together the hearts of many nations;" and prayer was rendered for "the swift increase of knowledge with power for the spreading of truth and faith in her times and gifts above all that could be asked or thought." The anthem was specially composed for the occasion by Dr. Bridge, the organist of the Abbey.

The words were, "Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee to set thee on His throne, to be king for the Lord thy God: because thy God loved Israel, therefore made he thee King to do judgment and justice." By a happy inspiration the National Anthem played a conspicuous part in the musical design. The Queen was visibly affected during the service, and at the blessing attempted to kneel, but owing to the distance of the *prie-dieu* continued sitting with bowed head. At the close of the service came a touching scene when the members of the royal family advanced one by one and did homage to Her Majesty. To each of the Princes she offered her cheek to kiss and they, according to custom, kissed her hand, but the greeting, twice renewed, between the Queen and her eldest daughter was of no ordinary kind, and the emotion which both displayed was fully appreciated by the vast audience. Then with an obeisance to the foreign royalties, which was returned, the Queen and the brilliant throng slowly left the Abbey.

The return through Whitehall, Pall Mall, St. James's Street and Piccadilly was the occasion for demonstrations of loyalty quite as remarkable as those of the going-forth, and when darkness fell the whole of London was a blaze of illuminations. Until a very late hour of the night the vast multitudes walked through the streets from the superb displays at the Mansion House, Bank of England, and Royal Exchange to the tasteful decorations of clubland, and their quiet behaviour was an index of their contented enjoyment. Meanwhile, on the Malvern Hills a huge beacon fire was lighted at 10 p.m. as the signal for similar fires on the heights all over the kingdom. The spreading of the flame from point to point along the hills and up the valleys was described as weirdly beautiful, and the calm still night gave full effect to the spectacle. It was calculated that the signal took but seven minutes in traversing the 150 miles from Malvern to the Lakes. Throughout the Empire there was not a town, not a village, where some attempt, however humble, was not made to set the day apart as a special holiday. In many of the cities of England the festivities lasted during the greater part of the week, and public-spirited citizens subscribed towards some statue or public building to commemorate the occasion. In every colony the loyalty was unbounded; and in all the world, wherever a band of Englishmen gathered together, there was the 21st of June held in due honour. The human race had never known, even in the days of the Cæsars,

so vast a congregation of thanksgiving men and women.

On the following day a children's Jubilee festival, organised by Mr. Edward Lawson of the *Daily Telegraph*, was held in Hyde Park. Some 30,000 children from the national schools were marched on to the grass, and then allowed to disport themselves at their leisure, numerous games and shows being provided, and, in addition, such creature comforts as buns and cakes. The festival was visited early in the afternoon by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and many of the royal guests, and later the Queen, on her way to Windsor, passed through the assemblage, and spoke some kind words to a little girl who was presented to her by the Prince of Wales. Previously, at Buckingham Palace, her Majesty received the Women's Jubilee Offering of £85,000, the proceeds of contributions from some 3,000,000 women of the United Kingdom, varying in amount from a penny to a pound. A portion of the fund was devoted to an equestrian statue of the Prince Consort, by Sir E. Boehm, which was erected in Windsor Park, and the surplus was devoted to the benefit of nurses and nursing establishments for the sick. At the same time, the Marchioness of Londonderry presented an offering from the women of Ireland, consisting of a casket of bog oak. The first period of the Jubilee celebrations closed with an ample list of peerages, baronetcies and knighthoods, the honour bestowed on Sir William Armstrong being perhaps the most noteworthy; a free pardon to all deserters, and an extraordinary number of the *London Gazette*, containing a letter from the Queen to the nation, expressing her gratification at the greeting which she and her children, and grandchildren, had received on their way to Westminster Abbey. "The enthusiastic reception," wrote her Majesty, "has touched me deeply. It has shown that the labour and anxiety of fifty long years, twenty-two of which I spent in unclouded happiness, shared and cheered by my beloved husband, while an equal number were full of sorrows and trials, borne without his sheltering arm and wise help, have been appreciated by my people. This feeling and the sense of duty towards my dear country and subjects, who are so inseparably bound up with my life, will encourage me in my task, often a very difficult and arduous one, during the remainder of my life."

Amongst the various festivals held by public and private societies perhaps the happiest was the Masque of Flowers given by the Benchers of Gray's Inn. On the second of July the London



QUEEN VICTORIA'S JUBILEE: THE THANKSGIVING SERVICE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY. (See p. 154.)

and suburban Volunteers, nearly 24,000 strong, were reviewed at Buckingham Palace, and marched past the Queen in six brigades. The appearance of the citizen soldiers was generally considered extremely smart, the London Scottish and the Artists being perhaps the pick of the

the colonies, and fifteen the Indian Empire. The ceremony, which took place in a large tent, covering an amphitheatre large enough to seat eleven thousand spectators, proved one of the most suggestive of the Jubilee functions. There were present the great officers of State, the judges, the



QUEEN VICTORIA IN HER JUBILEE YEAR.
(From a Photograph by Lafayette, Dublin.)

various corps. Two days later, the Queen laid the foundation stone of the Imperial Institute at South Kensington. The idea of this memorial of the Jubilee appears to have originated with the Prince of Wales, who had presided over meetings in its support, and played an active part in organising its scheme of government, under a council composed of 100 members, of whom ten were to be nominated by the Queen, forty-five to represent the United Kingdom, thirty

representatives of the colonies. Special importance was allotted to the Organising Committee, of which the Prince of Wales was President, and to the Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1851, who had presented the site of the new building. In his address the Prince of Wales remarked that the Institute "was a fitting development of the work, wisely and successfully initiated" by the Great Exhibition. And the Queen, in reply, touched upon the increase of commercial activity

which that spectacle had produced, the knowledge thereby acquired of the vast and varied resources of the Empire, and her hope that "the Imperial Institute would play a useful part in combining those resources for the common advantage of all her subjects, and in conducing towards the welding of the colonies, India, and the mother country, into one harmonious and useful community." The third ceremony consisted of a review of the troops at Aldershot on the 9th of July. The march past of 58,000 men and 100 guns was a most impressive sight, preceded as it was by an enthusiastic volley of cheers, while the infantry hoisted their helmets on the muzzles of their rifles. At the close of the day the cavalry and horse artillery formed up at one end of the Long Valley, and advanced towards the Queen at a gallop in a line a mile in length. The sudden halt in front of the royal carriages was a sight that once seen was never forgotten, and the general verdict seemed to be that this detachment of the finest, if not the largest army in the world, had acquitted itself in a manner thoroughly worthy of the Empire's military past.

The might of the United Kingdom was displayed yet more formidably in the naval review at Spithead on July the 23rd. Starting at three in the afternoon, the royal flotilla, consisting of the *Victoria and Albert* with her Majesty on board, the *Osborne* and a procession of boats, traversed through the double line, four miles in length, made a sweep to the east, and then anchored in the centre of the fleet. As the royal yacht passed, each ship fired twenty-one guns, while the cheering crews manned the yards, and when she anchored, the captains of all the vessels were summoned on board, and presented to her Majesty. At that moment was offered a sight unparalleled in the history of the world, and such as no two other nations of Europe could have produced. Despite the fact that the squadrons in the Mediterranean, in the Pacific, on the American, African and China stations remained unimpaired in strength, the Queen, as Sovereign and Lord High Admiral of the Fleet, was the acting commander of 135 vessels of every size and type, including 26 heavily-armed steel-clad fighting-ships, 9 un-armoured cruisers and scouts, 5 sea-going torpedo-cruisers, 38 first-class torpedo-boats, 38 gun-boats, 12 troop-ships, 6 training-brigs, and one paddle-frigate, not to mention the merchant-ships on the Admiralty lists, built under the Admiralty directions. To man the fleet there were 20,200 officers and men, while the number of guns was

500. "Opposite the Queen," wrote the *Spectator*, "lay the *Inflexible*, the flag-ship of the Admiral. Fitted with engines of 8,000 horse-power, armed with four 80-ton guns in her turrets, four quick-firing and seventeen machine-guns, and three torpedo-tubes; protected with armour plates of iron nearly two feet thick, and able to steam more than fifteen miles an hour, the *Inflexible* alone could have dealt destruction to a whole squadron of the days of Nelson. Near her was anchored the *Collingwood*, a vessel of the new *Admiral* class, with engines of 9,570 horse-power, capable of attaining a speed of eighteen or nineteen miles an hour, and armed with four guns of 43 tons and six of lesser weight, and with no less than twelve quick-firing guns, and four torpedo-tubes; while on all sides were to be seen some of the most powerful vessels afloat. Behind the *Inflexible* lay massed a flotilla of torpedo-boats, which by themselves would be capable of carrying destruction more certain than the shells of an 80-ton gun, or the stroke from the steel ram of the heaviest iron-clad." Such was the scene in which the Queen lingered until the evening was well advanced, while scattered over the waters were some 50,000 people in craft of all sorts and sizes. After the royal flotilla had returned to Osborne, the whole fleet was illuminated, and the strait became a vision of varied and dancing fires. But as if to remind the spectators that there was grim reality behind this play, the ironclads brought the enchantment to a close by turning their electric lights full on the shore, to show how open to attack was all that came within the keen and searching glare. Next morning the fleet weighed anchor, and engaged in elaborate and instructive manœuvres. At first the attacking squadron of Admiral Fremantle had everything its own way. He took Falmouth, silenced the forts, and fired the shipping. Eluding Admiral Hornby, who was waiting for him in the Channel, he anchored off the Nore and threatened Sheerness. But vaulting ambition proved his ruin. He sailed up the Thames, but only to find his retreat cut off by a chain of ironclads and torpedo-boats across the mouth of the river. So hopeless was his position that the Admiralty ordered hostilities to cease, and with this satisfactory exhibition of the defensive capacities of the United Kingdom the Jubilee celebrations came to an appropriate close.

But notwithstanding the patriotic serenity of the nation as a whole, there was discontent in many of its members. In Wales, for instance, the anti-tithe agitation had come to a serious head, and in

various parts of the Principality occurred demonstrations culminating in breaches of the peace. Thus at Meifod in Montgomeryshire an attempt was made by a force of 250 to protect the representatives of the landlords, the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, while distraining on several farms for arrears of tithe. At one farm, through the influence of a Calvinistic minister, the crowd was kept quiet while negotiations for abatement were brought to a successful issue. At Llangavan near Corwen, however, the band of sympathisers overpowered the police, who after a protracted scuffle retired discomfited to Welshpool. The unfortunate auctioneer was seized, and his coat having been stripped from his back, he was marched in triumph through the streets of Corwen. Similarly, near Rhyl, an auctioneer who attempted to sell farm produce in discharge of tithe was forced by the tenants to sign a declaration pledging himself never to commit the offence again. Everywhere the obnoxious charge was collected under protest, and in places where sales were necessary, the military had more than once to be summoned to the aid of the constabulary.

In the north of Scotland, too, the crofters, despite the severe sentences dealt out to the rioters in the beginning of the year, and the Act passed by Parliament in 1886 for their benefit, continued their assemblages and raids upon deer forests. For the disturbed state of the island of Skye mistakes of the law were partially to blame; first, in the arrest of two crofters while in bed, and secondly, in a wrongful apprehension by a sheriff. The result was that the Queen's writ could hardly be said to run in many districts; in some the Plan of Campaign was established, and in others branches of the National League were set up. Towards November the island of Lewis became the centre of the movement, for there a raid was made upon a forest containing eight hundred deer, and many of the beasts were slain. So excited was the populace that sixty marines were landed from the *Seahorse*, and these were followed by four hundred soldiers before the ringleaders surrendered. Even more daring was the attack upon the property on the Sutherland estates in Assynt. There the Duke had promised certain pasture lands to the crofters as soon as the leases fell in. They occupied them, nevertheless, with their cattle, and declined to budge, alleging that the fields had of old belonged to their forefathers. Several cases of incendiarism occurred on the Duke's farms, and once more the *Seahorse* was called into requisition, with the result that the chief authors of the seizure took to the hills and

were at length captured. Behind this lawlessness lay much real misery that seemed beyond legislation, except perhaps in the direction of State-aided emigration, owing to the teeming numbers of the squatters on the thankless soil. In December the Commission appointed under the Act published the result of their year's labours. They had investigated nearly eighteen hundred cases and undoubtedly exposed a good deal of unjust landlordism, to which rule, however, the Duke of Sutherland was a striking exception. Still the average reduction of rent amounted to 31 per cent., and the effacement of arrears to 54 per cent. But even so only four counties and twenty-two estates had been dealt with, and the vital evils of an outworn system had been barely touched.

Ireland, however, as in former years, continued to monopolise attention, and the struggle between the authorities and the Plan of Campaign increased in severity as the months rolled on. Mr. Balfour did not shrink from the contest forced upon him by the violence of the resistance to the officers of the law during the evictions at Coolgreany and Bodyke. Four days after the Crimes Act became law, on the 23rd of July, eighteen counties were put fully under the Act, and thirteen others, with their ten chief towns, partially. Mr. Balfour asserted that intimidation existed in the proclaimed counties if not actual crime. He was questioned as to his reasons for putting the Act in force, and his reply was that the Executive was guided by the statistics of agrarian outrage, by the number of persons boycotted and under police protection, and by the reports and opinions received from responsible officials. Then came a long pause, during which the suppression of the National League was vehemently demanded by the Government organs. That view also found expression at a meeting of landlords which was held at Ennis on the 11th of August, while on the same day Sir W. Harcourt in a speech at Erith taunted Government with having carried a Bill and then not knowing what to do with it. This sarcasm stirred Government into action. On August 19th the National League was proclaimed as "a dangerous association under the Crimes Act, for its incitements to violence and intimidation, and its interference with the administration of the law"; and prosecutions were instituted against Mr. W. O'Brien and Mr. Mandeville for speeches delivered in Mitchelstown, County Cork, on the 9th and 11th of August, in which, it was alleged, they had incited the people to resist those who were enforcing the law. The

debate in the House of Commons was of no especial moment, though Mr. Gladstone made an eloquent and ingenious apology for boycotting, which he described as "exclusive dealing," and which, he said, was excusable to a great extent when practised by the poor. Otherwise the debate traversed well-worn ground, and at its close Mr. Gladstone's motion for an address to the Crown was rejected by 272 votes to 194. However, the following Radical Unionists voted with the minority: Messrs. J. and R. Chamberlain, Mr. Kenrick, Mr. Powell-Williams, Mr. Jesse Collings and Mr. Hingley. Mr. O'Brien's reply was a denunciation of the Land Commission as a set of most contemptible men, and an assertion that unless fair reductions were given the Irish people would go in for a sweeping radical and universal "Plan of Campaign" all along the line. Then followed the prohibition of a meeting at Ballycoree near Ennis, where, nevertheless, Mr. Dillon and Mr. Philip Stanhope succeeded in holding a small meeting outside the town, which was dispersed by the constabulary, a troop of the 3rd Hussars, and two companies of the Leinster Regiment, without any broken bones. Thus Government and the League joined issue.

A crisis soon occurred. On the 9th of September Mr. William O'Brien and Mr. Mandeville were summoned at the petty sessions held at Mitchelstown to answer for their action in regard to the Plan of Campaign on the Kingston estates. They did not attend, and proceedings went on in their absence with the result that warrants were issued for their arrest. After the closure of the court a meeting of some 8,000 persons was held in the central square, at which were present Mr. John Dillon, Mr. Condon, and the English M.P.'s Messrs Labouchere and Brunner, besides a knot of English sympathisers, some of whom were ladies. Mr. Dillon had begun his speech, when a disturbance occurred; a Government reporter attempted to make his way to the platform and, according to the official report, was refused permission to pass, by the order of some leader present. The Nationalists, however, asserted that no objection was made to his presence, and that the *mêlée* was due simply to his own folly in not securing a place on the platform before the crowd had assembled. Be that as it may, a body of fifty police attempted to force a passage for him; the crowd, armed with shillelaghs, resented the intrusion, and the constabulary, furnished with truncheons only and heavily outnumbered, were beaten back to the barracks. What followed was fiercely contested by the

apologists for either side. The official statement was that the barracks were threatened and six windows broken, that a handful of policemen left outside were in danger of their lives, when the main body, having regained their rifles, fired in self-defence. On the other hand, the Irish Members and Mr. Labouchere affirmed that the danger was over, the police in safety and the crowd beginning to disperse, when the volley was fired with the result that three men were killed and one or two injured. There the matter must be left, with the remark that there was no dispute that the constabulary were violently assailed, and hence the firing could hardly be said to have been entirely wanton, though the police may have lost nerve. At the inquest the jury found a verdict of wilful murder against the county inspector and three constables, but the verdict was quashed on the ground of the irregular conduct of the inquiry. After a police inquiry, more or less formal in character, the matter was dropped. As for Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Mandeville, they were sentenced to three and two months' imprisonment respectively, and the sentences were confirmed, on appeal, by the Recorder of Cork. The refusal of the former to wear the prison dress, along with the removal of his clothes and his consequent stay in bed until a fresh suit had been smuggled into Tullamore Gaol by his admirers, was regarded as an act of heroism in Ireland, but by the majority in England as a curious instance of Celtic sentimentalism.

The Government, despite the Mitchelstown "massacre," followed up their declared policy by proclaiming the National League in County Clare and in portions of Galway, Kerry, Cork and Wexford, with the result that some two hundred branches of the National League became "unlawful associations." Close upon this assertion of authority came the peculiarly brutal murder of Head-Constable Wheelahan in County Clare while defending the house of one Sexton, who had occupied a farm after his predecessor had been evicted. The state of society disclosed by the inquiry was extraordinary; moonlighting appeared one of the normal occupations of the district, and yet in the face of the strongest evidence the coroner's jury refused to return a verdict of murder against the prisoners, who, however, were sentenced to various terms of penal servitude. This occurrence was turned to account by Unionist speakers, but Mr. Gladstone, at Nottingham (October the 18th), said little in its condemnation, while he uttered the phrase "Remember Mitchelstown," and indicted the

Irish police for illegality, employment of *agents-provocateurs*, and the slaughtering of old men without excuse. As for the murder of Wheelahan, he regarded it as the consequence of the employment of a paid informer, who helped to plan the attack, and said: "I remember a case in England which in some degree may serve to illustrate the case of the informer who helped to arrange the

analogous to the action of the police in this instance. The police substantially conspired after the manner of those four men; and in their case the public indignation burst upon them. One was actually put to death by the people, and another was beaten and maltreated within an inch of his life. Do not suppose I justify this; but I am seeking to point out what might happen when

The Police Barracks.



THE SQUARE, MITCHELSTOWN.* (From a Photograph by W. Lawrence, Dublin.)

murder of Wheelahan. It was in the course of the last century. A body of men entered into a conspiracy to induce two other men to commit a capital crime. I do not remember what it was, but it was a bad crime. The two men were executed for the crime. It afterwards became known that they had been induced to commit it by these four other men who conspired together for that purpose. These four men were tried and sentenced to be put into the pillory for the conspiracy. That was the sentence of the Judge and the Court upon them; but the sentence of the people was a good deal stronger than the law as administered by the Judge and the Court. The act of these men was, to my mind, very clearly

such a case called forth such a manifestation, not among criminals, but apparently a fair average proportion of the population of England." Further Mr. Gladstone related a story concerning an agent, Colonel Dopping, who, he said, had pointed a gun at a boy of fourteen for stoning him, and was about to "take aim at him," when the police interfered and knocked up the weapon.

These utterances brought down upon the ex-Premier some trenchant replies. "No more profligate saying than 'Remember Mitchelstown,'" said Mr. Goschen at Bradford, "had ever issued from the lips of a responsible Minister," and Lord

* The green leaves in the square mark the spot where the killed and wounded fell.

Hartington, who addressed a meeting at Nottingham on October 24th, said, in respect of Mr. Gladstone's comments on the Wheelahan case, "Gentlemen, I believe that our history does not contain a single instance—it might be searched in vain for a single instance—in which a Minister of the Crown who had been responsible for the administration of law and order in Ireland, who has depended, as every other Minister must, on the faithful and loyal co-operation of his police, as well as that of every other public servant in the country, for discharging his duty to his country and his Queen, has thus gone out of his way prematurely, without evidence, without proof, to convict a body of men against whom nothing has been proved, of an atrocious crime, to sentence them even to an ignominious punishment." Then, too, Colonel Dopping wrote to Mr. Gladstone, denying the whole story and demanding a withdrawal of the charge. Mr. Gladstone at first refused, but on the advice of Sir Charles Russell was about to write an apology, when he received a letter from the colonel's solicitors. The delay naturally marred the effect of a full retraction, in which the defence was that he never intended to imply that the rifle was loaded.

Meanwhile, the hand of the law had been laid upon Mr. Wilfrid Blunt, an Englishman, who held a second meeting on the Clanricarde estates at Woodford after escaping the consequences of a first which he addressed in company with Mr. William O'Brien. The two had shown considerable ingenuity in baffling the police. Thus the meeting was held at 1 o'clock in the morning after the police, who had been on the spot all day, had gone to bed and after the term of the proclamation had expired. Further, their sympathisers had cut the telegraph wires so as to prevent the summoning of reinforcements. Availing himself of Mr. Balfour's statement that political movements would not be interfered with, Mr. Blunt cleverly disguised the object of his second speech by calling it an address to the Home Rule Union. The disguise was somewhat thin; the meeting was proclaimed, and the police dispersed the assemblage, with the usual allowance of broken heads. Mr. Blunt, who thrice attempted to mount the platform, was severely bruised. Another prominent Irishman who made the acquaintance of the interior of one of her Majesty's gaols was Mr. T. D. Sullivan, the Lord Mayor of Dublin. He had published in the *Nation* reports of suppressed branches of the National League, and though Mr. O'Donel, a police magistrate, at first decided that the prosecution

was irregular on the ground that the particular meeting reported was not one of a suppressed branch, the Court of Exchequer overruled the objection on the strength of a statement in the paper itself. Mr. Sullivan was, accordingly, sent to prison for two months as a first-class misdemeanant. Mr. Edward Harrington was also sentenced to a month's imprisonment for publishing reports of suppressed branches of the Land League in the *Kerry Sentinel*. Leave of appeal being refused, he was condemned to a month's imprisonment and while undergoing his sentence was taken to Tralee in his prison dress to give evidence. This act of severity was generally censured in England, and that not merely by the Opposition press. Closely upon this followed the arrest of Mr. T. Harrington, whose name was on the list of proprietors of his brother's paper. He was condemned to six weeks' imprisonment, despite the fact that he had retired for several years, and had failed to remove his name by a pure act of inadvertence. He appealed, however, and the blunder of the resident magistrates was so palpable that the case never came on for trial. Similarly, Mr. Alderman Hooper, M.P., of the *Cork Herald*, was sentenced to two separate periods of imprisonment of a month each, and suffered some hardship owing to his refusal to conform to the prison regulations; and various shopkeepers were sentenced to brief terms for selling *United Ireland*. Among those who were prosecuted for their advocacy of the Plan of Campaign were Mr. D. Sheehy, M.P., and Mr. Lane, M.P. By the commencement of the following Session there were nine Members of Parliament in prison.

In October, Unionism received a temporary fillip from the visit of Mr. Chamberlain to Ulster; and a month later Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen addressed enthusiastic meetings in Dublin. Still, it may be doubted if they did much more than preach to those who needed no conversion, and the divisions in the ranks of the Nationalists were healed as fast as they arose. Thus, at a meeting of the Gaelic Athletic Association at Thurles, the old Fenian party re-appeared, and outvoted the Nationalists and priests in the election of a chairman. The dispute was, however, prudently adjourned, and elsewhere the supporters of the priesthood, when they found their opponents in a majority, withdrew without offering even a protest. Nevertheless, the revival of the old Physical Force faction was not without its significance, more especially as the Pope was reported averse from the Plan of Campaign and the prominent

part played by the priesthood in the agitation. In confirmation of this story came the mission to Ireland of Monsignor Persico—formerly Vicar-Apostolic of Hindustan—as Apostolic Delegate, in the month of July. The astute Italian arrived, travelled over the country, saw a good deal, asked many questions with no apparent drift, and then departed, leaving his numerous hosts in complete ignorance as to his conclusions. His report was submitted to the Pope early in November, but its purport did not emerge from the Vatican, though the *Daily Chronicle's* correspondent at Rome declared that the clergy were in it severely blamed for playing too prominent a part in a movement which was not kept within legitimate bounds.

In England, at the close of a Session which Lord Randolph Churchill considered in thorough accord with the gratifying and satisfactory character of the Jubilee year, the war of words began afresh without much practical result. Lord Randolph confined himself to his favourite topic—the national extravagance—maintaining that millions might be saved by economy in the arsenals and dockyards. Perhaps the chief point of interest was the extent to which the Liberal leaders were willing to modify their original Home Rule Bill, but upon that point the indications were hardly clear. Mr. Morley, for instance, pronounced himself in favour of an Irish Parliament, dealing with exclusively Irish affairs, but professed to consider the retention of the Irish members at Westminster a subsidiary question, which he would rather yield than have no Home Rule at all. Meanwhile, though the Liberal Unionists were defining and re-defining their position, Mr. Gladstone, both at Nottingham and Derby, studiously refused to promulgate his proposed concessions, but enlarged on the Mitchelstown disaster. As for his English programme, it appeared to embrace "one man one vote," free trade in land, a large system of local self-government, based upon representation, and accompanied by such a system of local taxation that personal property should bear its share, reform of the liquor laws, and Welsh and Scottish disestablishment: as to which of the two countries should have priority, that depended on the character of their representation. "Let the Scotch send us as good a body of Home Rulers—who will also, I believe, generally be disestablishers—as the Welsh, and I have not the least doubt that when the day of competition comes Scotland will be able to hold her own." This sentence naturally produced comments of diverse sorts, some complimentary, others the

reverse, but Lord Salisbury made no attempt to formulate a counter-programme in his Mansion House speech. The omission, however, was repaired at Oxford, where a Conservative Conference was held towards the end of November. Previously to the Premier's arrival, Mr. Howard Vincent proposed a Protectionist resolution, which, somewhat to the general surprise, was passed by an overwhelming majority. To this unwelcome suggestion Lord Salisbury paid no attention, except in a hint that the Unionist alliance was the key of the situation, and any change that would alienate Lord Hartington's followers must be relegated to the future. His proposals for the next Session were, however, important: namely, (1) a further reform of the House of Commons; (2) a Local Government Bill, which he promised would be large, furnished with powers for decentralisation, and confined for the present to Great Britain; (3) the abolition by purchase of dual ownership in Ireland. On the first point he used language afterwards styled by Mr. Morley as that of "blazing indiscretion." "The necessity," said the Premier, "for a very drastic dealing with the rules of Parliament has undoubtedly arisen. I can speak with more impartiality on the subject because I do not belong to the House which suffers from the present licence. But I have colleagues in that House upon whose bodies, and indeed upon whose souls, I can trace the effects of the torture which the eighty-six members from Ireland have invented. I have never experienced it myself, but I am told that there is nothing more terrible than to go in night after night and hear the same speakers, the same inanities, the same vituperation expressed in the same brogue, and that the strongest and sternest minds and the best compacted bodies are worn out before this constant torture. Now, I object very much to having my colleagues used up by a process of this kind. Any one of them is worth the whole eighty-six Irishmen put together, and I entirely object to the continuance of a system by which their powers of serving the State shall be diminished or entirely sacrificed to this perfectly useless, gratuitous, and wanton waste of public time." He concluded his address by attacking Mr. Gladstone for exhorting all Scottish and Welsh disestablishers to vote for Home Rule in order to get their desires. For the rest, Mr. Morley and Sir George Trevelyan, Mr. Goschen and Lord R. Churchill, were well to the front; but their speeches, though full of ability, hardly attracted much attention, partly in consequence of the apparent imminence of war on the Continent,

partly because of the disturbed and even threatening condition of London.

On the Conservative side the most noteworthy speech was that of Mr. Balfour to his constituents at Manchester, on December the 14th. It was a vigorous reply to a speech of Sir G. Trevelyan's, delivered at Sunderland, in which the latter had argued that Lord Spencer and himself had at most in three or four cases overstepped the line which separated agrarian crime from politics. The Irish Secretary retorted by comparing Sir George to Mr. Pliable in "The Pilgrim's Progress," who, "after falling into the Slough of Despond, promptly began to use very violent language towards his former companion, and after struggling about in the mud for some time, got out on the wrong side, and ultimately returned to the City of Destruction, where he was held greatly in derision among all sorts of people." Mr. Balfour disposed of the delicate topic of the Conservative-Parnellite alliance in 1885 by saying that "in 1885 the Irish came to us, and in 1887 the Radicals have gone to the Irish"; and then turning afresh on Sir George Trevelyan, pointed out that he had "evicted in one quarter no less than 853 Irish farmers, whereas the present Government had evicted in the corresponding quarter exactly 132." This and other invasions of the enemy's territory received at Derby an equally trenchant handling at the hands of Sir William Harcourt, who laid especial stress upon the imprisonment of Mr. T. D. Sullivan. So did Mr. Gladstone in a speech at Dover, where he halted on his journey to Italy. "Do you think," said he, "that when the Irish people see the Lord Mayor of Dublin, a courteous, accomplished, estimable man, of whom I may speak from my own knowledge, sent to prison—do you think it is possible that anything can more tend to demoralise them and widen the breach that separates them from the law of the country? The whole power and voice of the people are on one side, and the other is from Dublin Castle, backed by Lord Salisbury . . . and it is the voice of Lord Salisbury coming to them as a foreign voice, telling them that English institutions and English conditions are to be forced upon them, whether they like it or not, and that all the principles of freedom upon which our Empire is founded are in their case to be set aside. He ought to reverse the opinion which prevails throughout all the British colonies and the Anglo-Saxon race, and to reverse the judgment of the civilised world with reference to the fact that England, great in power,

and bright in most of the recollections of her history, has one dark spot and stain which degrades her dealings with the sister island: which, instead of being, as it ought to be, an honour to the greatest of free countries, would be a dishonour to the most despotic and enslaved community."

In the metropolis meetings of the "unemployed," addressed by their self-constituted leaders of the Social Democratic Federation, began early in October. According to custom, the police inquired of the speakers when and where the meetings were to be held, and, in answer to an intimation from the father of one Lyons that information would be given, a visit at his house was made by two policemen between ten p.m. and midnight. The story, in a greatly exaggerated form, was reported to Mr. Gladstone, who at Hawarden, on October the 4th, used the incident to illustrate the absolutist methods of the Government, characterised the "interference" as "impertinent," and suggested that the proper answer to the police would be, "There's the door, and your name is Walker." The Socialist leaders, finding that local meetings attracted small audiences, determined to transfer their agitation to Trafalgar Square. There they held demonstrations, until Sir Charles Warren, hearing that a meeting was to be held at night, cleared the Square by force on October the 13th. Unfortunately, the authorities exhibited some vacillation in issuing the order, and emboldened by their hesitation, the "unemployed" went in procession to the Mansion House, where the Lord Mayor received a deputation without any practical result; and on the following day paid a visit to the magistrate at Bow Street. Serious scuffles occurred between the mob and the over-worked police, and on the 18th an assembly which had been dispersed from Trafalgar Square adjourned to Hyde Park, where some damage was done. A more praiseworthy proceeding was their attendance at the Sunday afternoon service at the Abbey; but though the reports of their behaviour were somewhat conflicting, it hardly seems to have been marked by any particular decorum.

Then came a lull in the agitation, which lasted until the beginning of November. Meetings were held intermittently—at one of which some journalists in pursuit of their vocation were clumsily arrested—until Sir Charles Warren was empowered to close the Square until further notice. His "ukase," though cordially approved by the shop-keepers and householders of the neighbourhood, was couched in rather high-handed and trenchant terms, and evoked a



"BLOODY SUNDAY": THE LIFE GUARDS HOLDING TRAFALGAR SQUARE. (See p. 166.)

counter-manifesto from the Democratic Federation. It was subsequently annulled; nevertheless, the leaders determined to hold a great demonstration on Lord Mayor's Day, but it was abandoned in consequence of the weather, and the trial of strength did not take place until Sunday the 13th of November, when 2,000 police were stationed in the Square. In spite of the efforts of the police to break up the procession, large bodies of men reached the Square by four o'clock. Several desperate rushes were then made to break through the cordon of police, of which the most formidable was headed by Mr. Cuningham Graham, M.P., and Mr. John Burns. They were, however, driven back, and after a series of severe scuffles, in which two men were so injured that they subsequently died, and a policeman was stabbed, two squadrons of Life Guards, with a magistrate at their head ready to read the Riot Act, appeared in aid of the constabulary. They rode round and round the Square, while the regiment of Foot Guards from St. George's Barracks formed in front of the National Gallery with fixed bayonets. This display of force cowed the mob, and within half-an-hour the police had cleared the space. Of the rioters, of whom some forty were arrested, the worst offenders received sentences of imprisonment varying from two to six months; while Mr. Cuningham Graham and Mr. John Burns, who were admitted to bail, were tried on January the 19th, 1888, for rioting, assault, and unlawful assembly, and being found guilty on the last count, were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, without hard labour.

Undeterred by this rebuff, the Radical and Socialist societies determined to make a fresh effort on the following Sunday. Early in the week, however, Mr. Gladstone wrote, in reply to the secretary of the Bermondsey Gladstone Club, that though the law ought undoubtedly to be tested and ascertained as to the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square, yet "it appears to me indisputable that until a decision can be had, it is the duty of every citizen to refrain from all resistance to the decision of the Executive Government, which is clearly entitled to administer the laws according to what it may be advised is

their true construction. Such abstinence," said he, "is especially due to the high character of London, and the mode in which the law there is usually administered by the admirable police of the metropolis." The consequence of this opinion was that the meeting in the Square was abandoned, and it was decided instead to rendezvous in Hyde Park. This assembly went off in perfect order and no attempt was made on the Square. Meanwhile, however, Government, in order to relieve the police, issued a request for some twenty or thirty thousand special constables. Some six or seven thousand responded, but were not called upon to do any formidable deeds of valour; and after spending several Sunday afternoons in contemplating the flag stones of the Square, or of the side streets along the Strand and other thoroughfares, the force was disbanded. The movement, in fact, had spent itself; and with the Lord Mayor's appeal for funds to employ some 1,300 men out of work on the open spaces, under the supervision of the Metropolitan Playgrounds Association, some of the reasons, at any rate, for the agitation had passed away.

The obituary list of the year contained singularly few names of any moment, except that of Lord Iddesleigh, whose tragical death has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. Two other Conservatives whom the House of Commons would know no more were the uncompromising Tory and Low Churchman, Mr. Newdegate, and Mr. Beresford Hope, whose politics were more elastic and his ecclesiastical views more advanced. Among the staunchest followers of Mr. Gladstone was Lord Wolverton—better known as Mr. Glynn—whose death was painfully sudden. Two lawyers of some eminence passed away: Mr. Justice Mellor and the determined administrator of the law in Ireland, Judge Lawson. In Sir Charles Macgregor the British army lost one of its greatest strategists. Lord Lyons left a vacancy at the Paris Embassy at a moment when his eminent caution would have stood the country in good stead; and a man of very different character, who in his own sphere was missed, was the Ritualistic clergyman, Mr. Maconochie, who perished in a snowstorm near North Ballachulish.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Colonial Conference—Its Composition—Lord Salisbury's Address—Mr. Dibbs's Protest—Discussion on the Defences—The Naval Defences Bill—Projects of Union—Mr. Hofmeyr's Resolution—The New Hebrides—The French Convention—The Defences Bill rejected by Queensland—West Australia—Tariff Reforms—New Zealand and Samoa—Mr. O'Brien's Visit to Canada—The Fisheries Commission—The Convention rejected by the American Senate—The *Modus Vivendi*—Events in Africa—Sir H. D. Wolff's Convention—Its Rejection by the Sultan—The Suez Canal neutralised—Lord Dufferin's Jubilee Speech—Manifestations of Loyalty—The Indian National Congress—Finance—Burma and Afghanistan—Disquiet of Europe—The Coburg Candidate in Bulgaria—The German Army Bill—The Schnaebelé Affair—The Boulangist Excitement—Bou langer under Arrest—Further Diplomatic Bickerings—The Decorations Scandal—Resignation of Grévy and Election of Carnot—Signor Crispi's Declaration—Pacific Assurances—The Scare renewed—Prince William's Speech—Lord Salisbury at Derby.

So far as the Empire at large was concerned, the most important event during the Jubilee year was the meeting of the Colonial Conference at the Foreign Office on April the 4th. The conception of the idea, the appropriateness of which can hardly be contested, was due to Mr. Stanhope, who, in a dispatch to the governors of Colonies under responsible government, dated November the 25th, 1886, made a fortunate allusion to the patriotic action of the Colonies in offering contingents of troops to take part in the Egyptian campaign. As for the practical objects to be kept in view, he deprecated the discussion of political federation on the very sensible grounds that "there had been no expression of Colonial opinion in favour of any steps in that direction; and the home Government were of opinion that there would be no advantage in the informal discussion of a very difficult problem before any basis had been accepted by the Governments concerned. It might, indeed, be detrimental to the ultimate attainment of a more developed system of united action if a question not yet ripe for practical decision were now to be brought to the test of a formal examination." Accordingly, he suggested that the debates should be confined to the immediate questions of (1) Imperial defence; and (2) Imperial inter-communication in times of peace by the development of postage, telegraphy, and steamship lines. As to the constitution of the Conference, it was to be more or less informal; Agents-General were of course included, and any public man who happened to be in London during the Jubilee celebrations. In the same way, care was taken that each of the Crown Colonies should be adequately represented.

The assembly, addressed by Lord Salisbury on April the 4th, was very fairly representative of Colonial statesmanship. The Agents-General, for

instance, included the striking personalities of Sir Dillon Bell, of New Zealand, Sir Graham Berry, of Victoria, and Sir Charles Mills, of the Cape; Queensland sent its Premier, Sir Samuel Griffith, Victoria the late Premier, Mr. Service, and the Chief Secretary, Mr. Deakin. Mr. Hofmeyr represented the powerful interests of the Afri-cander Bund, which had rapidly become the deciding force in South African politics. Still, notable absences were unavoidable; and among those who would have added weight to the debates were the Canadian Premier, Sir John Macdonald, Sir Henry Parkes, of New South Wales, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes, now fast making his way to the front at the Cape. The discussions were, however, assisted by past and present Secretaries of State, members of both Houses of Parliament, and other eminent Englishmen who took interest in Colonial questions. As for the Prime Minister's speech, it was worthy of the occasion, and in a small compass placed before the delegates the salient points connected with Imperial necessities. He pointed out that the main weakness of the British Empire consisted in its want of continuity—it was separated into parts by wide stretches of ocean. As to the projects for obliterating those obstacles by agreement and organisation, he dismissed as impracticable, for the present, any scheme of Imperial Federation, or for the creation of a Zollverein, or customs-union. A Kriegsverein, however, or union for purposes of mutual defence, was in a very different position. This was, he thought, the real and important business of the Conference. Lord Salisbury concluded by an inquiry if, supposing the Colonies were independent, they would be safe from attack. Twenty or thirty years ago, said he, that was probably the case, but times had changed, and the increase of naval science had

placed the Colonies much nearer Europe, while telegraphic science aided the concentration of force upon a single point. "Do not so misinterpret my words as to imagine that I conceive any aggression likely or probable on the part of those who wield power in Europe; but the circumstances in which we live, and the tendencies of human nature as we know it in all times of history, show that where there is a liability to attack and defencelessness, attack will come. The British Colonies comprise some of the fairest and most desirable portions of the earth's surface. The desire for foreign and colonial possessions is increasing among the nations of Europe. The power of concentrating military and naval force is increasing under the influence of scientific progress. Put all these things together, and you will see that the Colonies have a real and genuine interest in the shield which their Imperial connection throws over them, and that they have a ground for joining us in making the defence of the Empire effective: a ground which is not purely sentimental, which does not rest entirely upon their attachment to this country, but which is based upon the most solid and reasonable foundations of self-interest and security."

The discussion was begun by Sir Henry Holland, Mr. Stanhope's successor at the Colonial Office, who gave the delegates some interesting statistics of the growth of the British Empire. On the whole, the tone was flattering to the mother country, though Mr. Dibbs, of New South Wales, threw out a warning note that the supineness of the Colonial Office with regard to German and French aggression in New Guinea and the New Hebrides was bitterly resented in the Colonies. "The despatches received from England with regard to English activity in those seas exhibited only the disdain and indifference with which English enterprise was treated at the Colonial Office, and by contrast, one was compelled to note the great eagerness with which the French and German statesmen received the smallest details of information as to the movements of their traders in those particular seas, and the zeal with which they hastened to support them."

Under the conciliatory presidency of Sir Henry Holland, the debates proceeded with business-like despatch until the 9th of May, when the Conference closed. From the bulky blue-book that was published in July, the conclusion may be hazarded that the general level of speaking was high, and that more than one orator displayed splendid powers of eloquence. Here, however, we are chiefly concerned with the practical outcome,

and this may be described on the whole as gratifying. In the important matter of defence several of the Colonies displayed a laudable desire to contribute to Imperial necessities. Thus, Canada could point to her militia of nearly 37,000 men, the Australasian Colonies to a force of 34,000 men, the Cape and Natal to trained forces of 5,500 men and 1,500 men respectively. In each case, moreover, there was a large reserve that could be drawn upon in case of need. For the debates on the coaling stations, the bases of discussion were furnished by Lord Carnarvon's report, as President of the Royal Commission, on the defence of the British possessions and commerce abroad, together with a short statement furnished by Mr. Stanhope. The general impression seemed to be that while a good deal was done, more remained to be done, particularly with regard to Esquimaux and Mauritius. The Secretary for War calculated that the total expenditure would be a million and a half of money, of which a quarter of a million would be furnished by the Colonial Governments. As for special arrangements, the defences of the Cape of Good Hope—Table Bay—and Simon Bay were settled by an arrangement whereby the Imperial Government undertook in the case of the latter to provide the entire cost; in case of the former to provide an armament estimated at £75,000, the superintendence of the works, and all special technical fittings, while the Cape Government found the sites, material, and labour. Similarly, the defences of King George Sound at Port Royal Harbour and of Torres Strait on Thursday Island, whose claims were powerfully urged by Sir Samuel Griffith, were the subject of a compromise, whereby the Australasian Colonies paid the cost of erecting, maintaining, and defending the works, while the Queen's Government found the armament. Muzzle-loaders were first proposed, but the Australian statesmen insisted upon new-type guns as an Imperial contribution, and the point was left for subsequent decision. The most solid result of the Conference was a Naval Defences Bill for Australasia, based upon the report of Admiral Tryon. By this measure the mother country and the colonies clubbed together for the safeguarding of Australian waters. The agreement was for ten years, and the squadron to be provided was five fast cruisers and two torpedo gunboats, which were to be retained exclusively on the station. Towards their maintenance the Colonies were to provide a sum not exceeding £91,000 per annum, and, in addition, five per cent. on the initial cost, which was expected to

amount to about £35,000 per annum: *i.e.* in all, about £126,000 a year. An Imperial officer was also to be sent out as inspector of the Australian local forces and military adviser to the several Governments.

As for the proposals for connecting the different

direct negotiations on trade matters with foreign Powers: a ticklish topic, introduced by Sir Dillon Bell. Mr. Hofmeyr also advocated "the feasibility of promoting a closer union between the various parts of the British Empire by means of an Imperial Tariff of Customs, to be levied



SIXPENCE.
(Original Issue.)



SHILLING.



DOUBLE FLORIN.



TWO-POUND PIECE



HALF-CROWN.

SOME OF THE JUBILEE COINS.

parts of the Empire by closer bonds in time of peace, they did not progress beyond the realms of discussion. Much time was devoted to the important subjects of the enforcement of Colonial judgments and orders in bankruptcy, and the winding up of companies; and two Bills were drafted embodying the conclusions of the Conference. Merchandise marks and patents, sugar bounties, and kindred subjects, were also passed under review, as was the formidable proposal that the self-governing Colonies should be allowed to enter into

independently of the duties payable under existing tariffs, on goods entering the Empire from abroad, the revenue from such tariff to be devoted to the general defence of the Empire." The debate was one of the most interesting of the Conference, but Mr. Hofmeyr was unable to conceal the weakness of his plan, namely, that it involved duties on food-stuffs, and would therefore be unacceptable to the working classes at home. The importance of the proposal lay in the countenance it received from the Canadian representatives. A general

system of penny postage was rejected for financial reasons; and for the same reasons the Australasian and South African Colonies declined to join the Postal Union. No very decided expression of opinion was given on the desirableness of altering the Australian mail service from its present route, *viâ* Brindisi, to a line *viâ* Canada and Vancouver. In the same way, though alternative telegraph routes to Australia to that of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company were suggested (one by way of the Cape of Good Hope, the other along the Canadian Pacific Railway to Vancouver), the general opinion seemed to be that well was best left alone. The greatest amount of discussion was evoked by the affairs of the Western Pacific. Victoria, Queensland, and New South Wales agreed, though with some demur, to contribute £15,000 for ten years towards the administration of New Guinea, and acquiesced in the American proposal that one of the three Great Powers concerned (Britain, Germany, and the United States) should assume control over the natives in Samoa. Concerning the New Hebrides, however, wild and whirling words were used, and Sir Henry Holland, when despatching the blue-book to the governors of the various Colonies, acknowledged that "a strong protest was placed on record against any further deportation of French Recidivists to New Caledonia, or any extension of that system to other islands of the Pacific." Sir Charles Dilke, in his "Problems of Greater Britain," declared that one of the delegates remarked in sarcastic tones that Lord Salisbury had delivered a speech which would have been excellent in the mouth of the Prime Minister of France. Concerning any such remark—indeed, concerning the New Hebrides generally—the Parliamentary paper is silent, for the debates, being regarded as confidential, were not printed. It appeared, however, that the preservation of the neutrality of the islands under a joint Anglo-French naval commission, which Lord Salisbury was trying to negotiate with the French Government, was regarded as the best solution of the difficulty that could, in the circumstances, be adopted.

Fairly successful though the Colonial Conference had been, some of the Australian statesmen had reason to regret their visit to the mother country. Their opponents naturally seized their absence to attack their policy, and the non-settlement of the New Hebrides affairs caused a general feeling of soreness, aggravated by the periodical announcements that fresh batches of convicts had been despatched to New Caledonia. On October the

24th, however, Lord Salisbury succeeded in concluding a convention with the French Government, whereby the latter undertook to withdraw its troops within four months, in return for the recognition of a protectorate over the island of Raiatea; and a joint naval commission was constituted for the protection of the lives and properties of British and French subjects, and the maintenance of order in the islands. This agreement was generally accepted by the Australians as a temporary settlement of a question the final solution of which must be the annexation of the islands by the British Empire. Meanwhile, the general irritation had found expression in New South Wales in a stringent Bill to protect the country against the immigration of time-expired convicts, whereby their transshippers and harbourers were rendered liable to heavy terms of imprisonment. In Queensland the anti-English feeling took the extreme form of the rejection of the Naval Defences Bill, though it was cordially accepted by the Legislatures of Victoria and New South Wales, and by South Australia and New Zealand. In Brisbane it was vigorously denounced by Sir Thomas McIlwraith, the leader of the "National" Opposition, on the ground that it was a "Naval Tribute Bill," and that the Australian Colonies should man and equip their own fleets for their own defence. So vigorous was the attack that Sir Samuel Griffith's Government abandoned the obnoxious proposal, and Queensland once more achieved the unenviable reputation of a "disloyal" Colony. For the rest, the large but undeveloped district of West Australia advanced a step towards self-government through a resolution in favour of Parliamentary responsibility, passed by the Legislative Council by 13 votes to 4; while the richer Colonies were occupied chiefly by questions of tariff, Victoria remaining stoutly Protectionist, and New South Wales, despite Sir Henry Parkes's vehement protestations to the contrary, showing a strong disposition to embrace that creed. In New Zealand, where the commercial depression of some six years past had happily ceased, retrenchment was the order of the day in Sir Harry Atkinson's Cabinet. Meanwhile, the Colony regarded with unquiet eye the troubles in Samoa, where the German squadron had put down one puppet king and set up another, after a somewhat dubious expression of approval had been extorted from the British and American consuls.

In no part of the British Empire was the display of loyalty more marked on the occasion of the

Queen's Jubilee than in the Dominion of Canada. In the circumstances, Mr. William O'Brien was hardly well-advised in selecting that particular year for the conduct of a crusade against the Governor-General, Lord Lansdowne, in his capacity of Irish landlord. The Nationalist M.P. narrowly escaped being lynched by the Orangemen, and had to conduct the greater part of his campaign under the protection of the police. Otherwise, the internal history of the Dominion was uneventful, though there was some friction between the Federal and Provincial Governments, and the movement for unrestricted reciprocity with the United States made definite progress, despite the vigorous opposition of the Premier, Sir John Macdonald. All parties were united in hoping for some solution of the Fisheries difficulty with the United States, whereof the violent speeches against Great Britain in the Washington Senate gave but little expectation, though, in answer to a deputation of English advocates of arbitration, President Cleveland expressed a platonic hope that peaceful methods would invariably be adopted for terminating the differences between the two peoples. At length, in September, a joint Commission was appointed, consisting of Secretary Bayard, Mr. Putnam, and Mr. Angell on behalf of the United States, and Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, and Sir Julian Pauncefoot on behalf of Great Britain. The commissioners met in November, and sat with closed doors during the remainder of the year. The result of their deliberations was a treaty, signed February the 15th, 1888, whereby a mixed Commission was appointed to delimit the waters of Canada and Newfoundland, within which, under the treaty of 1818, American fishermen were prohibited from taking or drying fish. The preserve was fixed at three miles from the low-water mark in the open seas, and in bays and harbours in which the width did not exceed ten miles. Further, fishermen of both waters were permitted to land, sell, and replenish their supplies when driven into harbour by stress of weather. The treaty was accepted by the Legislatures of Canada and Newfoundland after some demur, but incontinently rejected by the American Senate on a strictly party vote, in spite of President Cleveland's cordial approval of its provisions. From subsequent debates, and the President's very vigorous messages, it appeared that the Republican majority (30 to 27) was actuated, in part at least, by a desire to force the Canadians into a commercial and political union with America. Fortunately Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues had also

arranged a *modus vivendi*, whereby American fishermen were entitled to enter Canadian and Newfoundland harbours for the purchase of bait, and by this makeshift the troubles on the Atlantic coast were in a measure obviated, if not altogether prevented. The Retaliation Bill passed by the House of Representatives and referred in the Senate to the Committee on Foreign Relations was characterised by Lord Salisbury as "an election-eering measure." If so, it was entirely unsuccessful, since Mr. Cleveland, on seeking re-election for the Presidency, was defeated by the Republican candidate General Harrison, the grandson of a former President.

Turning to South Africa, we find that at the Cape as elsewhere the Jubilee was celebrated right loyally. Sir Gordon Sprigg's Ministry exhibited a desire to promote confederation both by the establishment of a South African Customs Union, and by pushing on the railway communication with the Orange Free State. On both points President Brand seemed disposed to meet him more than half way, but in the Transvaal President Kruger adopted an attitude of sullen hostility to all British proposals. He put pressure on the Free State for the conclusion of a defensive alliance, and was said to have extorted a secret treaty; and, while opposing with all his strength the construction of any railways in the direction of the Cape, tried to stop the construction of a line from Natal to Bloemfontein, because it would compete with his pet scheme of a route between the Transvaal and Delagoa Bay. Meanwhile the Boer farmers were evidently intent upon "eating up" the Swazi and Amatonga tribes on the coast, much as they had devoured Zululand, and both nations sent bitter complaints to the British Government. In Zululand the British protectorate was proclaimed over the remaining two-thirds of the country early in the year, and in June it was placed directly under British rule. The arrangement pleased neither the people of Natal, who were anxious to annex the territory, nor the more unreasonable of the native chiefs, who wished the whole question to be reopened. After being fined for contumacy, the chiefs Dinizulu and Ndabuko were summoned before the Governor and, as they proved unable to adapt themselves to the new *régime*, were early in 1889 deported to St. Helena. Of the other British enterprises in Africa, the Niger Company was gaining peaceful headway by making treaties with the Mohammedan states at the back of the river, whereby a valuable trade in palm oils was

secured; while the East Africa Association, with Sir William Mackinnon as its guiding spirit, obtained from the Sultan of Zanzibar the administration of a vast district of some 50,000 square miles, with Mombasa as its port, and Victoria Nyanza as its objective.

In Egypt the internal situation continued satisfactory; the Mahdists were quiet on the frontier; finance continued to display a healthy equilibrium; and the French Government gave a grudging consent to the abolition of the *corvée*. But the negotiations for the regulation of the British occupation by consent of the Sultan languished and finally expired, though a considerable reduction of the British forces was effected. In February Sir Drummond Wolff, having brought to a conclusion his prolonged palavers with Moukhtar Pasha, presented himself at Constantinople with his draft Convention. Its main stipulations were (1) the neutrality of Egypt under the suzerainty of the Sultan; (2) the neutrality of Egypt under the guarantee of the Great Powers, and their free right to transport troops either by land or the Canal; (3) the abolition of the privilege of foreigners to be tried by their consuls; (4) the evacuation of Egypt by the British troops within five years, provided the internal condition of the country was satisfactory, and provided that Britain could reoccupy the country in case of disturbance; (5) the retention of British officers in the Egyptian army. To these terms both Moukhtar Pasha and the Sultan offered very strenuous objections. Abdul Hamid insisted that the date of evacuation should be more definitely fixed, and that the troops in the event of a reoccupation should be, not British, but Turkish. To this latter demand Lord Salisbury declined to consent, though he offered the Sultan concurrent rights, and after long delays consented to fix the maximum period of the occupation at three years. Thereupon the Grand Vizier's signature was affixed to the Convention, but still his master's was postponed on one pretext or another; and, meanwhile, the Russian and French representatives, M. de Nekliudoff and the Count de Montebello, were constant in their efforts to thwart a settlement. Sir Drummond Wolff, ably supported by Sir William White, stood firm, and after two extensions of time had been given, he quitted Stamboul *re infecta* on July the 16th. The Turkish Ambassador, Rustem Pasha, attempted to reopen the negotiations, but Lord Salisbury declined, and the Queen's Speech contained the somewhat significant remark that the non-ratification of the Convention "left our obligations in Egypt unchanged."

Lord Salisbury was more fortunate in another negotiation, that, namely, for the neutralisation of the Suez Canal. The credit for the resumption of international exchange of opinion on a question that had hung fire since 1885 was due in part to the French Foreign Minister, M. Flourens, who, on the failure of Sir Drummond Wolff's mission, issued a judicious circular to the representatives abroad, in which the action of France with regard to the Anglo-Turkish Convention was explained as due not to faction but to a regard for the national honour. Lord Salisbury replied in a kindred spirit, and negotiations were resumed, with the result that a Convention was signed on October the 24th simultaneously with that concerning the New Hebrides. If the mingling of two questions that had nothing in common, and on one of which the French had undoubtedly broken treaty obligations, was somewhat to be regretted, the terms of the Canal arrangement were satisfactory to both parties concerned. One advantage over the draft Convention of 1885 was the abolition of the clumsy International Council for the control of the "ditch," and the substitution instead of the ordinary representatives of the signatory Powers. The chief *crux* was how much should be forbidden to belligerents, but by mutual concessions the compromise was reached that while the Canal was open to ships of all nations in time of peace it should also be free, with certain qualifications, in time of war. The restrictions were that no Power could then land troops or munitions of war either in the stream or ports of access, except in the case of a block in the Canal, when troops could be landed or taken on board in detachments of not more than a thousand at a time. In case of attack, if Egypt proved unequal to her own defence, she was to appeal to the Sultan, who would consult with the signatory Powers as to the necessary measures. Thus the United Kingdom gained her main point, freedom to send troops through the Canal in the event of an attack on India. Unfortunately the susceptibilities of the Porte were aroused at some fancied slight upon its dignity, and Russia also proving obdurate, the Convention remained unratified. The cordiality, however, with which the central Powers assented to the regulations gave them an informal sanction, and proved that Britain was by no means friendless in Europe. Besides, the hesitation of the Sultan was never expected to be permanent, and though his signature was further delayed by the declaration of Italy that she had occupied Massowah, it was eventually appended to



A FRIENDLY POWER IN EGYPT.

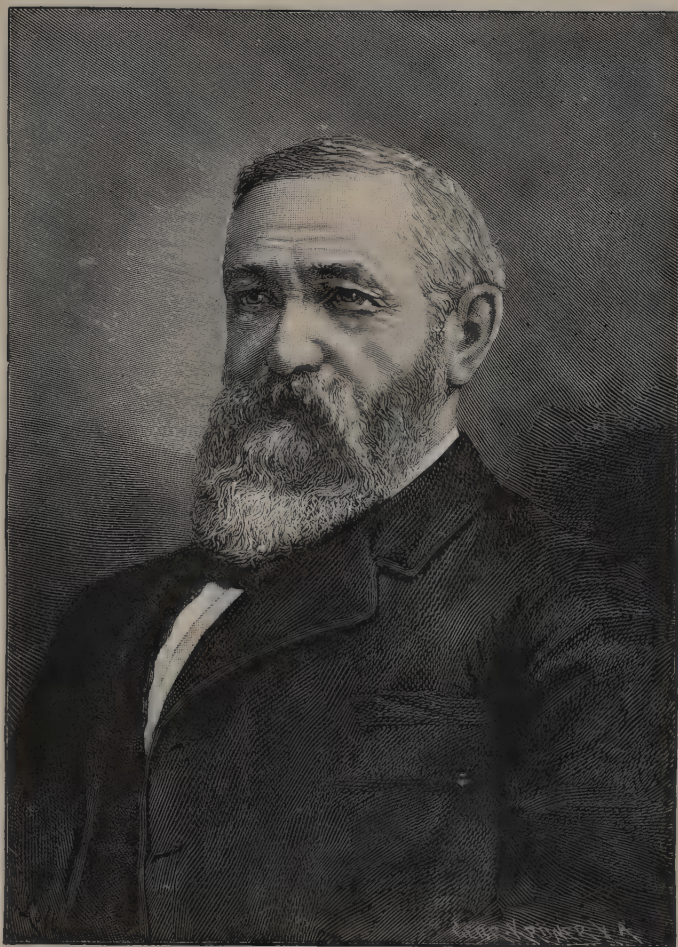
FROM THE PAINTING BY W. C. HORSLEY.

THE WELSH REGIMENT (LATE 41st) MARCHING THROUGH THE METWALLI GATE IN THE MAIN STREET OF THE NATIVE PART OF CAIRO, 1887.

the Convention on October the 29th, 1888. With the exchange of the ratifications at the end of the year, the arrangement was completed to the general satisfaction.

In India the Jubilee was made the occasion of an eloquent review by Lord Dufferin of the fifty years' peace, which "had brought justice to every

durbars, but also by permanent foundations such as hospitals and schools. According to Eastern custom, the festival was accompanied by the release of prisoners, and the feeding of the poor, and profuse merrymaking; but even these benefits hardly accounted for the spontaneous outburst of loyalty from the Himalayas to Ceylon. Especially



GENERAL BENJAMIN HARRISON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

cottage door; which had bridged the flood and pierced the jungle, and which had converted millions of barren acres into well-watered plains; which had sensibly diminished the risks of famine and pestilence, which had lit a hundred lamps of learning in every chief centre of the population, and placed before the humblest of Indian students the accumulated wealth of Western knowledge, science and experience." Indeed, the Viceroy could hardly fail to be gratified by the unstinted generosity with which the great occasion was celebrated, not only by temporary feastings and

noticeable was the expression of devotion to the British rule forthcoming from the feudatory princes of the Empire. Thus the Nizam of Hyderabad as "the oldest ally of the English in India," offered £600,000 to the Government for the defence of the north-west frontier. His example was followed by other princes, and Lord Dufferin gladly acknowledged their generous proposals. After due consideration, however, they were declined in their original form, though they proved the beginning of the specially equipped and drilled contingents from the feudatory States, which

Sir Frederick Roberts incorporated later in the Indian army. Loyalty was also profusely professed by the so-called National Congresses, which met at Calcutta in the spring, and at Bombay in the winter. As to the composition of those bodies, it was noticed that the Hindoo element largely outnumbered the Mohammedans, who for the most part held aloof from the movement, and that its programme too was somewhat advanced, including as it did political reforms for which the Eastern Empire as a whole was hardly fitted, and being silent concerning such institutions as child-marriage. However, the Government had little cause of anxiety, though the financial position was still far from cheering, and the heavy expenditure caused by the Russian scare and the annexation of Burma still continued to affect the Budget. At least that outlay was not altogether unsatisfactory, for the army had been permanently increased by 22,500 men in nearly equal proportions of Englishmen and natives, while in Upper Burma the situation showed daily signs of improvement. The death of Bo-shway in October was a formidable blow to dacoity, and though plots against the British administration were not infrequent, they were suppressed with the utmost ease, thanks to the efficiency of the military police. A mere demonstration was sufficient to overcome the Tswabwa of Wuntho, though his opposition was renewed at a later date, and the expedition sent towards the end of the year into the Shan States met with no resistance worth the name. At the close of the twelvemonth, the Chief Commissioner, Mr. Costhwaite, was able to assert that trade was reviving, that buildings were being erected, and that disorder was a thing of the past. Equally satisfactory was the position of Afghanistan, where the Ameer, fortified by the settlement of northern frontier disputes, was fortunate enough to defeat his rival Ayoub Khan at the head of a small body of followers, and drive him into Persia. Ayoub shortly afterwards surrendered to the British representative at Mesched and was interned in India.

The cessation of all cause of embroilment with Russia was fortunate, for that Power was in no conciliatory temper. Throughout the year the Continent was uneasy, and the chief centres of disturbance were Bulgaria and Paris. Though the two questions were in reality one, since their effect was the union of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy against France and Russia in isolated hostility, the Bulgarian question may be dismissed with brevity. Despite the failure of the Sultan to

produce the pacification of the Principality, by suggesting a coalition Ministry in which M. Zankoff should find place, despite numerous and formidable outbreaks in various parts of the country, the iron rule of M. Stambouloff kept Bulgaria intact. Candidate for the throne there could not be found, for the Russian nominee the Prince of Mingrelia was generally unpopular, while M. Stambouloff decisively vetoed the hazardous proposal of the Premier, M. Radoslavoff, that Prince Alexander should be restored. At length in his despair the Regent turned again to Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, and this time his overtures were accepted. The Prince was elected unanimously by the Sobranje, and without waiting for the consent of the Powers, entered Bulgaria on the 11th of August. Already indeed the Czar had launched his veto; Austria, though in guarded terms, was compelled to follow suit and disown the enterprise; Germany professed indifference, the Porte displeasure. When, however, the French and Russian Ambassadors proposed to the Sultan that, pending a new election, the Russian general Ernroth should be sent to Bulgaria as sole Regent, Abdul Hamid fell back upon his usual plea, that he could not act without the consent of the Powers. Thanks to his eminently masterly inactivity, Prince Ferdinand contrived to maintain his position, but the wrath of the Czar rose higher and higher, and his ejection seemed a matter of months if not of weeks.

So much for Bulgaria. The main consideration was how many of the Powers would be drawn into the struggle? Austria throughout the year went obviously in fear of war, and Germany, despite sundry cynical utterances of Prince Bismarck both against Bulgaria and the excessive alarms of his country's ally, was on tenterhooks lest he too should have to advise a call to arms. As against France his position was enormously strengthened by the general election which followed the rejection of the Army Bill by the Reichstag (183 votes to 154). By the beginning of March the Chancellor had gained a powerful majority of Conservatives and National Liberals, while his bitterest opponents, the German Liberals, were nearly annihilated, and the Centre or Clerical party slightly weakened. Under these favourable conditions the Army Bill was rapidly passed through its stages, and Prince Bismarck hastened to make his peace with Rome by abolishing the last vestiges of the May or Falk legislation. Meanwhile, however, the Boulangist movement was gaining ground in France, with for its avowed

object the renewal of the war of revenge, and in April the Schnaebelé affair, closely coinciding with a riot on the occasion of a performance of one of Wagner's operas at the Eden Theatre, nearly produced a diplomatic rupture. M. Schnaebelé was a French Commissary of Police, whom Prince Bismarck, because his son—a schoolboy—had stuck up an insulting placard on the farther side of the border, caused to be arrested on German soil, after he had been decoyed thither by his German colleague Herr Grautch. The situation was rendered all the graver by the military preparations promptly begun by General Boulanger, but the conciliatory yet firm diplomacy of M. Flourens at length procured the release of the unfortunate cause of the crisis. French opinion, however, was greatly disturbed, and the League of Patriots, under the presidency of M. Paul Déroulède, raged exceedingly, and undertook a boisterous mission to Russia when the Panslavist journalist Katkoff was buried.

The Czar, however, was too disgusted with the extravagances of Boulangism to form an alliance with France, and in May a domestic crisis placed M. Rouvier at the head of a Ministry which prudently dispensed with the General's services. He continued, however, the popular hero, and his praises were sung at all the music-halls, Paulus's ditty *En rev'nant de la revue* being received with especial transports. The Government thereupon despatched him as commandant of the 13th Army Corps at Clermont-Ferrand, and after the hooting of President Grévy at the National Festival (July 4th) he was thrown over by the Radicals. M. Ferry dubbed him a "Café-concert St. Arnaud" and then prudently declined a duel. Meanwhile the Minister at War, General Ferron, and General Saussier, the Governor of Paris, made every preparation to resist a Boulangist rising, and popular passion somewhat abated.

The meeting of the German and Austrian Emperors at Gastein early in August, though of no special significance, tended, nevertheless, to show that the two Powers were still prepared for united action under certain eventualities. So far as France was concerned, the danger of war was minimised by the courage of the Government, which, when General Boulanger was insubordinate to General Ferron promptly placed him under arrest. Prince Bismarck also, it was noticed, caused Prince Ferdinand to be styled in the *North German Gazette* an instrument of the Orleans family, who had broken the Treaty of Berlin so as to provoke a European conflict and

upset the existing order of things in France. This ingenious hypothesis, closely coinciding with a manifesto of the Comte de Paris announcing his acceptance of the principle of the *plébiscite*, somewhat calmed French and Russian susceptibilities, though the Czar's neglect to visit his aged great-uncle, when the former was at Copenhagen, the latter at Stettin, showed that there was some obstacle to a complete understanding. Again, no sooner were better relations established with the Republic, than the shooting of a gamekeeper on the frontier by a German sentinel roused the League of Patriots to a white heat of indignation. Again M. Flourens obtained diplomatic satisfaction, and fortunately for the peace of Europe, the attention of Paris was absorbed in October and onwards in the "Decorations scandal." In this exposure of a wholesale traffic in ribbons and appointments M. Wilson, the son-in-law of President Grévy, was gravely implicated, and after a prolonged crisis the unwilling old man was forced to resign. The election for his successor, which took place on December the 3rd, resulted, owing to the continued unpopularity of M. Ferry, in the return of M. Carnot by an overwhelming majority. He was the bearer of a great name, a fairly successful though hardly brilliant office-holder, but otherwise an unknown quantity.

The abstention of France from international politics coincided with an important meeting between Prince Bismarck and the Italian Premier, Signor Crispi, at Friedrichsruh, on November the 2nd, which had been preceded by a visit paid to the German Chancellor by Count Kalnoky. The interview was throughout characterised by a certain amount of ostentation, and before he left Germany Signor Crispi allowed himself to be interviewed at Frankfort, and his remarks were reproduced in the semi-official *North German Gazette*. They were to the effect that Italy had made a treaty with Germany "to avoid international conflicts, and," continued the Premier, "there can be no doubt that Italy, like all other European States, has every reason to dread the advance of Russia to Constantinople. We cannot allow the Mediterranean to become a Russian lake." The authenticity of the information conveyed in these remarkable words was promptly acknowledged by Prince Bismarck, and the general conclusion was that the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy had become a hard and fast League of Peace to the isolation of Russia and France. No counter-demonstration took place, however, and in his Guildhall speech in London on

November the 9th Lord Salisbury was able to congratulate Europe on the prospects of peace.

These optimistic ideas seemed to be confirmed by the tardy visit of the Czar to Berlin, when Prince Bismarck succeeded in convincing him that certain letters purporting to have been written by himself in a tone of bitter hostility to Russian pretensions in Bulgaria were deliberate forgeries, emanating from a Coburg source. Further, the

was reported to be massing troops on the Austrian frontier, and though these rumours were subsequently discovered to be exaggerations, the tension of the situation was extreme. Prince William of Prussia, the Kaiser's eldest grandson, while addressing his Hussar regiment, said that during the year the situation had changed and become serious. "We are standing before an uncertain future, and it behoves us to think of the old device



PRINCE WILLIAM OF PRUSSIA ADDRESSING THE HUSSARS. (See p. 176.)

speech from the throne in the German Reichstag announced that the Emperor was trying to make peace by forming alliances to make common cause against unjust attacks, and that the Empire had no aggressive tendencies, the un-Christian inclination to fall upon neighbouring nations being foreign to the German character. These assurances tended to restore confidence, though in Germany herself the gravest apprehensions were felt as to the health of the aged Emperor, more especially as the telegrams from San Remo left little room for doubt that the gallant and single-hearted heir to the Imperial throne was affected with a cancer in the throat that must soon carry him to the grave. Further, in December the Czar

on our helmets, 'With God for King and Fatherland.' On December the 19th Lord Salisbury made a speech at Derby in which he remarked that, so far as diplomatic information went, there was no ground for the terror which had seized the European press. "But," he continued, "it is impossible that these vast armaments, constantly growing, can continue to watch each other without creating some well-founded solicitude. With these great, heavy, overburdened clouds, charged with the electricity of war, coming closer and closer, who can say that the thunderclap shall not ensue?" The rulers of Europe, he admitted, were anxious for peace, but great waves of popular sentiment were sweeping over the nations.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

Significance of the Victorian Era—Increase of the Population—The Census Returns—The “Natural Increment”—Immigration and the Foreign element—Emigration—Its objectives—The Area and Population of the Empire—British India—Australasia—Canada—South Africa—Distribution of the Population—The Townward Movement—Its Results in 1861—Rural and semi-urban Counties compared—A general Summary—London—The Countryward Movement—Liverpool and Manchester—Registration London and the Outer Ring—Evidence of the Census Commissioners—Scotland—Ireland—Good Healths and Long Lives—Increase of Wages—Decline of Prices—The Consumption per Head—Pauperism—Savings Banks—Income-tax Returns—Probate—Schedule D—Aggregate Prosperity of the United Kingdom—National Indebtedness—Local Indebtedness—The Imperial Revenue—Lesson of the Budgets—Imports and Exports—The Necessaries of Life—Quantities imported—Wheat—Raw Materials—Manufactured Imports—Character of Exports—Food-stuffs—Raw Material—Manufactured Articles—Cotton and other Goods—Metallic Manufactures—Miscellaneous—Trade of the Empire—Indian Revenue—Its Sources—Australasian Prosperity—Indebtedness of the Colonies—Public Works—Canada—South Africa—West Indies—Inter-Imperial Trade.

(*N.B.—For the sake of convenience the nominal limit, i.e. 1887, has not been strictly observed.*)

THE Jubilee year of Queen Victoria's illustrious reign affords an excellent opportunity for a halt in the narrative, in order to review the material and moral progress of the nation during an eventful half-century. For the Victorian era embraces a period of change that is of unequalled moment in the nation's story, with the possible exception of the fifty years that followed the accession of Queen Elizabeth. It has witnessed the conversion of England from a monarchy resting upon the upper classes to a monarchy “broad-based upon the people's will”; it has experienced the transference of the government of India from the Company to the British Crown; it has beheld the growth of the colonies from obscure settlements to members of a mighty Empire. The face of the land has been covered with railways and telegraph wires, while submarine cables have connected the mother country with her most distant offspring. Upon the ocean sail has given place to the rapidity of steam, and commerce is protected by men-of-war whose bulk would be inconceivable to the men of a generation ago. Science has given to the service of mankind inventions for the economy of labour, and for the decrease of disease and pain. Many of these discoveries belong in their actual inception to the precedent age, but their development is distinctly Victorian. Of others, notably the use of electricity, it may be said that they are yet in their infancy. But taken together they constitute a solid advance, possibly not to the attainment of perfection, for a certain amount of attendant evil is inseparable from the contrivances of human wisdom. Still, the era has been on the whole one of remarkable progress and prosperity, due no doubt to the manifold qualities of the races forming the United Kingdom and its colonies.

And first as to the population, the figures of which are worth examining in detail, inasmuch as they establish several important conclusions. Thus an examination of the figures for the successive decades shows that in Great Britain the numbers steadily rose, while in Ireland they declined. We shall also notice that for twenty-five years or so the rate of increase was not particularly rapid in England and Scotland, but that it afterwards moved by leaps and bounds. Yet towards the end of the period the increase became noticeably slower, indeed in 1881 and onwards not only was it absolutely less than that of the previous decennium, but than that of any previous decennial period in the century.

The net result of these numberings of the people was that the population of Great Britain and Ireland multiplied from some 25,650,000 in 1837, to some 37,000,000 in 1887, showing an increase of about 44 per cent. But the first trustworthy figures are those of the census of 1841, when the population was reckoned at 26,916,291, showing an increase of but 1 per cent. per annum upon the census of ten years previously. Of these persons 15,914,148 inhabited England and Wales, Scotland possessed but 2,620,184 natives, while Ireland had 8,196,597. The remainder was composed of the inhabitants of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, and the Army, Navy and merchant seamen abroad. For the next decade (1841-1851) the total was 27,745,942, nearly all distributed as follows:—England and Wales 17,927,609, Scotland 2,888,742, and Ireland 6,574,278. It will be observed that England and Wales increased at the rate of 12 per cent., Scotland at the rate of 10 per cent., while in Ireland the decrease consequent upon the potato famine and the subsequent emigration was no less

than 19 per cent. From 1851 to 1861 England and Wales increased at the rate of 13 per cent., Scotland at 6; in Ireland the decrease was less than before, namely, 11 per cent. The actual figures are England and Wales 19,066,224, Scotland 3,062,294, and Ireland 5,798,967. It was during the next twenty years, however, that the islands were peopled at the most rapid rate. The grand totals in the year 1881 were for England and Wales 25,974,439, Scotland 3,735,573, and Ireland 5,174,836. Here the rates of increase were, for the twenty years, for England and Wales 27 per cent., for Scotland 20 per cent.; Ireland had decreased 13 per cent. No especial census was taken for the year 1887, so that we have to go for exact figures to the year 1891. Then the figures were for England and Wales 29,001,018, Scotland 4,033,103, and Ireland 4,706,162. Thus we observe that the rate of increase in Britain was no more than 11 per cent., in Scotland 6, while in Ireland, owing to the agricultural depression, the decrease had risen to 9 per cent. as against the 4 per cent. of the previous decade. If the figures are considered from another point of view, we shall find that the proportion per cent. of the population in the three divisions of the United Kingdom was as follows, in 1841:—England and Wales 58·8, Scotland 9·7, and Ireland 30·2, in 1891 England and Wales 76·7, Scotland 10·6, and Ireland 12·4. That is to say, at the close of our period England and Wales formed nearly three-quarters of the total population of the United Kingdom; Scotland stood pretty much where it did in the two previous enumerations; but Ireland, whose inhabitants were nearly one-third of the aggregate population, now formed only one-eighth. Yet again the density per square mile was in 1841 for England and Wales 274, for Scotland 88, for Ireland 251; in 1891 for England and Wales 498, for Scotland 132, for Ireland 144.

The growth of a population is determined by two factors, the balance between births and deaths, and the balance between emigration and immigration. Of the two the “natural increment” or difference between the total number of births and total number of deaths, was during the fifty years under review by far the most powerful influence so far as the United Kingdom was concerned, and it is perhaps hardly necessary to mention that it was invariably a cause of increase. How closely the growth of the population is determined by the “natural increment,” and in what small degree it is determined by other causes, is shown by a curious calculation in the census return of 1891,

wherein the difference of the “natural increment rate” from the enumeration rate was calculated at 0·68 in 1861, 0·39 in 1871, and 0·73 in 1881, and 2·33 in 1891. We notice besides that the death-rate invariably declined, and that in the last decennium under consideration the birth-rate showed a similar tendency, as the following table

Intercensal Periods.	Increase per cent. of Births.	Decrease per cent. of Deaths.	Natural Increase.
1841 to 1851	34·64	23·73	10·91
1851 to 1861	36·19	23·58	12·61
1861 to 1871	37·56	22·98	13·58
1871 to 1881	36·89	22·80	15·09
1881 to 1891	34·26	20·28	13·98

exemplifies with great clearness. The only conclusion to be derived from these figures was that, if Britons had become healthier and more long-lived year by year, they were also, owing to increased standards of comfort, becoming more and more averse from matrimony and large families.

In the same manner the balance of emigration and immigration was invariably a cause of decrease. The latter element in the population was unimportant, though at times a growing one. Englishmen were as a rule able to hold their own in the national labour market, and whether as settlers or as visitors, the number of foreigners in the country was never of much significance. In 1841 out of a population in England and Wales of 15,914,148, it numbered but 432,974; so that at that date there was but one person out of every thirty-five not born in England, as against one out of every twenty-two in 1871, when the total was, 100 638. It should be remembered that the census of the last year was taken at a time when, owing to the war between France and Germany, a larger number of foreigners was staying in England than in all probability would otherwise have been the case. Accordingly we find the rate decline to about one in every twenty-five in 1891, though it must have risen again immediately afterwards, owing to the famine and oppression of the Jews in Russia. In Scotland and Ireland the proportion was even less than in Great Britain. A noteworthy fact is to be seen in the nationalities of which the alien element was composed. For the greater part of the period the larger section was German and French, of which the latter were little more than half as numerous as the former. They constituted a peculiarly industrious portion of the community engaged in the baking, catering and hair-cutting trades. Later,

however, there was a noticeable increase of persons classifying themselves as Russian or Polish. They were believed to be Jews occupied in cheap tailoring and shoemaking, and constituted a remarkably squalid and poor class of the population. Also they lowered the rate of wages, and altogether were far from making for the strength of the community. Alarmists were also disposed to see signs of decadence in the circumstance that the immigrants into England that increased at the most rapid rate were not, as might most readily be supposed, those of Scottish and Irish origin, but foreigners and British subjects born in foreign countries. The latter increased three-and-a-half-fold, while the former scarcely doubled their numbers. At the close of the period under review there was one Irishman in every forty of the population of England and Wales, and one Scotsman in every hundred. The greater part of this movement had occurred before the year 1850, and was caused by the combination of the Irish famine and the increased demand for factory hands.

As for emigration, its facts fall within a very reasonable compass, though the returns are by no means as complete as the precisian might desire. In the intercensal period of 1831 to 1841 the number of departures from the mother country was 717,913, and these had risen to 1,692,063 in the decade from 1841 to 1851, when the terrible famine had driven nearly a million of Ireland's sons from their native land. The figures for the following years are considerably more explicit, and from them we obtain the following results :—

Periods.	Total.	English.	Scots.	Irish.	Foreign.
1851 to 1861	2,249,355	640,316	182,954	1,231,308	194,777
1861 to 1871	1,976,577	649,742	158,226	866,626	301,983
1871 to 1881	2,244,338	996,038	170,757	530,924	546,619
1881 to 1891	3,552,952	1,571,856	278,671	735,555	966,870

The last class, which used the United Kingdom as a temporary resting-place, can obviously be excluded from our observations. As for the tide of Irish emigration, it was, on the whole, ebbing. Thus during the decade from 1861 to 1871 it fell off no less than 30 per cent. until the last ten years, when agrarian troubles and the decline in the value of agricultural produce caused it to increase in volume. The Scots display a curious steadiness in this as in other national movements; but how to account for the vastly increased rate of the departures from England and Wales between 1881 and 1891 must be a matter of conjecture. The fall in prices in the rural districts, and strikes and lock-outs in the Midlands and North of

England, unquestionably accounted for much of the uneasiness that such shiftings implied. In short, though the whole period was one of advance, the progress was less marked towards its end than when in mid-career.

As to the adopted homes of emigrants, it may be said that they selected for the most part countries populated by the British race, but not always under the British flag. Of an annual exodus averaging some 200,000 persons, it was computed that some three-fifths went to the United States, in spite of the systems of assisted passages and organised methods of colonisation in vogue during a portion of our period. Indeed the Wakefield system and similar devices were never more than somewhat artificial experiments, which were afterwards rendered unnecessary, except with extremely indigent classes like the Western Irish and Scottish Crofters, by the settled condition of the countries towards which the stream was directed. Accordingly Government wisely confined their efforts to providing for the safe and cheap transit and reception of individuals, which duty was placed in 1831 in the hands of the Emigration Commission, and afterwards transferred to the Board of Trade. It was regulated by law in various Passengers Acts providing for the comfort and protection of emigrants, the most important of which were those passed in 1835, 1855 and 1863. Again, several of the colonies, notably New South Wales, made vigorous efforts at one time to secure manual labour by bounty systems, and their agents were extremely active in supplying information, a matter in which they were aided by the Board of Trade and the Emigrant's Information Office, established by Government in 1866. Still, all these efforts to retain Britons under the British flag were of little avail, beside the permanent natural advantages of the United States. Indeed, State aid must obviously be considered a very inferior influence over the movement to climate, fertility, and even such temporary causes as the discovery of the Australian gold-mines. Yet British North America might possibly have retained for several years longer the position of the favourite resort of adventurous British which she held at the beginning of the reign, had it not been for the Canadian rebellion and subsequent disturbances. That event caused the current to be deflected into the United States, and its volume was increased by the preference of the Irish for American institutions.

The following table shows in round numbers the rate of emigration from the British Isles to the United States, Canada and Australasia during the

various decennial periods of the Victorian era. We may observe that a small foreign element enters into the calculation, and also the fact that many emigrants passed through the Dominion into the American Republic:—

Period.	Total.	United States.	Canada.	Australasia.
1831-41	717,000	170,000	320,000	53,000
1841-51	1,692,000	673,000	428,000	126,000
1851-61	2,249,000	1,340,000	258,000	498,000
1861-71	1,976,000	907,000	166,000	277,000
1871-81	2,444,000	1,460,000	231,000	463,000
1881-91	3,552,000	2,131,000	409,000	573,000

These facts naturally lead us to consider the increase of the Empire as a whole, and we find that marvellous as was the development of the mother country, that of the Empire seems more wonderful still. At the beginning of the reign the population of the British Empire as a whole stood at some 124,000,000, of whom 25,650,000 (as we have seen) inhabited the British Isles, while the colonial subjects of European descent numbered some 1,900,000, and the Asiatic race in India 96,000,000. In the Jubilee year the total was some 307,000,000, of whom 37,000,000 inhabited the British Isles, the colonial subjects of European descent numbered 9,000,000, and the population of the Indian Empire was 256,000,000. During the same period the area of the Empire had increased from some 5,000,000 square miles to quite 9,000,000, of which 1,570,000 were included in the Indian Empire, 7,000,000 in the colonial, and the rest in various protectorates. In order to show what that means, we may mention that the total area of China at this date was some 4,468,000 square miles with a population of 404,000,000; of Russia 8,457,000 with a population of 104,000,000; and of the United States 3,581,000 with a population of 62,000,000.

Finally, as to the growth of the more important colonies and dependencies *seriatim*, the development of India cannot, unfortunately, be estimated with any approach to certainty. At a rough guess the population of British India at the commencement of the reign was estimated by high authorities at 120,000,000 living upon an area of 356,000 square miles. Even the first general enumeration, taken in 1868 and the following years, was acknowledged to be decidedly inaccurate. According to this return the population numbered 185,537,859, inhabiting an area of 868,314 square miles. At the first scientific enumeration, that of 1881, the population was found to be 201,755,993, but the apparent increase of over thirteen millions

was probably due, to some extent, to more accurate methods of enumeration. Of these, 66,691,456 dwelt in Bengal, 44,107,869 in the North-West Provinces, 18,850,437 in the Punjab, 9,838,791 in the Central Provinces, 6,736,771 in Burma (though the newly acquired Upper Province could only be estimated conjecturally), 30,868,504 in Madras, and 16,454,414 in Bombay. The total population of British India was not much less than one-seventh of the population of the globe; and the native States totalled 55,191,742 besides, of whom 10,268,392 hailed from the Rajputana Agency, 9,895,594 from Hyderabad, and 9,261,907 from Central India. The area covered by these feudatory principalities was 509,730 square miles, and there were also included under the British flag—Cashmere with 70,000 square miles and 1,000,000 inhabitants, also Manipur with 7,854 square miles and 150,000 inhabitants. The British-born population, exclusive of the army, had risen from under 40,000 in 1837 to over 90,000 in 1887. We get, then, a grand total of 256,982,495 persons inhabiting 1,574,450 square miles, and comprising in the words of Sir Henry Maine, “a cluster of countries differing from one another not less than the various countries of Europe, and differing even more than European countries in the customs, religious beliefs, tastes, character and intellectual power of the communities of men inhabiting them.” As to the various beliefs prevalent in 1887, their figures may be stated in round numbers as follows:—Hindus 190,000,000, Mohammedans 52,000,000, Aborigines (Primitive Nature Worshippers) 6,000,000, Buddhists 3,000,000, Christians 2,000,000, Sikhs 2,000,000, Jains 1,500,000, Parsees 90,000, and Jews 15,000.

From India the inquirer naturally turns to the Australasian provinces, and there again he finds a most remarkable multiplication and replenishment of the earth. At the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign Australia and New Zealand numbered no more than 143,000 inhabitants, or less than Brighton in 1887 and a little over Preston. In the Jubilee year they reached the figure of 3,300,000 inhabiting an area, including Fiji and a portion of New Guinea, estimated at 3,169,389 square miles. During the period under review New South Wales increased from some 40,000, of whom 15,000 were transported convicts, to 1,001,966. Queensland, free and felon, only numbered 2,257 in 1846, whereas in May, 1886, the colony included 322,853 persons of European descent, and 12,000 aborigines besides. Victoria, first settled in 1835, contained between 2,000 and 3,000 in 1837, and 1,027,749



ON BOARD AN EMIGRANT SHIP.

in 1887, of whom half dwelt in towns, for instance 390,000, or nearly a third, in Melbourne, 40,050 in Ballarat, and 36,350 in Sandhurst. South Australia in 1837 contained but a few shiploads of emigrants; in 1887 its citizens were numbered at 322,758. New Zealand, officially established as a colony in 1840, held but 26,707 white inhabitants in 1851, but the number had risen to 578,482 in 1887, and there was besides a Maori population of over 40,000. Finally, at the close of our period Tasmania reckoned 137,791 inhabitants, West Australia 39,584, and Fiji 126,276, of whom, however, there were but 2,000 of European descent.

Canada and the neighbouring colonies increased, during these fifty years from some 1,250,000 to 5,000,000 of whom four-fifths were native born. Its total area was 3,470,257 square miles, about as large as Europe, of which about one-fiftieth was occupied. Still the enormous capacities of the country were shown by the fact that in Manitoba the population increased 74 per cent. between 1881 and the close of 1886, the inhabitants of Winnipeg alone augmenting from 7,985 to 20,238.

The South African Colonies were reckoned to have increased from 131,000 to 2,400,000, of whom, however, but 400,000 were whites, and of these a considerable proportion dwelt in Cape Town and in Kimberley. In 1837 the British territory at the Cape was 110,000 square miles. The area of the Cape Colony, including the Transkei territory, was 213,636 square miles, with a population of 1,252,347 in 1887; and under the Imperial jurisdiction were the Basutoland Protectorate, with an area of 10,290 square miles and a population of 168,000, including 400 whites; and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with 180,000 square miles and a population of 478,000. Immediately after the close of the period under review, the extent of the British African Empire was increased by the operations of the South Africa Company, by the occupation of Mashonaland and the placing of the Barotsé territory within the British sphere. There was an enormous preponderance of the black over the white in South Africa. Thus in Natal there were over 370,000 Kaffirs to 37,000 Europeans, and it was calculated that everywhere south of the Zambesi the black man was increasing in a far greater rate than the Britisher.

Next to the growth of population comes the question of its distribution, and in the case of the mother country the phenomena are sufficiently remarkable for a detailed examination. The additional population did not spread itself equally

over the surface of the country, but tended more and more to congregate in masses. In the colonies, with the exception of Australia, where large cities were created by the somewhat dubious policy of encouraging public works, the movement did not operate to anything like the same extent. Their wealth continued to be drawn from the natural products of the soil, and even in British India, with such large cities as Calcutta (including suburbs) with 871,000 inhabitants, Bombay with 773,000, Madras with 405,000, and Hyderabad with 354,000, two-sevenths depended on agriculture alone, and at least an equal portion upon employments intimately connected with the tilling of the fields. Nor did the overwhelming increase of the urban districts obtain in Scotland and Ireland in the same degree as in England; indeed, even in the last country, the centripetal impetus was far less marked at the beginning of the fifty years than towards their close. In 1837 the inhabitants of the rural districts slightly outnumbered those of the towns, and though the balance had been readjusted by 1851, the difference between the two was less than half a million. Then Sir Robert Peel's free trade legislation began to work its effects, and by 1871 the townfolk totalled nearly thirteen millions (12,900,297), while the country population had increased to but little more than nine and a half millions (9,803,811). Thus while the town populations had in the course of the twenty years increased by more than 40 per cent., those of the country districts had added but $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to their numbers.

Speaking of the growth of the population between the years 1851 and 1861, the Census Commissioners observed that "three-fourths of the total increase of population had taken place in the towns." The seventy-two largest towns in the country, which had an aggregate population of 2,221,753 in 1801, and 7,677,622 in 1861, had, in the ten years preceding 1861, added to their numbers at "double the rate at which the rest of the population increased. The county and assize towns increased in the ten years since 1851 at the rate of 1.39 annually; the manufacturing towns where silk and woollen goods and gloves were made increasing most slowly, the towns famous for cotton, stockings, shoes, and straw plait increasing more rapidly. The increase of population was most rapid of all in the seaport towns, and in towns amidst the mining districts where hardware is made." Among the most remarkable instances of villages and small places rising to the importance of large towns were those of

Barrow-in-Furness in Lancashire, and of Middlesborough in Yorkshire. The former was not important enough even to be named in the census of 1861, but it had risen to the dignity of a town with nearly 20,000 inhabitants in 1871, and 51,000 in 1891. Middlesborough, which in the year 1831 had a population of 383 persons, numbered close upon 40,000 in 1871, and 75,000 in 1891.

The same tendency can be illustrated from the census returns of 1881 and 1891. "Speaking generally," wrote the Commissioners in the latter year, "the counties in which the rates of increase were highest, are counties which are largely affected by the presence of London, namely, Middlesex, Essex, Surrey, and in a lesser degree Kent and Sussex; or counties in which coal-mining is the predominant industry, such as Glamorganshire, Monmouthshire, Durham and Northumberland. Then follow the manufacturing counties; while last of all come the rural counties, with rates of increase far below the general average or with actual decrease." Of the fourteen counties that showed a decrease, ten, namely, Brecknockshire, Pembrokeshire, Radnorshire, Montgomeryshire, Cardiganshire, Cornwall, Huntingdonshire, Rutlandshire, Herefordshire and Shropshire also showed declines in 1881. Thus Essex increased 25·2 per cent. from 1871 to 1881, and 37·8 per cent. from 1881 to 1891. Surrey increased 26·2 per cent. during the former period and 24·0 per cent. in the latter, Essex having completely outstripped the other county in the race for supremacy. Glamorganshire, meanwhile, had been piling up figures at the steady rate of 27·7 per cent. for the former decade, and 33·7 for the latter, but in Durham the rate of increase which had been no less than 26·2 per cent. from 1871 to 1881, dropped to 17·0. Lancashire and Yorkshire are typical manufacturing counties, and we find that in the former the rate of increase was 22·3 and 13·3; and in the latter 18·5 and 19·5. Devonshire is a mainly agricultural county, but she would have been on the list of those in which the population decreased had it not been for the rapid growth of the dockyard towns, Plymouth and Devonport, and the increasing importance of certain health resorts such as Torquay and Ilfracombe. Even so, her figures are modest enough, since she increased 0·3 per cent. from 1871 to 1881, and 4·6 per cent. from 1881 to 1891. Shropshire, without any large towns to speak of, was in a much worse plight. In the former period she decreased 0·04 per cent. and in the latter 4·1. Still more melancholy was the case of Cornwall, where the inhabitants had to take their choice

between emigration and reversion to agriculture, since all but a few mines no longer paid for working. From 1871 to 1881 that county decreased 8·9 per cent., and from 1881 to 1891 2·4 per cent.

Clearly, then, the Commissioners of 1891 were abundantly justified in their conclusion that "the urban population increases much more rapidly than the rural population. And not only so, but the larger, or rather the more populous the urban district, and the more decided, therefore, its urban character, the higher, generally speaking, is its individual growth." If we take some of the typical counties above mentioned during the whole period, we shall find that the metropolitan counties of Surrey, Middlesex, Essex, and Kent increased 197, 115, 104 and 81 per cent. respectively; that the mining counties of Glamorganshire and Durham increased 308 and 262 per cent.; that Lancashire and Yorkshire rose 158 and 143 per cent.; agricultural Devon 22, Shropshire 16, Wilts 9 and Cornwall 9. Montgomeryshire increased a bare 1 per cent., and Radnor a bare 4.

We come, therefore, to the great problem of London, and the status of the capital with regard to England and Wales appears clearly enough from the following table which, for comprehension's sake, includes the seven census returns which affect the reign down to 1891:—

Year.	England and Wales.	London.	Ratio per cent. of the two.
1831	13,896,797	1,654,994	11·91
1841	15,914,148	1,948,417	12·24
1851	17,927,609	2,362,236	13·18
1861	20,066,224	2,803,989	14·35
1871	22,712,226	3,253,785	13·97
1881	25,974,439	3,815,544	14·69
1891	29,001,018	4,211,056	14·52

Here a remarkable phenomenon may be observed: London gained rapidly on England and Wales until the last decade of our period, when its population increased at the rate of 10·4 per cent., which was a slower augmentation than England and Wales taken as a whole. The fact came upon statisticians somewhat as a surprise, since during every previous intercensal period London was found to have gained more or less in its proportions as compared with the country at large. Hence some optimists rushed to the conclusion that there was no longer any risk of the "great wen" increasing to an inordinate size; such a statement, however, had to be modified by the following consideration.

If there was a decided movement from the country to the towns, so was there a migration

from the towns to the country, though the latter development was less marked, on the whole, than the former. Indeed, one or two large cities declined during various intercensal periods. Manchester showed a decline of 2·8 per cent. from 1871 to 1881; and Liverpool's figures lessened throughout the whole period. Thus in 1871 the latter city included 538,411 persons, and in 1891 517,951, the drop during the second decade being no less than 6·3. Of course this did not imply a corresponding fall in the town's prosperity, but rather the opposite. The limited area within the official boundary of the town had become too valuable for ordinary residence, and warehouses and business premises took the place of dwelling-houses. The displaced inhabitants, and the new-comers as well, settled outside the recognised town limits, to which, besides, the rapidly extending railway systems and faster train-service gave them easy access by day. Thus while Manchester was declining, its suburbs were increasing, and in particular the neighbouring town of Salford showed an increase of 41·2 per cent. Taking the two continuous towns together, there was an increase of 8·8 per cent.; which fact was made clear, between the enumeration of 1881 and 1891, by the inclusion of the former suburbs within the municipality, when the whole showed a further increase of 9·3 per cent. Similarly, had the restricted area of Liverpool been extended to include the suburbs of Crosby, Bootle, Walton-on-the-Hill and so forth, the whole site, municipal and suburban together, would have shown a growth of 5·9 per cent.

In no city was this tendency to throw out suckers, as it were, more remarkable than in London. Indeed the centrifugal impulse was specially alluded to in the census report of 1891. In the midst of the metropolis was a group of districts in which the population had long been undergoing decrease, owing to the substitution of business premises for dwelling-houses; but round this central area, and constituting the rest of the Registration or Inner London, was a circle or ring of districts, all of which had undergone more or less rapid increase. Speaking generally, the farther the district was from the centre the greater was the growth, and the rate of growth, it might be added, naturally showed in most cases a tendency to become smaller and smaller as time went on. Lastly, outside this Registration London was a wide belt of suburban districts, conveniently designated the Outer Ring, in which the population rose with extraordinary rapidity. At the beginning of the reign, the prosperous merchant or tradesman still

lived over his shop or warehouse in the City, but by the census of 1861 he had betaken himself to Maida Vale and Bayswater, to the formerly suburban villages of Hoxton, Hampstead and Wimbledon. In the next decade he began to live in places so far distant as Brighton, and would travel a hundred miles a day between his home and his office. Similarly, fashion created Belgravia in the south-west and Tiburnia to the north of Hyde Park between 1830 and 1850, and then began to move farther westwards still. The mansions in St James's and Hanover Squares were converted into clubs and assembly rooms, and society overflowed Kensington, which even in the days of the Great Exhibition was little more than a modest court suburb, and Chelsea. Thus Kensington rose during the fifty years from 10 to 70 per acre. The wage-earning classes seem to have exhibited at first a tendency to spread northwards over Somerstown, Camden Town, and Islington. But then came a rush eastwards, on the north side of the Thames to Poplar and on the South to Greenwich; while on the south-west Brixton and Wandsworth were being rapidly absorbed, and Notting Hill joined hands with Hammersmith. Later still came the startling growth of such outlying districts as West Ham, Tottenham, Willesden, and Croydon, to which the statutory institution of cheap workmen's trains contributed in no small degree. Thus while London City declined from some 185 persons per acre in 1837, to 76 in 1887, Camberwell rose from 9 to 42, Battersea from 3 to 39, and Poplar from 12 to 74, West Ham from 2 to 20, Croydon from 3 to 50.

There were naturally exceptions to these generalisations. Thus, in the Central Area, Whitechapel, which declined 3·8 per cent. in 1861-71, and 6·8 per cent. in 1871-81, showed an increase of 4·3 during the next decennium, owing to the additional influx of foreigners. Still the table on page 186 illustrates the general principles enunciated by the Commissioners clearly enough.

Thus the central districts had decreased in the thirty years no less than 30 per cent., the rate becoming more rapid each decennium. In the remaining districts of Registration or Inner London, there was a gradually diminishing growth; and in two instances, St. Pancras and Stepney, a positive decline. Even in the suburban districts which lay outside the boundary of Registration London, but were included within the Metropolitan police districts, there was a drop in the last decade. On the other hand there was

an enormous growth upon the extreme fringe. Clearly, then, London in its wider and truer sense bore a very different meaning in 1887 to that of fifty years earlier.*

In Scotland, too, the agricultural portion of the population was far outstripped by the non-agricultural in the rate of increase. The Highlands

declined through the emigration of the crofters and the substitution of sheep-runs for plough-land. Thus Argyllshire lost quite 24 per cent. of her children, Perth 9 per cent., and Sutherland 8 per cent. Again, the Border counties, though cultivated in the most scientific manner, by no means rose in numbers at a very rapid rate.

District.	Population.				Rates of Increase or Decrease per cent.		
	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.	1861-71.	1871-81.	1881-91.
Central Area	1,187,687	1,155,462	1,101,994	1,022,951	- 2·7	- 4·6	- 7·2
Rest of Inner London	1,616,160	2,098,323	2,713,550	3,188,792	+ 29·8	+ 29·3	+ 17·5
Inner or Registration London	2,803,847	3,253,785	3,815,544	4,211,743	+ 16·0	+ 17·3	+ 10·4
Outer Ring	418,873	631,856	951,117	1,422,063	+ 50·8	+ 50·5	+ 10·4
Greater London	3,222,720	3,885,641	4,766,661	5,633,806	+ 20·6	+ 22·7	+ 18·2

TABLE SHOWING THE POPULATION OF LONDON AT DIFFERENT CENSUS PERIODS.

* The following are the registration sub-districts shown in the map on page 185.

PADDINGTON :— 1. St. Mary 84,159 2. St. John 33,687	STRAND :— 1. St. Martin-in-the-Fields . . . 14,616 2. St. Mary-le-Strand 5,706 3. St. Clement Danes 7,194	ST. SAVIOUR, SOUTHWARK :— 1. Christchurch, Southwark . . . 13,264 2. St. Saviour 13,913 3. Kent Road 21,867 4. Borough Road 16,624 5. London Road 21,221 6. Trinity, Newington 26,596 7. St. Peter, Walworth 61,342 8. St. Mary, Newington 27,866
KENSINGTON :— 1. Kensington Town 118,751 2. Brompton 47,557	HOLBORN :— 1. St. George the Martyr 17,921 2. St. Andrew Eastern 8,729 3. Saffron Hill 6,614 4. St. James, Clerkenwell 16,893 5. Amwell 16,883 6. Pentonville 17,155 7. Goswell Street 15,375 8. City Road 29,177 9. Whitecross Street 8,278 10. Finsbury 4,985	ST. OLAVE, SOUTHWARK :— 1. St. Olave, Southwark 12,723 2. Leather Market 14,952 3. St. Mary Magdalen 15,660 4. St. James, Bermondsey 54,070 5. Rotherhithe 39,255
FULHAM :— 1. St. Peter, Hammersmith 8,586 2. St. Paul 88,633 3. Fulham 91,689	LONDON, CITY :— 1. St. Botolph 8,944 2. Cripplegate 4,539 3. St. Sepulchre 4,414 4. St. Bride 6,594 5. Allhallows, Barking 10,422 6. Broad Street 3,377	LAMBETH :— 1. Waterloo Road First 14,031 2. " " Second 14,644 3. Lambeth Church First 18,075 4. " " Second 39,097 5. Kennington First 50,586 6. " " Second 39,708 7. Brixton 73,405 8. Norwood 25,657
CHELSEA :— 1. Kensal Town 21,737 2. Chelsea, North 41,637 3. " " South 32,829	SHOREDITCH :— 1. Shoreditch, South 20,098 2. Hoxton New Town 29,313 3. Hoxton Old Town 28,354 4. Haggerston 46,244	WANDSWORTH :— 1. East Battersea 67,244 2. West " 83,314 3. Clapham 43,698 4. Wandsworth 46,717 5. Putney 17,771 6. Streatham 48,756
ST. GEORGE, HANOVER SQUARE :— 1. Mayfair 23,733 2. Belgrave 54,631 3. St. John, Westminster 34,106 4. St. Margaret " 21,068	BETHNAL GREEN :— 1. Bethnal Green, North 51,520 2. " " South 33,489 3. " " East 44,123	CAMBERWELL :— 1. Dulwich 6,809 2. Camberwell 81,686 3. Peckham 33,483 4. St. George 63,366
WESTMINSTER :— 1. St. James, Westminster 24,995 2. St. Anne, Soho 12,317	WHITECHAPEL :— 1. Spitalfields 22,456 2. Mile End New Town 17,908 3. Whitechapel Church 20,298 4. Goodman's Fields 13,800	GREENWICH :— 1. Deptford, North 35,314 2. " " Central 42,007 3. " " South 30,852 4. Greenwich, West 22,007 5. " " East 35,233
MARYLEBONE :— 1. All Souls 24,493 2. Cavendish Square 13,220 3. Rectory 20,024 4. St. Mary 19,239 5. Christchurch 33,327 6. St. John 32,101	STEPNEY :— 1. Shadwell 10,246 2. Ratcliff 14,928 3. Limehouse 32,202	LEWISHAM :— 1. Eltham 5,682 2. Lee 23,541 3. Lewisham 30,950 4. Sydenham 34,162
HAMPSTEAD :— 1. Regent's Park 36,590 2. Tottenham Court 26,321 3. Gray's Inn Lane 27,455 4. Somers Town 32,829 5. Camden Town 15,419 6. Kentish Town 95,765	MILE END OLD TOWN :— 1. Mile End Old Town, Western . . . 38,650 2. " " Eastern 68,942	WOOLWICH :— 1. Charlton 14,040 2. Woolwich Dockyard 19,606 3. " Arsenal 21,242 4. Plumstead, West 15,869 5. " " East 36,567
ST. PANCRAS :— 1. Upper Holloway 90,235 2. Islington, South-West 105,557 3. " " South-East 64,158 4. Highbury 59,193	POPLAR :— 1. Bow 40,365 2. Bromley 70,000 3. Poplar 56,383	
ISLINGTON :— 1. Stoke Newington 30,936 2. Stamford Hill 17,759 3. West Hackney 42,602 4. Hackney 96,486 5. South Hackney 41,759		
HACKNEY :— 1. St. George, Bloomsbury 16,095 2. St. Giles, South 13,454 3. " " North 9,633		

Roxburgh increased 22 per cent., Berwick 4, and Dumfries 3. In the district of the mines and factories, however, a very different process was going on. Thus Ayr added 50 per cent. to its population, Edinburgh 77 per cent., Renfrew 97 per cent., Lanark 185 per cent., and Selkirk actually 274. As in England, certain towns showed a tendency to increase their numbers with a rush; thus, between 1881 and 1891 Paisley and Aberdeen rose 19·39 per cent. and 16·02 per cent. respectively, attaining the respectable totals of 66,427 and 121,905. The chief towns, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, again, added to their population during the previous decade in a still more remarkable manner, the first increasing by 41·25 per cent., the capital by exactly 20, and Dundee by 17·8. Altogether the population of Glasgow increased from about 255,000 in 1837 to 565,714 in 1891, Edinburgh from about 120,000 to 261,261, and Dundee from 64,000 to 155,640.

Agriculture continued to be by far the most important occupation of Irishmen, but even the Emerald Isle afforded an illustration of the habit of flocking to the capitals and industrial centres. Thus, while the four provinces showed a decrease throughout the period, two counties in the neighbourhood of large cities exhibited a slight increase, namely, Dublin and Antrim. From 1841 to 1891 there was, as we have already seen (page 178), a melancholy decline at each census.

Yet, while Irishmen betook themselves across the Atlantic, a considerable number congregated round the industries of Dublin, and, more particularly, the factories and wharves of Belfast. Thus Dublin city increased from 232,000 in 1837 to 254,709 in 1891, and became surrounded by a thriving group of suburban townships containing some 100,000 persons, of which Drumcondra increased during the last decade at the rate of 64·8 per cent. During the same period Belfast rose from 70,000 to 255,896.

Some authorities contended that this migration from the open fields to the confined streets of the great cities would result in an unhealthy and demoralised race. The steady fall in the death-rate, however, disproved the first assertion; and the real fact was exactly the reverse, namely that the more Englishmen congregated into densely-packed masses the longer and more vigorous were their lives. What was the explanation of this unexpected and gratifying circumstance? In the first place, as we shall show presently, the average Englishman was far better clothed and fed in 1887 than his ancestor in 1837. In the second, he lived

in a far more sanitary house, thanks to the Public Health Acts, which were among the chief legislative glories of the reign. Thirdly, his daily occupation was pursued for the most part in well-ventilated rooms, owing to the numerous measures relating to factories and workshops. Also he retained in the towns the habits of personal cleanliness, and the love of athletic exercise which had marked his rural forefathers. No doubt there were numerous ill-drained and pestilential quarters still to be found in the large cities, particularly those inhabited by aliens removed but one degree from starvation; still the general appearance and condition of an artisan district differed *toto cœlo* at the beginning and the end of the half-century, and the need of preserving open spaces had come to be recognised by the community. Again, the British working man might be slightly less amenable to discipline, but there was nothing to show that he was more addicted to vice. On the contrary, statistics, as we shall prove later, led to exactly the opposite conclusion, though neither the Briton nor the Irishman cultivated the thrifty habits of the Scot, and all three might have taken a lesson from the Norwegian in sobriety.

But though the population rose, the rise of the national wealth was even more remarkable. It was not for nothing that the labourer quitted the plough and the spade and betook himself to skilled employment in the towns. Wages increased during the period between 50 and 100 per cent., and in one or two trades rather more. Mr. Giffen gave the following comparison of wages in some of the principal occupations; while seamen's wages rose from 1850 and onwards between 50 and 60 per cent., and even the agricultural labourer profited to about the same amount, thanks to the greater demand for

Occupation.	Place.	Wages per week, 1837.	Wages per week, 1887.	Increase per cent.
Carpenters ...	Manchester	24s.	34s.	42
" ...	Glasgow	14s.	26s.	85
Bricklayers ...	Manchester	24s.	36s.	50
" ...	Glasgow	15s.	27s.	80
Masons ...	Manchester	24s.	29s. 10d.	24
" ...	Glasgow	14s.	23s. 8d.	69
Miners ...	Staffordshire	2s. 8d.	4s.	50
Pattern Weavers	Huddersfield	16s.	25s.	55
Wool Scourers	"	17s.	22s.	30
Wool Spinners	"	25s. 6d.	30s.	20
Weavers ...	"	12s.	26s.	115
Warpers and Burners	"	17s.	27s.	58
Winders and Reelers	"	6s.	11s.	85
Weavers (men)	Bradford	8s. 3d.	20s. 6d.	150

his services, due to the depletion of the countryside.

In 1841, at the beginning of the reign, out of the 10,000 persons in Manchester, it was found that 2,000 only possessed 1s. 2½d. a week apiece, and 4,000 only 1s. 1½d., and that with wheat at 65s. a quarter. Clearly, the unemployed problem must have presented far intenser difficulties at the beginning of the reign than in the Jubilee year, though strikes appeared to increase in numbers and protractedness as the period closed.

Again, the price of most articles of food, meat excepted, declined considerably under the influence of free competition. The result was that the consumption of sugar went up during the fifty years from about 15 to 70 lbs. per head; tea from 1¼ to 4¾ lbs. per head; tobacco from 0.86 to 1.40 lb. per head. No doubt house rents increased during the period quite 1½; in other words, a workman who had to pay £3 a year in 1837 would have to pay £7 10s. in 1887. Still, houses were undoubtedly of better value all round at the latter date, and Mr. Giffen demonstrated that, even if rents had gone up, a man retained a far larger balance for other purposes, thanks to the diminished cost of living. But the food question deserves, perhaps, a more detailed exposition.

The following table shows the quantities of the principal imported and excisable articles retained for home consumption, per head of the total population of the United Kingdom:—

	1840.	1887.
Bacon and Hams... .. lb.	0.01	11.29
Butter "	1.05	8.24
Cheese "	0.92	5.39
Currants and Raisins "	1.45	4.34
Eggs No.	3.63	29.37
Potatoes lb.	0.01	12.85
Rice "	0.90	16.32
Cocoa "	0.08	0.31
Coffee "	1.08	0.89
Corn Wheat and Wheat Flour "	42.47	220.75
Raw Sugar "	15.20	73.20
Refined Sugar "	nil.	8.44
Tea "	1.22	4.95
Tobacco "	0.86	1.41
Wine gallon	0.25	0.45
Spirits "	0.97	1.08
Malt bushel	1.59	1.91

Of course many of these articles are also articles of home production, so that the increase does not show the increase of the whole population's consumption per head. But the figures relating to tea and sugar, which came entirely from abroad, appear especially significant, showing as they do that the consumption increased nearly four times.

It had grown plain, however, that Great Britain was becoming more and more dependent for food supplies upon the foreigner.

The statistics with regard to pauperism and savings banks tell the same tale, though the former concern perhaps the moral rather than the material improvement of the nation. Unfortunately, the figures are so imperfect that we cannot go back the whole fifty years; still, it is a matter of common knowledge that at the beginning of the reign pauperism demanded nearly as great an expenditure as during the dismal period of 1830. From 1849, however, the figures are continuous for England and Ireland, and from 1859 for Scotland, and they show the following results:—

	1849.	1859.	1887.
England	934,000	...	807,000
Scotland	112,000	91,000
Ireland	620,000	...	108,000
	1,666,000		1,006,000

Thus we observe that, though the population increased by 44 per cent., there was a material decline in pauperism throughout the United Kingdom. More especially was this the case with Ireland, though it should be observed that the figures for the former date deal with the exceptionally miserable period which followed the great famine.

A fifty years' comparison of the savings bank deposits gives the following results:—

	1837.	1887.
Number of depositors ...	450,000	5,200,000
Amount of deposits ...	£14,000,000	£90,000,000
Amount per depositor ...	£31	£17

Though the British are, unfortunately, a somewhat thriftless race, yet we find a tenfold increase in the number of depositors, and fourfold in the amount of deposits, showing that habits of saving were becoming more widely diffused throughout the nation.

The same conclusion emerges from an examination of the property and income-tax returns, which concern the middle and capitalist classes. Here again the figures are wanting for the whole reign, since they only begin for Great Britain in 1843, and for Ireland in 1853, when the figures of the gross assessments were for the former £251,000,000, for the latter £32,000,000. Hence Mr. Giffen

appears well within his argument when he calculates the income liable to assessment in 1837 as some £270,000,000. In 1887 it amounted to £630,000,000 distributed as follows:—England £533,000,000, Scotland £61,000,000, and Ireland £36,000,000. Therefore the increase in all was £360,000,000 or 33 per cent., or on a calculation per head of the population, the increase was from £10 to £17 per head, or about 70 per cent. Nor was the nation's wealth accumulating in fewer and fewer hands, though perhaps it was hardly so widely diffused as the idealist might wish. For example, the probate duty returns showed that, in spite of the enormous increase of property passing at death—more than 150 per cent.—the amount of property per estate had not sensibly increased.

UNITED KINGDOM.

Number of Probates.		Amount of Property.		Amount per Estate.	
1837.	1838.	1837.	1838.	1837.	1838.
		£	£	£	£
55,000	25,000	140,000,000	54,000,000	2,500	2,160

Schedule D of the income-tax told a similar tale, so far as England was concerned. Without giving the details, we will give certain broad facts: in 1843 39,000 persons paid the tax on incomes between £150 and under £200; in 1887 150,000. On the other hand, the highest class of all, with incomes of £50,000 and upwards, only increased from 8 to 68. In fact, the increase was almost entirely among incomes between £150 and £1,000. That is to say, there were many more moderately rich people, but the very rich were not becoming much more numerous. In the same way, the money invested in English railways (£2,000,000 in 1843, and £37,000,000 in 1887), that invested in public companies (some £60,000,000 in 1887), and that invested in foreign securities (about £45,000,000 in that year) was, according to Mr. Giffen, by no means held exclusively by the capitalist classes. Again, in 1843 the assessment of houses—a sufficiently wide impost—amounted to some £40,000,000 for the United Kingdom, and in 1887 to £360,000,000.

Was it possible to calculate the aggregate property of the United Kingdom at any given time? Obviously, such computations could only be made in the roughest fashion; still, taking as a basis the income-tax at fifteen years' purchase, Mr. Giffen estimated that the United Kingdom was worth £4,050,000,000 in 1837, or about £150 per

head, and £9,450,000,000 in 1887, or £256 per head. The annual income, stated in millions of pounds, can be estimated roundly in the following figures at the beginning and the end of the period:—

PROGRESS OF NATION'S INCREASE (in millions of £).

	Income in 1843.	Income in 1887.	Increase.	
			Amount.	Per cent.
Capitalist Classes from Capital	£190	£400	£210	110
Working Classes on Income-Tax Returns	£90	£180	£90	100
Working Classes not on Income-Tax Returns	£235	£620	£385	160
	£515	£1,200	£685	133

From the problem of individual prosperity we pass to that of the national indebtedness and revenue. In spite of a certain timidity on the part of successive generations of financiers in dealing with the national debt in periods of prosperity, the general result was on the whole satisfactory. In brief the figures stood as follows:—In 1837 the debt stood at £820,000,000 bearing an interest of £28,000,000, and in 1887 at £740,000,000, with an interest of £23,000,000. That is to say, the national debt had decreased from £30 per head, or one-fifth of the country's property, to £20, or one-thirteenth of the national wealth. It should be remembered that at the beginning of the reign the nation was still staggering under the enormous weight of the £23,000,000 a year incurred during the war of the French Revolution, from 1793 to 1815. The forty years of peace resulted in a decrease of £91,000,000, the debt standing at the commencement of the Crimean War at £789,000,000, with an annual charge of £27,000,000. That arduous undertaking added over £39,000,000, and the debt in 1857 was £808,000,000. So that the total result of the subsequent period was to reduce the principal to rather under the amount that it totalled before the Crimea, while the annual charge, after increasing to nearly £30,000,000 in 1883, was in 1887 more than £5,000,000 less than in 1857 at the close of the war.

Unfortunately, the figures of the local indebtedness were hardly so satisfactory. The amount of revenue raised directly by rates, and indirectly by tolls and dues, rose from about £14,000,000 in 1837 to £43,000,000 in 1887. This was cheering,

so far as it went, though there could be no doubt that the burden fell most unduly upon the lower-middle classes. But local expenditure, unhappily, went ahead even faster, and was accompanied by a good deal of injudicious borrowing by municipalities and other public bodies. Towards the end of the period these incumbrances amounted annually to some £12,000,000, and, though successive Ministries ceased to refer to the unpleasant topics in the Budget accounts, there was evidence to show that the local indebtedness totalled over £150,000,000, representing an annual charge on the rates of some £9,000,000. The result was, of course, healthier towns and better education; still the somewhat wasteful finance of Urban Sanitary Authorities and School Boards was a distinct set-off to the diminution of Imperial taxation.

The Imperial revenue, on the other hand, told a far more flattering tale. Thanks to bad seasons culminating in the famine of 1847, and the incapacity of Whig finance, the beginning of the reign witnessed a series of deficits, and the imposition of new taxes yielded the most disappointing results. With Sir Robert Peel's conversion to Free Trade a new era dawned, and it was followed by the gold discoveries of California and Australia, together with the rapid extension of the railway system, which, however, did not reach its full dimensions until about 1865. The Crimean War did not exercise a very appreciable effect upon British commerce; but the Civil War in America, by stopping the cotton supply, caused a formidable shrinkage in the British output, and hit nearly every industry in the north of England very hard indeed. It was after the termination of that struggle that the real merits of Free Trade were seen in the unprecedented cheapening of raw materials and articles of food. This was aided by the improvement of steam navigation, the opening of the Suez Canal (1868), and the adoption of trans-oceanic telegraphy on a large scale. The demonetisation of silver by the European Powers after the Franco-German War was believed to have affected British trade somewhat adversely by cheapening prices, though its influence seemed somewhat occult. Anyhow the rate of development, though still considerable, showed a tendency to diminish, and a somewhat torpid commerce was accompanied by a series of most calamitous harvests. Moreover, Protectionist principles, which had extended from the European Governments and America to the British colonies, hampered exportation of British goods; while as manufacturers of the cheaper wares the rivalry of the United

States and of Germany began to be formidably felt. Accordingly in 1887, though the United Kingdom still remained the first trading Power in the world, she no longer enjoyed that absolute ascendancy which was hers during the 'sixties.

Still, there was a wide difference between the Government's resources in 1837, and those in the Jubilee year. At the Queen's accession the revenue, all told, was under sixty millions; in 1887 it had increased to ninety millions. Again, until the Whigs went out of power in 1841, annual deficits were the rule, not the exception. But with Sir Robert Peel's conversion to Free Trade that state of things ceased to exist. True, the Treasury occasionally failed to make both ends meet, notably in the lean years of 1878, '79, and '80; but the partial suspension of the Sinking Fund invariably met the emergencies of the case. Besides, it must be remembered that the financier's object is never the mere accumulation of an idle surplus. In proportion as his revenue increases it is his duty to remit taxation, and the net amount returned to the tax-payer during the reign was no less than £21,000,000, and this does not include a considerable shifting of burdens. Moreover, Customs duties, instead of enhancing nearly every article of import, were latterly concentrated on a few, that were luxuries rather than necessities. Thus in 1887 nine-tenths of the total gross receipts (£18,000,000) came from tobacco, spirits, and tea. Yet the revenue of the Post Office had mounted from £1,500,000 to £10,000,000, whence the conclusion is that the aforesaid taxes would have produced far greater returns.

The records of British commerce abundantly bear out this view, and both the direction which the industry of the United Kingdom took and the progress which it made are extremely significant. In the very nature of the goods which a nation purchases from other peoples, and the goods it sells to them, the character of its own occupations is of necessity more or less clearly reflected. Of course the commercial greatness of the Empire did not "date from yesterday": her reputation had been the growth of centuries. Yet even if we go no farther back than the commencement of the nineteenth century, we shall find that though at the former period her mercantile opulence was already the admiration of the world, it was still in its infancy. In 1805 the value of the British and Irish produce exported from the United Kingdom was declared to be about £30,000,000 sterling. In 1837 it had increased to close upon £50,000,000; in 1871 it amounted to over £283,000,000, and

in 1887 to £221,000,000, exclusive of foreign goods exported. The imports from abroad in 1805 were valued in the aggregate at not more than £28,500,000 sterling. In 1837 they had risen to £54,000,000; in 1871 to £331,000,000 and in 1887 to £361,000,000. The total imports and exports were estimated at £104,000,000 in 1837. In 1887 they reached the total of £642,000,000, having amounted to £614,000,000 in 1871.

As regarded the general character and nature of the goods exchanged with the rest of the world, the imports consisted, in an overwhelming proportion, of food and the raw materials of manufactures. The quantity of manufactured goods imported into the United Kingdom was wholly inconsiderable, and the exports of food were also comparatively trifling. We have already mentioned the rapid increase of England's dependence on other countries for the necessities of life, and the following tables illustrate the fact under certain significant dates, subsequent to the abolition of the corn-laws.

Articles Imported.	1858.	1871.	1887.
	£	£	£
Grain and Flour ...	20,164,811	42,691,464	48,290,793
Sugar (refined and raw) ...	13,076,059	18,186,297	17,523,673
Bacon and Hams ...	480,330	2,725,909	8,733,776
Animals ...	1,372,721	4,372,327	6,249,049
Butter (including Margarine) ...	1,842,155	6,939,040	11,952,423
Tea ...	5,206,618	11,635,644	9,782,512
Wine ...	2,040,552	7,072,099	5,466,266
Cheese ...	850,397	3,341,469	4,514,382
Eggs ...	303,617	1,263,612	3,085,681
Coffee ...	1,742,252	5,394,511	4,248,384

Unfortunately, the primitive tables for 1837 do not give the declared value of any of the imports, so that comparison is impossible. But the following table showing the quantities imported teaches a useful lesson:—

	1837.	1887.
Wheat quarters	168,747	13,998,744
Sugar ... cwt.	4,637,832	25,006,678
Butter ... "	240,758	1,513,134
Tea ... lbs.	46,890,225	221,841,490
Wine ... gallons	9,184,101	15,383,641
Cheese ... cwt.	211,241	1,836,789
Eggs ... No.	69,084,717	9,084,077
Coffee ... cwt.	303,457	(great hundreds.) 1,045,698

It should be remembered in estimating the meaning of these figures that 1887 was not a particularly prosperous year. For instance, the value of the grain imported in 1885 was £53,260,855 and the tea imported in 1886 was

worth £11,317,418. But the increased demand for animal food, whether in the form of live-stock, bacon or cheese, is most significant of the greater comfort of the working classes. The same lesson is to be derived from the greatly increased demand for wheat, which seemed almost to defy calculation. Thus, in 1837 there were 168,747 quarters imported; in 1858 there were 4,342,403; in 1866, 5,343,800; in 1870, 7,131,000; in 1875, 11,971,500; in 1880, 12,752,800; in 1885, 14,192,000 and in 1887, 13,998,744. Under the last year it may be useful to indicate the chief sources whence the wheat was procured. They were the United States, 6,100,000 quarters; India, 1,418,000; Russia, 922,130; Canada, 660,800; Chili, 367,710; Germany, 258,620; Australasia, 224,500. At the same time the yield in Great Britain was 6,750,000 quarters. Thus, the state of affairs had greatly changed since the beginning of the reign, when the country grew double that amount, and only imported a third of its crop from abroad. To the nation at large the gain was enormous. In the words of that eminent authority, Sir James Caird, "In 1851 the whole supply offered 317 lbs. per annum to each of a population of 27,000,000, which at the average price of the previous ten years of protective duties, amounted to £53,500,000. But the total supply of 1885 gave 400 lbs. per head to a population of 36,000,000, at a cost of £43,700,000. Not only were the people, 9,000,000 increased in number, fed with bread at a diminished cost of £10,000,000 sterling, but each individual had an additional supply of one-fourth beyond that of 1851."

Vast as were the supplies of food which the United Kingdom drew from the rest of the world, there was another class of imports, the raw materials of manufactures, which was still vaster. In 1858 the total value of this division of the imports was less than £100,000,000; in 1871 it was upwards of £175,000,000 sterling; and in 1887, £196,000,000. By far the most important section of the class consisted of the materials for the manufacture of textile fabrics, and one article alone—raw cotton—was not only itself the most important single article of the section, but formerly stood at the head of all the imports and latterly yielded only to corn. In 1858 its value was £30,000,000; in 1871 its value was little short of all the raw materials put together, being nearly £56,000,000 sterling; in 1887, however, the figures had declined to £40,000,000 owing to the cheapening in price. The next in importance, as an article of import, was wool, the staple of one of the oldest

and largest manufactures in the United Kingdom. The value of sheep, alpaca, and llama wools imported increased from less than £9,000,000 in 1858 to £18,000,000 in 1871, and to £24,000,000 in 1887. Similarly, flax, hemp, and jute rose from £4,000,000 in 1858 to nearly £12,000,000 in 1871 ;

year by no means recorded the high-water mark of British commercial prosperity under Queen Victoria. Compared with 1883, for instance, there was a difference of no less than £123,908,000, namely, in imports £86,208,000, and in exports £37,700,000. With that proviso we leave the



MR. (AFTERWARDS SIR) ROBERT GIFFEN.

(From a Photograph by Fradelle & Young, Regent Street, W.)

but here again there was a decline to £8,000,000

Principal Raw Materials Imported.	1858.	1871.	1887.
	£	£	£
Raw Cotton	30,106,968	55,907,070	40,156,456
Wool	8,972,218	17,926,639	24,452,021
Wood and Timber ...	7,849,208	12,067,210	13,121,003
Metals	4,518,467	9,396,173	16,720,234
Flax, Hemp, and Jute	4,894,278	11,746,126	8,921,104
Oils	4,570,555	5,846,734	6,088,342
Tobacco	2,230,323	2,462,670	3,399,521

in 1887. Again we must repeat that the Jubilee

figures in the foregoing table to speak for themselves.

We may add that Great Britain imported some 3,600,000 lbs. of raw cotton in 1837 as against 15,900,000 in 1887, and 64,000,000 lbs. of wool as against 573,000,000.

Compared with these large totals, the imports of commodities in a manufactured state appear somewhat insignificant, though they were steadily growing. The principal class of articles in this division of the imports consists of the textile fabrics, the silk manufactures being by far the

most important. Their value in 1851 was little over £2,000,000, as against £8,500,000 sterling in 1871, and £10,000,000 sterling in 1887. Woollen goods stood next, and though their value, including Berlin wool and woollen yarn, was rather less than £1,000,000 in 1851, it touched £5,750,000 in 1871 and £7,500,000 in 1887. The grand totals for this branch of our survey were—1851, about £6,250,000 sterling;

supremacy. Still, pessimists did not fail to note that American machinery seemed to be fast ousting that of the Midlands in the British colonies, and figures supported their contention to a certain extent. However, though British predominance was threatened, prosperity remained, as the outputs of various industries testified clearly enough. With regard to the classes of goods exported by the United Kingdom throughout the Victorian



COTTON MILLS, MILES PLATTING, MANCHESTER.

1871, £25,250,000, and in 1887, £55,000,000. Thus the foreigner was beginning, to a certain extent, to undersell the British manufacturer in his own markets, chiefly because the former paid his men at a far lower rate of wages.

In the same way there was a certain relative decline in the value of British exports compared with those of foreign countries, due, so it was said, to the fact that English manufacturers would not condescend to study other requirements, or their agents to acquire other languages. As a matter of fact the immense natural resources of the United States and the lower payment accepted by the thrifty German were, in all probability, quite as answerable for the failure to maintain an absolute

era, they were, as one might expect, exactly the opposite to the imports; in other words very

Principal Food Stuffs Exported.	1851.	1871.	1887.
	£	£	£
Beer and ale	577,142	1,853,733	1,582,733
Corn and flour	80,309	3,441,982	396,097
Fish (chiefly herrings) ...	344,399	1,168,408	1,738,448
Refined sugar	368,085	1,239,702	606,761
Pickles and vinegar	148,338	1,168,408	1,152,497

little raw materials and food were sold, while manufactures were all important. Corn and flour, of which about £80,000 worth was exported in 1851, rose to £3,250,000 sterling in 1871, owing to the abnormal circumstances of

the Franco-German War, but in 1887 declined to £390,000 worth.

Among the articles classified as raw materials two are of great importance, namely, coal and pig-iron. The value of the coal exported in 1837 was estimated at under £250,000 sterling; in 1871 the value was £6,250,000. Then occurred the "coal famine," and in 1872 the value of coal, cinders and fuel exported rose to very nearly £10,500,000 sterling. That high level was not consistently maintained, owing to fresh discoveries of coal in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, the coal supplied in 1887 was valued at over £10,000,000, irrespective of the amount retained for home consumption, which was worth some £29,000,000 more. In exact figures the total yield of coal was 162,119,812 tons, valued at £39,092,830, of which 24,460,967 tons were exported, worth £10,169,991. The export figures with regard to pig-iron are not particularly instructive, because they were so greatly affected throughout the period by home demands. At the beginning of the reign the total amount produced was some 1,000,000 tons, which increased to 6,000,000 in 1871 and 7,550,000 tons in 1887. To produce the last gigantic amount the 13,098,041 tons of iron ore raised in Great Britain did not suffice, since 3,765,788 tons were imported, nearly the whole of which came from Spain.

Raw and Semi-manufactured Articles Exported.	1851.	1871.	1887.
	£	£	£
Coals	1,302,473	6,246,133	10,169,991
Pig-iron	452,119	3,229,408	2,741,507
Old iron for remanufacture...	672,696	827,628
Oil (seed)	434,901	1,487,999	1,502,346
Leather (unwrought) ...	152,124	1,136,784	1,362,006
Wool	461,282	828,799	932,704
Cement	36,452	409,689	862,052

But the value of manufactured articles far transcended even the large totals attained by coal and pig-iron. It will be convenient to consider them under three heads: first, those belonging to the textile fabrics and clothing; secondly, hardware and other manufactures composed of the metals; and thirdly, chemical and other miscellaneous products. By far the most important of all articles, not only among the textile fabrics, but in the entire list of British exports, was that of cotton goods. The cotton industry of Great Britain was the most important single manufacture in the world. Of course England had become famous for its cotton before the Victorian era. In 1817 nearly 100,000,000 lbs. of yarn were spun.

But the total seems slight indeed when compared with the 700,000,000 lbs. produced in 1851, and the 1,719,437,000 lbs. produced in 1887. In 1837 the value of cotton yarns and manufactures of all descriptions exported was about £22,000,000; in 1851 it was some £30,000,000 sterling; in 1871 some £72,000,000; and in 1887 nearly £71,000,000. It is also important to remember that some 7 lbs. were retained for home consumption, to every 1 lb. exported. In other words, the year's profit to the nation from this one manufacture was represented by a gain of £17,000,000 sterling on the value of the manufactures exported over that of the imports of raw materials; and, secondly, by the supply of nearly the whole of the home demand in addition. Next in importance to the cotton manufactures is that of woollen and worsted fabrics—a manufacture of far longer standing and, indeed, until the eighteenth century, still the principal manufacture of Great Britain. At the beginning of the reign the export trade in manufactured goods and woollen and worsted yarns was worth £8,000,000. In 1861 it had increased to £9,000,000; in 1871 to £26,000,000; and in 1887 it amounted to £24,000,000. It should be remembered that rather less wool was retained for home consumption than was sent abroad. Thus in 1887 258,700,000 lbs. were retained for home consumption against the 319,000,000 lbs. sold to the foreigner. The silk trade hardly expanded with equal rapidity: but on the other hand linen and jute manufactures were doing fairly well. Thus at the beginning of the reign their exports were valued at about £3,000,000, which had risen to £8,000,000 in 1887. During the same period spun silk rose from £900,000 to £1,890,000. And now for the comparative table.

Exports in the Textile Fabrics.	1851.	1871.	1887.
	£	£	£
Cotton manufactures	23,454,810	57,760,000	59,580,441
Cotton yarn	6,634,026	15,061,204	11,379,325
Woollen manufactures	8,377,183	20,182,385	20,594,962
Woollen yarn	1,484,544	6,100,727	3,969,616
Linen and jute manufactures	4,107,396	8,530,575	7,520,980
... yarn	951,426	2,480,186	1,157,175
Silk manufactures	1,130,398	2,053,086	1,890,054
Silk yarn	196,380	1,269,812	1,366,539
Haberdashery and millinery	1,727,690	5,901,979	2,346,834
Clothing and slops	997,628	2,707,499	3,947,306
Boots and shoes	308,507	1,513,771	1,745,922

Another very important division of the manufactures exported from the United Kingdom

consists of hardware, machinery, and other articles composed principally of the metals. In the revenue returns for 1837 the exports in hardware and cutlery are valued at £2,177,162, and those in iron and steel at £2,284,116. As will be seen from the table, the latter figures looked puny at the end of the period, but we will leave the figures to speak for themselves, with the remark that in 1851 the trade in telegraph wire was non-existent, and that in 1883 the figures for steam and other engines rose as high as £4,297,236 and £9,135,845.

Value of Metallic Manufactures Exported.	1851.	1871.	1887.
	£	£	£
Manufactures — Iron and steel ...	6,336,644	22,220,030	24,992,314
Hardware and cutlery ...	2,827,011	4,006,385	2,921,159
Steam engines ...	403,637	2,064,004	2,794,487
Other engines ...	764,974	3,902,037	8,330,971
Arms and ammunition ...	467,854	2,395,993	1,585,795
Copper ...	1,535,931	2,962,634	2,133,321
Telegraph wire	1,523,638	817,385
Lead ...	430,501	857,050	609,078

Here again it should be remembered that an enormous quantity of each of these articles was retained for home consumption.

In the remaining class we will content ourselves with the figures at or about a million, as its items are too miscellaneous to be very instructive:—

Chemical and Miscellaneous Manufactures.	1851.	1871.	1887.
	£	£	£
Alkali ...	360,521	1,747,269	1,742,771
Earthen and china ware ...	1,121,104	1,731,483	1,983,501
Chemical products ...	352,471	1,588,763	1,692,651
Painters' colours ...	257,076	1,019,243	1,347,684
Saddlery ...	137,528	994,686	939,763
Glass ...	827,950	877,773	920,324

The export value of this last article happens to be given in the revenue returns for 1837; it was £838,562. Lastly there is an item in this category called printed books: it was valued at £268,032 in 1851; £719,042 in 1871, and £1,175,411 in 1887.

This wonderful tale of expansion and development is confirmed by a survey of the Empire at large. At the beginning of the reign the total import and export trade of the colonies was worth some £55,000,000. The figures had risen to £140,000,000 in 1856; while in 1887 the imports amounted to £203,000,000, and the exports to £205,000,000, of which large commerce between 48 and 49 per cent. was carried on with the United Kingdom. As to India the imports were valued

in the year 1836-37 at some £7,000,000 sterling, and the exports at £13,000,000. In 1887 the former had risen to £71,000,000, and the latter to £83,000,000. These totals speak for themselves, and we may carry the comparison still farther by saying that in 1887 the import and export trade of the world was roughly reckoned by statisticians at £3,600,000,000, of which they calculated that some 13 per cent. was conducted within the limits of the British Empire.

The gross revenue of British India in 1836-37 is stated by Sir Henry Maine in his valuable contribution to Mr. Humphry Ward's "The Reign of Queen Victoria," at £22,000,000. In 1856-57 it had risen to £32,000,000; and in 1886-87 to £74,000,000. It was unfortunately the case that expenditure increased also: thus in 1836-37 it amounted to £19,000,000; in 1856-57 to £32,000,000 and in 1886-87 to £77,000,000. Thus deficits, due for the most part to wars and military preparations, famines, and also to formidable fluctuations in the value of the rupee, were not unknown, though their frequency was less at the end than at the beginning of the period. As a whole, the public debt stood in 1836-37 at £32,000,000, in 1856-57 at £52,000,000, and 1886-87 at £165,000,000, of which £92,000,000 was held in India, and £73,000,000 in England. It should be observed, however, that some £73,000,000 of this last amount represented profitable investments in public works, which returned a profit after the interest had been paid on the borrowed capital. Thus, in 1887, India owned 13,000 miles of railway, of which 7,500 miles belonged to the State, and had constructed 27,000 miles of canals, irrigating some 10,000 square miles of land.

The principal source of revenue was the land, and it showed great elasticity, though hampered by the permanent assessment introduced into Bengal by Lord Cornwallis. Before the Mutiny it furnished nearly one half of the total receipts, and in 1887 about a third, recourse having meanwhile been had to indirect taxation. In 1836-37 the East India Company was receiving some £12,000,000 under this head, in 1886-87 land yielded £22,000,000 without any enhancement of the rate. Next in importance came the opium revenue, which in 1886-87 totalled £8,800,000, subject to a charge of some £3,000,000. The third great source of revenue was salt, which in 1886-87 amounted to £6,000,000, having more than doubled in the course of the reign. We have mentioned that the army and frontier

defences formed the chief item of expenditure, and it is enough to state in illustration of that remark that the maintenance of British rule cost £12,000,000 in 1856-57, and £19,000,000 in 1886-87, having reached £25,000,000 during the progress of the Mutiny. We have already touched upon the imports and exports of India; but the vast internal trade of the peninsula must be taken into account as, well, though it cannot, unfortunately, be calculated with any approach to accuracy. So far as external commerce was concerned, the leading articles of merchandise exported in 1887 were grain and pulse, value £18,000,000; raw cotton, value £13,000,000; opium, value £11,000,000, and seeds value £9,000,000.

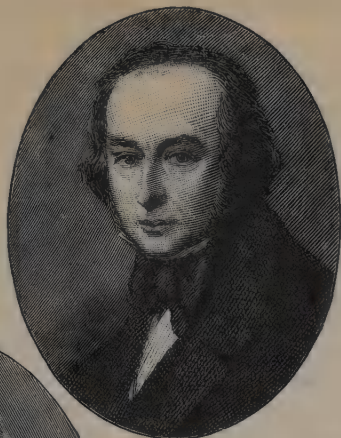
At the beginning of the reign Australasia could barely be said to exist, except as a receptacle for British convicts. Its import and export trade was worth under £2,300,000, and the 181,000 acres under cultivation only pastured 3,500,000 sheep. Moreover, in 1842 the nascent communities were reduced to great financial straits, whence the revivals were only gradual. It was the discovery of gold which gave the colonies their first impetus, and the finds at Bathurst and Ballarat in 1851 coincided with the separation of Victoria from New South Wales. Accordingly in 1856 the area of land under cultivation rose to 650,000 acres, and the value of the import and export trade to £46,000,000. From that time the material progress of the various communities was extremely rapid, and mining was quickly discarded in favour of agriculture and pasturage. In 1887 the acreage under cultivation amounted to 8,400,000 acres, and the number of sheep to 75,500,000. The exports were valued at £54,000,000, and the imports at £64,000,000, the former having gained rapidly on the latter. The revenue had risen from £430,000 in 1837 to £23,000,000 in 1887, and the shipping tonnage from 283,000 to 15,000,000.

It must be confessed that the Australasian colonies pursued the tactics of "lightly earned and lightly spent." The Protective policy, which most of the young Governments adopted, finds, no doubt, a justification in the difficulty of collecting the revenue among a sparse population, except at the ports, as well as the expediency of building up new industries. But several of the States were somewhat reckless in the alienation of land, and all of them spent money like water upon public works, for which purpose frequent loans were raised in the London money market. New Zealand, owing in part to the system of unwise

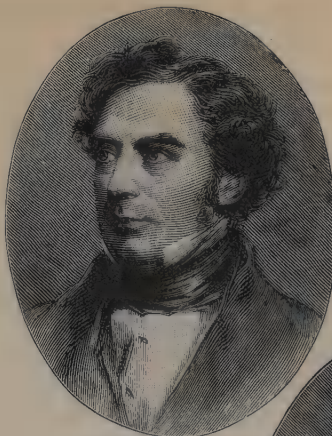
decentralisation which existed from 1852 to 1875, took the lead in increasing her liabilities, until they rose from £77,000 in 1856 to £37,000,000 in 1887, giving an average of £57 odd per head of the white population. However, the colony had begun to retrench before the Jubilee year, whereas the Australian Governments still borrowed from the mother country. The public debt of New South Wales rose from £7,000,000 in 1860 to £41,000,000 in 1887, giving an average of nearly £41 per head; that of Victoria had mounted to £33,000,000, giving an average of £32 per head, and that of Queensland to £20,000,000 with an average of £64 per head. The debts of the remaining Australasian colonies were respectively: of South Australia £19,000,000, of Tasmania £4,000,000, and of Western Australia £1,000,000.

The answer to severe economists was that Australasia could not otherwise have developed her wonderful railway system, which gave 216 miles of railway for every 10,000 persons, as against the 52 miles in Great Britain. Again, public works formed valuable assets, though there was a tendency to reduce fares and freights until profits were seriously diminished. Still, when detraction had said its worst, there could be no denying the spirit of enterprise shown by New South Wales, in the expenditure of £25,000,000 on its 1,900 miles of railway; by Victoria in spending £26,000,000 on its 1,800; by New Zealand in disbursing £14,000,000 upon 1,700 miles; and by Queensland in paying away £10,000,000 on its 1,500 miles. Moreover the figures showing the natural resources of the various communities were most satisfactory. In 1887 New South Wales could raise a revenue of over £2,000,000 (of which one-half was derived from land, and one-fourth from Customs), while its exports amounted to £15,000,000 in value, of which £5,000,000 was derived from wool. The revenue of Protectionist Victoria was £6,700,000, and its exports were valued at £11,000,000, of which wool was worth nearly £5,000,000, and gold (including specie) nearly £2,000,000. Queensland had a revenue of £2,800,000, and exported goods to the value of £2,000,000, of which wool counted for £1,000,000, and preserved meat for £64,000. New Zealand raised a revenue of £3,600,000 (exclusive of receipts from sales of land), and exported £6,600,000 worth of goods, of which wool accounted for £3,000,000, gold for £900,000, grain and flour for £500,000, and the rapidly increasing trade of frozen meat for £400,000.

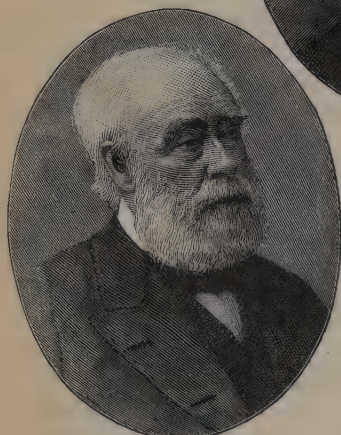
The Canadian Dominion showed hardly so striking an advance, but its record was far



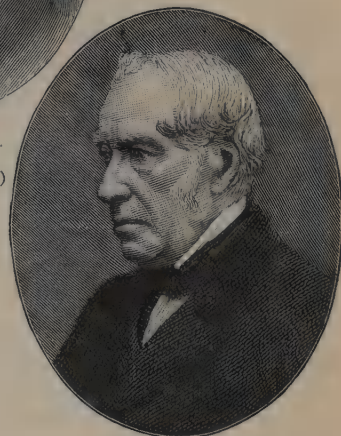
J. K. BRUNEL.
(After the Painting by
J. C. Horsley, R.A.)



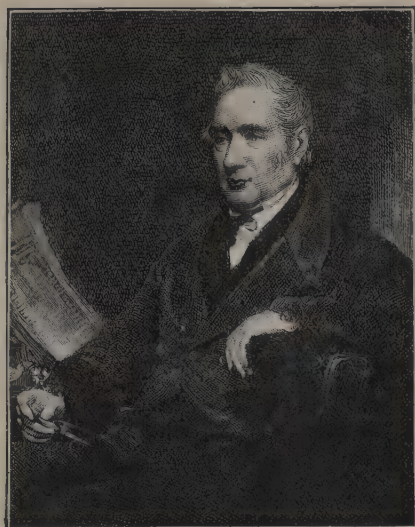
ROBERT STEPHENSON.
(After the Painting by
George Richmond, R.A.)



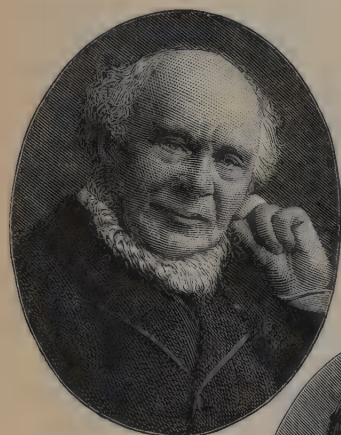
SIR JOSEPH WHITWORTH.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



SIR WILLIAM FAIRBAIRN.
(From a Photograph by Maull and Fox.)



GEORGE STEPHENSON.
(After the Painting by H. P. Briggs, R.A.)



SIR JOHN FOWLER.
(From a Photograph by
Elliott and Fry.)



SIR WILLIAM ARROL.
(From a Photograph by
Valentine and Sons, Dundee.)



SIR BENJAMIN BAKER.
(From a Photograph by Mayall, Ltd.)



SIR JOHN HAWKSHAW.
(From a Photograph by Maull and Fox.)

GREAT ENGINEERS.

steadier. At the beginning of the reign the total trade was worth about £9,500,000, and before federation was accomplished in 1867 it had risen to nearly £35,000,000. In 1887 the exports and imports were worth £43,000,000. Again, during the period under review, a revenue of under £500,000 had increased to one of £7,100,000. The public debt weighed but lightly, since it only averaged £9 8s. per head, its total amount being £54,600,000. This had been nearly trebled since 1867, but by its aid had been constructed over 10,000 miles of railway, including the Canadian Pacific line, which traversed the continent for some 3,500 miles. The staple products of Canada were corn and timber, and the quantities exported increased with great rapidity. Thus previous to 1874 Canada imported very nearly as much grain as she sent abroad; but in 1887, while the incoming articles were confined to biscuits and bread-stuffs, wheat and flour left the ports to the value of £2,700,000. The hewn and sawn timber shipped to Great Britain alone was worth £2,200,000, and £2,300,000 went elsewhere. The other principal item of export was live animals, and they were valued at nearly £1,400,000. In spite, therefore, of the vast natural resources of the United States, Canada was perfectly competent to hold her own in the markets of the world.

British South Africa, in 1887, still awaited federation, but its material progress had been very considerable. At the beginning of the reign the exports from the Cape were worth about £500,000, and though they had risen to over £2,500,000 in 1863, the real expansion of the colony dated from 1871, when diamonds were discovered at Kimberley. Forthwith the imports rose from £2,300,000 in 1869 to £6,600,000 in 1873, and the exports increased to £4,600,000 from £2,900,000. In 1887 the total value of exports was £7,500,000, of which diamonds were estimated at £3,500,000, wool at £1,580,000, and ostrich feathers at £500,000, though the last commodity had touched £960,000 in 1884. It should also be

remembered that the gold mines in the Transvaal were owned almost entirely by Englishmen, and that the export in 1887 was valued at £160,000. The public debt of Cape Colony dated from 1859 and had risen to £21,000,000 in 1887; Natal, with far more modest resources, contenting herself with liabilities to the amount of £3,900,000. With this money the latter State had constructed 220 miles of railway; while the Cape, where a modest line 58 miles in length was opened in 1863, possessed in 1887 three complete systems, extending over 1,599 miles, and some private lines as well. The junction of the lines, which started from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and East London respectively, had already been effected, and an advance to Mafeking seemed imminent in the immediate future.

The West Indian Colonies hardly exhibited equal prosperity. The sugar industry was severely depressed at the beginning of the reign by the emancipation of the negroes; nor did Free Trade tend to improve matters so far as Jamaica and the neighbouring islands were concerned. A gradual revival occurred about 1875 and onwards, when the annual value of trade was about £12,000,000. In 1885, however, the colonies lost nearly a million by the cheapening of sugar, and with the decline of their importance they tended to contract closer relations with the United States. But—to bring a somewhat extended review to a conclusion—this local decadence was more than compensated by the general prosperity of the Empire. We have already given the totals of British and Colonial trade, and it is enough to remark in conclusion that 42 per cent. of the whole circulated within the boundaries of the Empire. To some minds the rapidly increasing value of the connection between the mother-country and the dependencies, together with the protective tariffs adopted by foreign nations, appeared to point to the expediency of a Customs Union. As yet, however, the theory had not emerged from the region of decidedly academic discussion.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

Mechanical Science—Railway Enterprise in 1837—Brunel and the Broad Gauge—Primitive Devices—The Railway Commissioners—The Railway Mania—Mileage in the United Kingdom and the Empire—Brunel's Bridges—The Tubular Bridges—Robert Stephenson's Record—The Forth Bridge—The Severn Tunnel—The Underground Railway—London Termini—Steep Gradients—Improved Engines—Increase of Speed—Signals and Brakes—Accommodation and Increased Traffic—Tramways—Beginnings of Steam Navigation—The Screw—The *Great Eastern*—Improved Engines—The *Umbria* and the *Etruria*—The Carrying Trade—British Tonnage—The Suez Canal—The Royal Navy—Armour *v.* Artillery—Subsequent Improvements—Armstrong and Whitworth—The Navy in 1887—The Telegraph—Cooke's Patent—Telegraphs acquired by the State—Post Office Revenue—Submarine Telegraphy—Multiplication of Lines—The Atlantic Cable—Improved Appliances—Increase and Cheapness of Trans-Oceanic Cables—The Telephone—The Phonograph.

IF we inquire how the vast commercial Empire, of which the statistics have been given in the last chapter, attained so wonderful a development, the answer must be through the inventions and improvements of mechanical science. Britain, in the Victorian era, had no absolute monopoly of genius, but her engineers were beyond question the most illustrious in the world. They were the parents of the great railway system which, extending from its cradles in the North of England, spread its network over whole continents. They created the fleets of iron, which, propelled by screw and steam, and no longer dependent on the winds and waves, doubled the wealth of nations. They conceived the idea of ocean-telegraphy, whereby the remotest people could instantaneously communicate their thoughts and deeds, and man was rendered virtually ubiquitous. They were among the most illustrious pioneers of that age of electricity which was beginning to supplant the era of steam. "Lords and Commons," says Milton, in his "Areopagitica," "consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are governors; a nation not slow and dull; but of a quick, ingenious and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtile and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point, the highest that human capacity can soar to." This eloquent description of the talents of Englishmen in the seventeenth century applies with no less justice to their descendants of the nineteenth.

The railway-engine, it is hardly necessary to say, dates farther back than the reign of Queen Victoria. Watt patented his locomotive carriage so far back as 1784, and in 1813 William Headley designed the primitive "Puffing Billy." A year later George Stephenson constructed his Killingworth engine, which was also made to bite the rails; and in 1825 the Stockton and Darlington railway, which he had planned, was actually opened. A still greater stride was made, when in

1830 the Liverpool and Manchester Railway began to carry passengers and goods, and in the year of the Queen's accession it was connected with Birmingham by the Grand Junction. In 1838 the London and Birmingham Railway was opened, having been constructed by Robert Stephenson in conjunction with his father. The pair had encountered and triumphed over formidable difficulties, and with the completion of these lines the adoption and extension of the railway system—not only in England but throughout the civilised world—was assured. In all some 200 miles of railway were open to traffic in the year 1837, and the commercial results of the Liverpool and Manchester line so encouraged speculators, that Parliament had sanctioned the making of 994 miles more. Among the lines either contemplated or actually begun were the Midland Counties, the Eastern Counties, the York and North Midland, the Brighton, the Southampton, and the Great Western.

It was on the last line that Isambard Brunel, himself the son of a distinguished engineer, was displaying his vast, though in some respects ineffectual abilities. In the first instance the line ran from London to Bristol, and the undaunted inventor carried the Box Tunnel for nearly two miles through the solid rock near Bath. It was a marvellous achievement, but the lavish expenditure connected with the original construction of the line involved the company in difficulties from which it could not for many years see any escape. On this line, Brunel, departing from the practice followed by the Stephensons, introduced the broad gauge, in which the rails were placed at a distance of seven feet, or more than two feet wider than those of the narrow gauge system. The innovation undoubtedly conduced to a greater smoothness and higher speed in travelling, but it also greatly increased the cost of working the line. So far from the improvement becoming general, as its

originator fondly imagined, it was finally abandoned even by the Great Western, though not until 1892. The question was fought out in what was termed the "battle of the gauges," when both the Great Western and the Midland were desirous of amalgamating their lines with that from Bristol to Gloucester. The Midland won the day, and in 1846 the supremacy of the narrow gauge was confirmed by Parliamentary legislation.

As was pretty certain to happen, various devices

Dr. Lardner, Mr. Cubitt and Mr. Vignolles, and was warmly advocated by Brunel before the Parliamentary Committee of 1845. Companies were formed to carry out the new invention, and it was commonly supposed that atmospheric railways would soon supersede the locomotive altogether. The Stephensons, however, declined to lend their support to the new principle, George, with characteristic caution, preferring to "wait and see if it would pay." However, it was brought



THE DOWN "DUTCHMAN" (ON THE RIGHT) PASSING ACTON AT THE RATE OF SIXTY MILES AN HOUR
(GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY*).

(From an Instantaneous Photograph by J. A. C. Branfill.)

were tried and abandoned before any uniformity of practice could be attained. For example, trains were dragged up steep inclines by means of stationary engines, such as that placed at Edge Hill at the top of the rise from Liverpool, and that at Camden Town on the Euston line. After a prolonged halt the carriages were then coupled to their locomotive, and proceeded at a rate of some nineteen or twenty miles an hour with frequent stoppages, both at the junctions and on the way. In 1843, Crampton, the distinguished engineer, advocated safety or reserve wheels in case of accidents. The construction of more powerful engines obviated this somewhat primitive arrangement, and another system, which failed to satisfy practical tests, was the atmospheric system invented by Brunel. The propulsion of trains by atmospheric pressure in place of steam was an elegant and ingenious idea. It enjoyed the approval of many of the highest scientific authorities, including

into operation on several railways, notably the South Devon, a line constructed by Brunel. The working expenses were found to swallow up all the profits, with a balance on the wrong side of more than £20,000, and the company reverted to the locomotive, abandoning the atmospheric principle with its costly apparatus of tubing.

Already, that is in 1838, an important Act had been passed for the transmission of mails, and the Parliamentary Committee of 1844 recommended the formation of a railway department; and, in pursuance of its advice, a clause was inserted in all railway Bills which allowed the State to purchase within twenty-one years. Accordingly, the Board of Railway Commissioners was appointed in 1846, and in 1851 its authority was transferred to the Board of Trade, but the railway mania of 1846 effectually prevented the community from

* The narrow gauge system is seen on the left, while the mixed gauges are shown on the right.

acquiring the lines. It is curious to read that up to the end of 1844 respectable brokers could not be induced to undertake the negotiation of railway shares. But when, by the payment of handsome dividends, the popular intelligence suddenly apprehended that railways could really be worked at a profit, the financial world rushed to the opposite extremity. On the 17th of November, 1845, there were 620 fresh projects before the public, requiring

temporary collapse in which over 3,500 miles were abandoned either with or without the sanction of Parliament. Still, it was calculated that in 1850 the length of railroad was treble that of 1844, and the paid-up capital amounted to £240,000,000. In 1865, when the period of twenty-one years came to an end, the paid-up capital amounted to £240,000,000, and Government hesitated to take over so enormous a liability. At the same



THE FORTH BRIDGE, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST. (From a Photograph by Valentine and Sons, Dundee.)

for their execution an aggregate capital of more than £563,000,000 sterling. In that year Parliament had actually granted powers for the construction of 2,883 miles of new railways, with a total capital of £44,000,000 sterling. But the nation was now fairly abandoned to its speculative frenzy; and in the following year Bills conceding powers to raise three times as much money for lines whose total mileage was not double as great, passed through the Legislature. Such was the general infatuation, that in two days George Hudson had obtained from confiding shareholders the acceptance of forty Bills, which involved the expenditure of £10,000,000. The result was a

time no alternative policy was produced, and the subsequent endeavours to prevent the creation of local monopolies by cunningly contrived amalgamations, or to obtain a revision of rates, were equally half-hearted. By that date most of the main lines which in 1887 traversed the length and breadth of the United Kingdom were already in existence, and the rate of construction began to slacken, from 86 per cent. in 1852 to about 8 per cent. in 1887. To cut a long story short, we may say that whereas in 1837 there were under 200 miles open to traffic in the United Kingdom, at the beginning of the Jubilee year there were 19,332, of which England and Wales owned 13,678 miles,

Scotland 3,022 miles, and Ireland 2,632. The capital paid up represented a total of £828,344,254, and the receipts for the year were £69,591,953, of which the working expenditure amounted to 52 per cent. We have already alluded incidentally to the railways of India and the colonies. Accordingly, it is enough to say here in recapitulation that India had, in 1887, 13,390 miles of railway; Canada, 11,523 miles; Australasia, 8,891 miles; Cape Colony and Natal 1,995 miles; and Mauritius 92. Scarcely a dependency was absolutely destitute of this modern method of conveyance, and the grand total for the British Empire was 55,599 miles.

Some of the engineering works which the making of these lines entailed, deserve more than a cursory mention. Brunel's wonderful bridge over the Tamar, near Saltash, on the Cornish line was completed in 1859, the year of his death. It consisted of nineteen spans, of which the two central ones crossed the whole stream of the Tamar at a leap of 900 feet, which was wider than the Thames at Westminster. They rest on a central pier, which rose to a height of 270 feet, which was more than fifty feet higher than the Monument of London. Its foundations, as well as that of another of Brunel's bridges, that over the Wye at Chepstow, presented difficulties which it would have been hardly possible to overcome, if the usual methods of operation had been followed. By a modification of the pneumatic process, applying what was called the coffer-dam system, Brunel succeeded in laying the foundation of the pier at Saltash at a greater depth than had ever before been accomplished.

In friendly rivalry, Robert Stephenson with the co-operation of Sir William Fairbairn was constructing a number of tubular bridges, which were among the proudest monuments of his engineering skill. A quarter of a century after Telford had spanned the Menai Strait by his magnificent suspension bridge, Robert Stephenson, in 1850, raised a still more astonishing structure over the same arm of the sea. In the Britannia Bridge, as also in the Conway Bridge, he adopted a new and untried principle, namely, that of huge tubes or hollow beams of iron. The Britannia Bridge tubes were in eight parts, resting upon towers, the central tower rising from a rock in the middle of the Strait, to a height of 230 feet. The tubes themselves—of which the four central portions were 460 feet, and the four other portions 230 feet long—were composed of enormous iron plates riveted together. The rivets alone weighed 900 tons and would have made an iron rod seven-eighths of an

inch thick and 126 miles long. The work of raising the vast tubes from the water was effected by the help of Bramah hydraulic presses of unprecedented power. One of these engines was estimated to be capable of lifting as many as 30,000 men.

The Britannia Bridge was followed by Stephenson's last and greatest work, the tubular bridge over the river St. Lawrence at Montreal, begun in 1854 and completed by Mr. Alexander Mackenzie Ross, in 1860. For gigantic strength, and the majesty of its proportions, few structures in ancient or modern times could compare with it. The erection consisted of a series of twenty-five tubular bridges connected together by the piers on which they rested. These piers had not only to support the weight of the iron tubes, which was upwards of ten thousand tons, but to withstand the strain to which they were exposed from the stream itself. The usual rapidity of the current was ten miles an hour; and every season, on the break-up of the frost, immense quantities of ice, in vast blocks, were brought down from the great lakes, and passed the bridge in their course towards the sea. The piers each contained 8,000 feet of solid masonry. The Victoria Bridge was five times as long as the Britannia, its length being but sixty yards short of two miles. The central span was 330 feet wide, each of the others being 242 feet. It should be remembered that the labours of this illustrious man were by no means confined to the British Empire. Germany, Belgium, Tuscany, and Switzerland all owed him an immense debt of gratitude, while for Egypt he constructed the bridge over the Damietta branch of the Nile, upon which, by way of variety, the trains ran, not inside the tubes, but on the top of the roof.

A certain proportion of disaster inevitably accompanied such stupendous achievements, and the melancholy collapse of the Tay Bridge, in 1879, was a case in point on the grand scale. Due rather to the incalculable violence of the elements than to any shortcomings of its engineer, Sir Thomas Bouch, or even of its contractor, the catastrophe cast, nevertheless, some discredit on the lattice-girder principle, upon which the structure was built. To Sir John Fowler, with the aid of Sir Benjamin Baker, was due the bridging of the Firth of Forth, on what was known as the "cantilever and central girder" system. This magnificent undertaking, begun in 1883, was not completed by the Jubilee year. Accordingly we shall postpone our account of its opening by the Prince of Wales, briefly describing here the principal

features of the wonderful structure. In order to secure a more direct route from Edinburgh to Perth, the directors of the North British Railway decided to span the Forth at a point near Queensferry, where it was about a mile wide and, in parts, 200 feet deep. To that end, Sir John Fowler designed a bridge 8,296 feet in length, approached by fifteen girder spans of 168 feet, resting on masonry piers. The main structure comprised two spans of 1,780 feet, and two of 680 feet, composed of cantilevers, and two central girders each 350 feet long, which completed the connections. They rested on steel towers, which in turn rose from four massive piers of solid marble and granite, the tops of which were 36 feet above the water level, and had a diameter of 49 feet. As for the central towers, they were carried up to 361 feet above high water, and were founded upon concrete carried down to the solid rock by means of wrought iron caissons, 70 feet in diameter, and sunk by the pneumatic process to a maximum depth of 91 feet below the surface. In spite of the bridge's enormous weight, the pressure upon the foundation did not exceed six tons per square foot, while hardly less wonderful than the building itself were the hydraulic rams, and specially constructed cranes which raised the materials and platforms for the workmen to so dizzy a height, many of the machines devised to surmount difficulties peculiar to the undertaking being the invention of the contractor, Sir William Arrol. Whatever achievements the future may bring forth, the engineering skill of the Victorian epoch stands nobly commemorated in the bridge across the Forth.

Aërial viaducts by no means exhaust the striking accomplishments of the human intellect in connection with railways. For example, the Box Tunnel of Brunel was far outdone by that under the Severn, belonging also to the Great Western Company, and 7,664 yards in length. It was constructed by Mr. Walker, and opened in 1886. Another difficult work of similar character was the Underground Railway in the British metropolis. It had to be carried beneath the streets of the busiest of cities, down where the soil was honey-combed by other works—gas pipes, water mains, drains, and sewers. It had to undermine, without damaging, the foundations of houses and churches, and other public and private buildings. The cost was colossal, being upwards of £150,000 per mile, and though the first section was opened in 1868, the "Inner Circle" was not completed until 1892. Though the atmospheric difficulties were not entirely overcome by Sir John Fowler's

steam-condensing and smoke-consuming engine, the "Underground" was an immense convenience to the working-classes of London. It should be remembered also that three lines, connecting London with the counties south of the Thames, were brought over the river by substantial, though unlovely bridges, and many vast terminal stations erected in the centre of London. The North Western was established at Euston so far back as 1839, though its importance dates from 1846, when the London and Birmingham, the Manchester and Birmingham, the Grand Junction, and the Liverpool and Manchester were amalgamated. The Great Northern was born in 1845, and King's Cross retained its old wooden roof until 1887. The South Western moved its terminus from Nine Elms to Waterloo in 1850; the south station was erected in 1879, and the north station was opened in 1885. The Eastern Counties Railway, after a youth of struggle and loss, became the Great Eastern, and opened its terminus at Liverpool Street in 1875, the building costing £2,000,000. In 1885 it was carrying 65,000,000 passengers—thanks to the suburban traffic—as against the 34,000,000 of the Great Western. These stations, too, were constructed rather from the practical than the æsthetic point of view, with the exception of that of St. Pancras, designed in 1865 by Sir Gilbert Scott, the cost being some £9,000,000. Again, while Sir John Hawkshaw was overcoming the obstacles presented by steep gradients, Sir William Fairbairn and others were setting themselves to improve the strength and power of the steam-engine. Thus, on the Midland, the Lekey incline descends for 2 miles at the rate of 1 inch in 37, in South Devon there were gradients of 1 in 42 or 43, while the Cowlairs Tunnel down into Queen Street, Glasgow, sank 1 inch in every 42. The "Cornwall" engine, designed by Trevithick, and shown in the Great Exhibition of 1851, was still, after nearly fifty years' service, running fifty miles an hour. The Harrison engines, the "Hurricane," and the "Thunder," had disappeared. The latest novelties were the "compound" engines designed by Mr. Webb, of the North Western, in 1881, and by Mr. Worsdell, of the North Eastern, some three or four years earlier. To a certain extent they were reversions to a type invented by an engine-driver on the Eastern Counties (afterwards the Great Eastern) Railway, John Nicholson by name, so far back as 1852. To Mr. Ramsbottom, of the North Western, belonged the credit of the idea of watering the engines *en route*, for which he took out a patent in 1860, though it was long before he

found imitators. The result was that the average speed of fast trains increased from 19 to 31 miles per hour between 1837 and 1887, while expresses averaged $41\frac{3}{5}$. In 1861 the *Trent* dispatches were, by an extraordinary effort, conveyed from Holyhead to London, 264 miles, in five hours. But in 1887 the distance from Grantham to London, or $105\frac{1}{4}$ miles, was habitually accomplished in two hours four minutes, *i.e.* at the rate of $53\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour, and that from Swindon to London, or $77\frac{1}{4}$ miles at the speed of $53\frac{1}{4}$ miles per hour. Almost as remarkable were the fast goods' trains. Thus the "Scots fish and meat" train left Carlisle at 8.51 p.m., ten minutes after the "Limited," and thirty in front of the "Special Mail," and maintained its position the whole way to Willesden between the two fast expresses. On the other hand, the fastest Continental express between Paris and Marseilles ran only $37\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour.

Nor was greater rapidity accompanied by a larger percentage of accidents, but very much the contrary. Signalling was developed from such primitive methods as a candle in a window, or a board which could be turned on one side, to the combination of lever signals, first introduced in 1848, with the block system, against which even Sir John Hawkshaw protested, whereby over a hundred operations could be performed with safety per hour in a single station. From the "A" box at Waterloo, the points and signals were worked by 209 different levers, giving the total of 4,848,700 movements in the twelvemonth. On the occasion of the Jubilee Review, the record at Waterloo was no less than 783 trains in the day. Again, the murder of Mr. Briggs in 1867 was followed by the introduction of communication with the guard, either by cord or electric bell. Further, as the result of trials made at Newark in 1875, all trains were furnished with an automatic and continuous brake, constructed according to the "Westinghouse" and "vacuum" systems, which could bring them to a standstill within 260 yards. In 1876 Mr. Fortner, by inventing the chain-drag, obviated collisions in shunting. Hence the number of fatal accidents decreased from 1 in every 4,700,000 passengers in 1842, to 1 in every 59,200,000 in 1887. At the same time, while Pullman cars, sometimes lighted by electricity, were invented for the comfort of the wealthy, third-class traffic, instead of being snubbed and confined to mere trucks—destitute even of seats and roofs, and, of course, without windows—was so encouraged that it gave over 70 per cent. of the total receipt from passengers' fares. Besides,

railways like the North Eastern spent money on docks at Middlesborough and Hartlepool, while others, running to the coast, like the South Eastern and the Chatham, owned magnificent steamers like the twin-ship *Calais-Douvres*, launched in 1878, the *Victoria* (1886), and the *Empress* (1887). In the coaching days every person in the United Kingdom travelled 13 miles per annum, at 5d. per mile, and at 9 miles per hour. In 1887 every person travelled 148 miles at $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. per mile and 25 to 30 miles per hour. The number of passengers conveyed during that year was 725,584,390, exclusive of season-ticket holders, while the goods carried had risen from 5,129,000 tons in 1842, to 36,000,000. It is remarkable that even on the Midland Counties and North Midland five-eighths of the receipts came originally from the "coaching" traffic, and throughout the kingdom goods only earned one-fourth of the total, instead of three-fifths, as in 1887. So ashamed was the Midland of carrying coal, that at Weedon, where the trucks were loaded, a high screen was erected to conceal the ignominious performance. And already, electric railways, such as that between Portrush and Bushmills, pointed to yet further developments in this method of transport.

A land vehicle of much minor utility was the tramway, along which no less than 416,518,423 travelled in 1887 upon the 886 miles open for traffic in the United Kingdom. But we must turn to the more inspiring theme of navigation which, as exemplified in her mercantile and royal navy, formed one of her chief national glories.

The Victorian era witnessed an entire revolution in the art of ship-building. Wood gave place to iron and steel, and by the substitution of steam-power and of the paddle and the screw for sails, the whole aspect of maritime affairs was changed. Here again, as in the case of the locomotive, there were small beginnings before the year 1837. Thus, about 1812 certain iron boats are spoken of as plying on the canals in the county of Stafford. Ten years later Sir Charles Napier navigated the *Ocean Mail*—the first iron steamer that ever went to sea—from London to Havre, and in 1819 the *Savannah* actually crossed the Atlantic from America. Though experienced men shook their heads over the possibility of engines of more than 440 horse-power, Sir William Fairbairn had established himself in London by 1835, and was constructing at Millwall iron ships, some of which were over 2,000 tons burden. He it was that established the value of iron in the construction of ships, but in his own words, "even so recently as

1845 iron ships were scarcely known; and it required at least another decade to convince the public that iron was a lighter, safer, and more durable material for ship-building than wood." Only by slow degrees were the foundations laid by the Napiers, Lairds, and others of the gigantic establishments familiar to the next generation upon the Clyde, the Mersey, and the Tyne.

In 1838 Brunel's *Great Western* made a successful voyage across the Atlantic and established the

however, was proved to have patented a device of the sort in 1836, which was fitted to the *Archimedes* in 1840, and to him belongs the principal share, if not the whole of the merit, of having brought the screw into public use. Brunel's aspiring mind was quick to press the new idea into service, and in 1845 he built the *Great Britain* for the Great Western Steamship Company. She was the first vessel to combine iron with the screw, and she measured 286 feet between



LAUNCH OF THE "GREAT EASTERN." (See p. 206.)

feasibility of steam communication. But she was built of wood and propelled by paddles, and took fifteen days to reach New York from Bristol, though only fourteen to return. Three years later the Cunard Company commenced its mail service between Liverpool and Boston, when the *Britannia* made the passage in fourteen days and eight hours. However, sail was slow to give place to steam, and the latter was still confined for the most part to the coasting trade. An important advance was made in the introduction of the screw, an invention which, when the House of Commons granted £50,000 to its discoverer in 1855, produced no less than forty-four claimants. Pettit Smith,

perpendiculars, and was of 3,000 tons displacement. As with so many of Brunel's grand creations, the *Great Britain* met with misfortune. She left Liverpool on the 22nd of September, 1846, and within ten hours struck upon the Irish coast. The attempts to float her again involved a series of operations, attended by vast expense, and it was not until August, 1847, that she was at length got again into water. The irony of the situation lay in the fact that the vessel's survival on the rocks of Dundrum Bay conclusively proved the superiority of iron over wood for purposes of ship-building.

Ten years after the construction of the *Great Britain*, Mr. Brunel commenced the *Great Eastern*.

with Mr. Scott Russell for his naval architect. To the latter was due the wave principle upon which the vessel was constructed, while Brunel's wonderful adaptability was displayed in the system of water-tight compartments longitudinally divided by fore-and-aft bulkheads. Thus the vessel might be pierced and rent open in several compartments at once, and yet she would not sink. Besides, a large portion of her hull was double, and the outer skin, two feet from the inner, was connected with the latter on the cellular or tubular principle. To that generation, however, the most remarkable feature in the *Great Eastern* was her extraordinary size, namely 680 feet in length, 83 feet in breadth, and 58 feet in depth. Men used to say that she was as big as a cathedral, and it is certainly the case that St. Peter's at Rome, the largest cathedral in the world, only measures 613 feet in external length. They boasted that she could be fitted up to carry comfortably the whole population of a town of 10,000 inhabitants. Her tonnage was 23,000, and she carried when loaded 18,000 tons of coals and cargo. Her paddle-wheel engines were of 1,000 nominal horse-power, and her screw engines 1,600. The paddle-wheels were 58 feet in diameter and the screw 24 feet. This magnificent vessel was doomed, however, to prove a complete failure as a commercial speculation, though the melancholy story of Brunel's last and most grandiose conception need not be told at length in this place. After a vast sum of money had been spent on building her, it required months of labour, and an additional expense of £70,000 had to be incurred before she could be launched, and the anxiety killed Brunel. She was intended to carry the India and China mails, but the idea had to be abandoned. She was damaged by an explosion in the Channel, by a hurricane in the Atlantic, and subsequently ran on a rock at New York, which broke her bottom plates for a length of 80 feet. No better testimony to Brunel's genius could be afforded than the fact that she was able to be repaired without going into dock; still dividends were not forthcoming; and, after serving as a dancing saloon for several years, the *Great Eastern* was condemned to be broken up. She was a striking evidence of the vanity of human wishes; nevertheless, but for her the Atlantic cable might never have been laid.

Though dogged throughout his career by disaster, Brunel invariably worked on the right lines, and the subsequent development of merchant steamships was characterised rather by improvements than by absolute innovations. In the matter of

engines great strides were effected both in economising coal, and the reduction of the weight of the machine with relation to its horse-power. This was achieved by an increase of piston-speed which towards the end of our period increased from 375 feet per minute in 1872 to as much as 800 or even 1,000 feet in 1887. Thus the pressure was raised from 40 lbs. per square inch to 160 lbs. and coal was saved to the extent of 18 or even 25 per cent. Again, Brunel's engines were distinct anticipations of the improved vertical direct-acting type, which came into general use, whether in the form of the tandem vertical engines adopted by the "White Star" line, or the three-cylinder arrangement in favour with the "Cunarders." Yet compare their horse-power with the *Great Eastern's* and how vast does the progress achieved appear. Thus the *Umbria's* engines worked at 14,300 horse-power, and an engine of 4,300 horse-power was quite a common piece of machinery. Deserving of especial mention are Mr. A. C. Kirk's triple-expansion engines, of which the first set, those designed for the *Propontis* in 1874, did not succeed, owing to the breakdown of the boilers. In 1882, however, the *Aberdeen* entirely proved the feasibility of the system, and three years later Mr. Brock constructed a quadruple-expansion engine, which effected a further economy in coal-consumption of 5 per cent.

If we take the *Umbria* as one of the most perfect specimens of the merchant-steamships afloat in the year 1887, the conclusion must be, that compared with the *Great Eastern* she was far less unwieldy and far more efficient. She was launched in 1884, having been constructed by Messrs. John Elder and Co. for the Cunard Company at the cost of £320,000, of which a third represented the value of the engines, designed by Mr. Bryce Douglas. As we have mentioned, they were of 14,300 horse-power, and were supplied with 2,500 tons of coal. The vessel travelled through the water at something like 20 miles an hour, and, in favourable circumstances, carried her 720 first-class passengers across the Atlantic in five days and a half. The dimensions of the *Umbria* and of her sister ship the *Etruria*, which was launched in 1885, were in length over all 501 feet; breadth 57 ft. 3 inches; depth to upper-deck 38 feet, and to promenade-deck 46 feet, with a gross tonnage of about 8,000 tons. These monsters of the deep were built of steel throughout, and were entered on the Admiralty list as mercantile auxiliaries in the time of war. Hence they were armed with four five-inch Vavasseur



THE CUNARD LINER "CAMPANIA" AT THE LANDING-STAGE, LIVERPOOL.

After a Photograph by Priestley & Sons Limited, Egremont.

Government sent some iron-plated gun-vessels to the Dardanelles, and the British Government promptly followed suit. Our ally's success at the bombardment of Kinburn encouraged him to fresh efforts, and the plated frigate *La Gloire*, designed by Dupuy de Lôme, opened a fresh era in naval history; nor should the achievements of the ram *Monitor*, built by Captain Ericsson, in the American Civil War, be forgotten, since they mark

Sir E. J. Reed and Captain Cowper Coles of the second. No sooner had Sir Edward Reed constructed the *Bellerophon* with her 6-inch outer skin and inner skin of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch than it was cracked by a shot of 300 lbs. The *Hercules* followed with an 8- or 9-inch thickness of armour, but Palliser's chilled iron-shot weighing 577 lbs., completely penetrated the target, breaking one rib, bulging others, and tearing away the

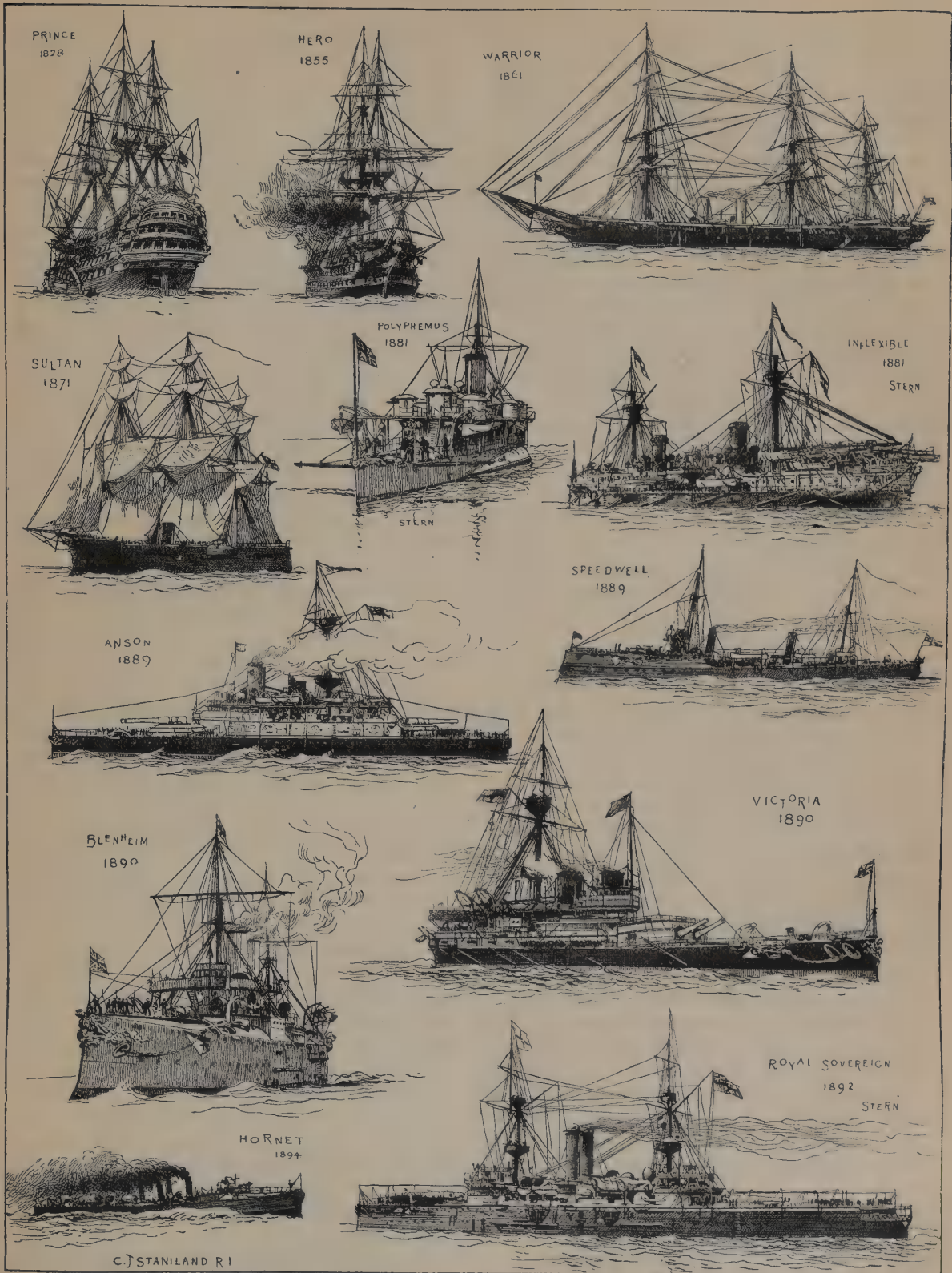


THE "GREAT WESTERN" AND THE "CAMPANIA"—A CONTRAST. (See p. 207.)

the introduction of revolving turrets for the guns. But if priority of discovery can be claimed by others, Englishmen easily won the race in improvement. Thus the *Warrior*, with plates $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, a tonnage of 9,200, and engines of 5,270 horse-power, could have sunk *La Gloire* with consummate ease, though her boasted invulnerability yielded before experiments conducted by means of 150-pounder cannon. Thenceforth a friendly rivalry commenced, in which the artillerists ranged themselves on one side, and naval architects on the other; Sir William, afterwards Lord, Armstrong, Sir Joseph Whitworth, and Sir William Palliser being the leading representatives of the first, and

inner skin, the shot itself breaking up into small fragments.

To give a full history of the various influences which combined to augment the capacities of the Royal Navy would require not a chapter but many volumes. We may note, however, the formation of the Royal Institution of Naval Architects in 1860, which greatly aided the improvement of design by the exchange of experience and the collection of evidence. Similarly the labours of Mr. William Froude, an elder brother of the historian, at Torquay, under the encouragement of the Admiralty, effected the most important discoveries as to wave resistance, oscillation, the



TYPES OF THE NAVY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN.

ratio of effective to indicated horse-power, the usefulness of bilge-keels and the best forms of screws and rudders. That great master of applied mathematics was the guiding spirit of Lord Dufferin's Committee, which reported on the designs upon which ships of war had been constructed. As a result, ships of nearly 800 tons greater displacement than the *Warrior* could be driven at nearly three knots more speed. Again, surface condensation, which became an accepted principle in 1860, rendered the use of high-pressure steam a possibility, and economised fuel, a result further accomplished by the compound engines of some ten years later. The forced draughts, with which Sir Nathaniel Barnaby's name is associated, by doubling the boiler-power, tended to a much increased celerity. But perhaps of greater importance still were the inventions of the Bessemer and Siemens processes for the production of iron and steel.

With the improvement in ordnance the names of Sir William (afterwards Lord) Armstrong and Sir Joseph Whitworth are inseparably connected. At the beginning of the reign 42-pounder guns were in use, and 68-pounders had come in by the Crimea. But they were all muzzle-loaders, and the great innovation was not effected until 1858, when Sir William Armstrong produced his poly-grooved breech-loading gun of wrought iron and steel. The Prussian manufacturer, Herr Krupp, effected many improvements, notably in the elongation of the bore, but Sir William Armstrong's incessant labours enabled him to distance his rivals, and to live down a brief reaction about 1861 in favour of the old muzzle-loading smooth-bores. At length he evolved the 110-ton gun, with which several men-of-war, the *Sanspareil* and the *Anson* for instance, were supplied in the Jubilee year. This terrible engine of destruction, made entirely of steel, was 40 feet long, and could throw a single projectile of 1,800 lbs. The "energy" at the muzzle was of 60,000 tons, and yet the recoil was confined to 5 feet by means of hydraulic buffers. Equally formidable in their way were the Whitehead torpedoes, with which the name of Messrs. Thornycroft was associated in England; and the quick-firing guns, of which the earliest specimen was the mitrailleuse employed in the Franco-Prussian war, and one of the latest, the Maxim, so called after its American inventor, which could throw six hundred projectiles per minute. Add the introduction of steel shells, gun-cotton, and slow-burning powder, and it will be allowed that naval war is a stupendous affair.

At the commencement of the reign the Navy List contained 129 vessels, some of which had a displacement exceeding 4,000 tons; there were 193 fighting ships in commission in 1887, of which the *Inflexible* had 11,880 tons displacement. We cannot give a better idea of some of the great men-of-war than by quoting "The Statesman's Year Book" for the Jubilee year:—"The requirements aimed at in the construction of the larger ironclads were to carry the heaviest possible guns and armour, to be very manageable and to have room for a large supply of coal. The principal completed war-ship of this class, the *Inflexible*, built at Portsmouth dock-yard, is 320 feet in length, and 75 feet in breadth, with a total weight of armour of 3,275 tons. The power and strength of the ship is concentrated in its central part, which forms a citadel 15 feet 7 inches high, of which about 9 feet is above and 6 feet 6 inches below the water; it is 75 feet broad, and 110 feet long, and encloses within its rectangular walls the engines and boilers, the base of the turrets, and the hydraulic loading gear. Its walls are 41 inches thick, and consist of armour plates, the total thickness of which varies from 16 inches to 24 inches, with strong teak backing. The central part of the armoured castle is filled by the two turrets, 9 feet high, with the external diameter of 28 feet, planted to the right and left, and holding two 80-ton guns capable of firing 1,700 lbs. shot with a charge of 450 lbs. powder. The *Dreadnought*, the *Devastation*, and the *Thunderer* have two independent screws and two sets of engines, and carry 1,200 to 1,600 tons of coal, or sufficient to take them over distances of from 3,500 to 6,000 miles at ten knots. The *Colossus* and the *Edinburgh* differ from the preceding ones in being built entirely of steel instead of iron. They are sister ships, 325 feet in length, and 68 feet in extreme breadth, and have two submerged ends, in which are raised armoured structures, completing the form of the vessel, and providing space for the crews of 400 officers and men, stores and fuel. The six barbette ships, the *Collingwood*, *Rodney*, *Howe*, *Camperdown*, *Benbow*, and *Anson*, resemble the *Colossus* in form under water, but excepting the *Collingwood*, they are more heavily armed and have higher speeds. Of these the *Collingwood* was launched in 1882, the *Rodney* in 1884, the *Howe*, *Benbow*, and *Camperdown* in 1885 and the *Anson* in 1887. A new feature is the multiplicity of water-tight compartments.

"The *Agamemnon* and *Ajax*, exact imitations of the *Inflexible*, were practically completed at the end of 1882. The *Belleisle* and the *Orion* were

purchased in March, 1878, by the British Government, having been constructed on the Thames, by order of Turkey. The *Conqueror*, the *Rupert* and the *Hotspur* are ram-ships, and a sister ship to the *Conqueror* was commenced in April, 1884, at Chatham. The ram, in these ironclads, has its sharp point about 8 feet below the water-line, and about 12 feet in advance of the upright portion of the stem. The *Polyphemus* may be described as simply a steel tube, deeply immersed, the convex deck rising but 4 feet 6 inches above the water-line. She carries no masts and sails, nor any heavy guns, her whole power being concentrated in a powerful ram bow, and in it a large 'torpedo tube,' which would enable Whitehead torpedoes to be ejected right ahead of the ship."

Our survey of the British Navy has necessitated a digression from the main subject of this chapter, namely, the application of science to the increase of wealth. Accordingly the telegraph has next to be considered, and it would be difficult to overstate the services which that instrument rendered during the half century to commerce and industry. Curiously enough, it was in May, 1837, that Wheatstone and Mr., afterwards Sir, W. F. Cooke took out their patent "for improvements in giving signals and sounding alarms in distant places by means of electric currents transmitted through metallic circuits." Despite the rival discoveries of Morse and Henry in America and of Steinheil in Bavaria, this was the first practical form of a telegraphic instrument, and it may be considered the true germ of the vast system of electrical communication that covered the earth as with a network. It had five needles, and, as constructed along the Blackwall Railway in 1838, consisted of insulated copper wires enclosed in an iron tube. At first confined to railway lines, and adopted in some instances only to be abandoned, the telegraph acquired status, so to speak, by the opening of the first public wire, between Paddington and Slough, in 1843. A period of chaos followed, very similar to that already described as prevalent in postal arrangements before the advent of Sir Rowland Hill, during which company fought against company in the large towns, while the rural districts went entirely uncared for. The problem cried aloud for State interference; nevertheless, it was not until 1870 that the Government was empowered by Act of Parliament to buy out the companies for the huge sum of £7,000,000, and that the telegraphs were placed under Post Office control. The consequence was that the number of telegraph offices increased from 2,159 before the

change to 6,621 in 1887, while the miles of wire, which had amounted to a poor 500 in 1845, to about 80,000 in 1870, had increased in 1887 to 173,539 miles, working upon 29,895 miles of line. Similarly, the number of messages rose from about 4,890,000 in 1870 to 50,000,000 in 1887, the introduction of sixpenny telegrams having produced an increase of over 19,000 from the previous year. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the anomalies prevalent in the transmission of correspondence at the beginning of the era, but a few figures may prove instructive. In 1837 some 80,000,000 letters were transmitted, and in 1887 1,460,000,000, besides 180,000,000 post-cards. During the same period the annual number of letters per head of the population rose from 3 to 40, and each person in addition despatched a telegram. Yet in spite of this enormous growth of business at considerably cheapened rates, the revenue of the Post Office increased from £1,500,000 to nearly double that amount.

The history of submarine telegraphy contains chapters much more romantic, but as its chief incident, the laying of the Atlantic cable, has already been related, our present narrative must be comparatively brief. The first attempt was made in the year 1850 when, on the 25th of August, Mr. Brett left Dover in the S.S. *Goliath* with thirty miles of electric line on board. At nine o'clock that evening a message was received from Cape Grisnez, near Calais, announcing that the task had been successfully accomplished. Unfortunately the wire, of which a five miles' length only weighed a ton, proved far too slight, and on the following day it snapped among the rocks near the French coast, and all communication was suspended. Still it proved the possibility of insulating a wire at the bottom of the sea, which, previous to the experiment, had been a matter of warm controversy. The next cable, which was constructed at Millwall, was made far stronger, and a single mile's length weighed seven tons. It consisted of four copper wires, separately insulated with guttapercha; these were then twisted with tarred hemp into the form of a rope and surrounded with a strong sheath, consisting of ten galvanised iron wires. It was deposited in the Strait of Dover in October, 1851, and proved a complete success.

Thenceforward submarine lines began to multiply with rapidity, as befitted the commencement of a new epoch. In the following year, 1852, after a line of three miles had been laid across the mouth of Portsmouth Harbour from Keyhaven to

Hurst Castle, a much more considerable undertaking, that of a cable connecting England and Ireland was attempted, and a line was laid down from Holyhead to Howth. Another line, running across the North Channel from Port Patrick to Donaghadee, was also submerged in the same year. Both these cables, however, proved failures; and other lines connecting Great Britain with Ireland had to be laid down before the work was permanently accomplished. In 1853 a submarine line seventy miles long was carried across the German Ocean, connecting England and Belgium, and running from the South Foreland to Ostend; and in the following year England was placed in telegraphic communication with Holland. In 1855, during the Russian War, a cable was laid down from Varna to Balaclava, which attained the unprecedented length of 310 miles. In the early annals of telegraphy few episodes are more striking than that of the 2nd of March, 1855, when the Foreign Secretary, Lord Clarendon, announced in the House of Lords that the Czar Nicholas had died at one o'clock that day. Two messages to that effect—one *via* the Hague, the other through Ostend—had arrived in London within four hours of the occurrence.

We will content ourselves with a brief recapitulation of the history of the Atlantic cable. The company was formed in 1856, and the first oceanic line was manufactured within five months, half by Messrs. Newall, of Gateshead, and half by Messrs. Glass and Elliott, of Greenwich. It was more than 2,000 miles in length, weighed about a ton to the mile, and could stand a strain of three tons without parting. We have already related how the first attempt, that of 1857, was defeated by the unexpected fracture of the line, and how the transient success which attended the *Niagara's* and *Agamemnon's* enterprise in the following year, came to a sudden conclusion when the wire ceased working next day. Then came the interval of complete discouragement, with the renewal of the undertaking in 1864, the *Great Eastern* being chosen as the vessel best adapted for the purpose of laying out. A new and improved cable was manufactured by Messrs Glass and Elliott, 2,600 miles in length, capable of bearing a strain of seven and three quarter tons, and of supporting eleven miles of its length in water. Again the cable broke when half laid, and after ineffectual attempts to recover the broken end, the *Great Eastern* had to return, its mission unfulfilled. In the following year, however, the venture was crowned with entire success, and not only did the last-made

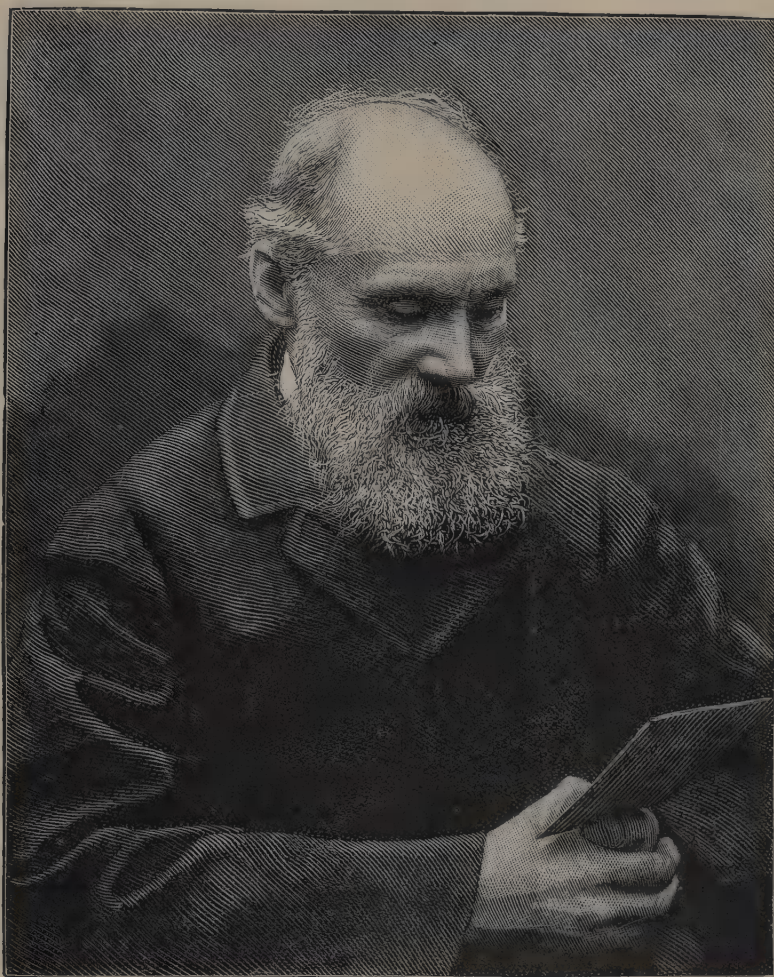
cable span the Atlantic, but its predecessor, having been recaptured and mended, served for an alternative line.

Subsequently to this great achievement, numerous methods were invented to obviate the leakage in registering inevitable in the case of a long cable. In this department of practical science the names of Sir William Thomson, afterwards Lord Kelvin, C. F. Varley and Fleming Jenkin were, on the whole, the most celebrated. Among their delicate appliances may be mentioned the mirror galvanometer, Thomson's even more ingenious siphon recorder, and the automatic recorder which he patented in conjunction with Jenkin. In connection with this topic we may mention that of multiplex telegraphy, conceived by Meyer in 1873 and brought to a practical issue by Patrick Delany, an American, in 1884, though it belongs, as a matter of fact, not to submarine but to land telegraphy, and in 1887 had hardly obtained much vogue in England. Owing to the discoveries of electricians combined with the enterprise of capitalists, the number of trans-oceanic cables increased at a very rapid rate. Thus, for one line crossing the Atlantic in 1865, there were no less than fourteen in 1887. The total length of submarine wire was something like 250,000 miles and, remarkably enough, it was almost entirely in the hands of the English-speaking race. Thus statistics proved that out of the 289 companies all but twenty were owned by Britons or Americans, and even when foreign nations extended their communications—for instance, in 1869 when the French Government wished to establish a line between Brest and St Pierre, no less than 2,700 miles distant—it was the Anglo-American Telegraph Company that accomplished the task. Here again, the question of State purchase naturally obtruded itself, but as competition was rapidly reducing rates—for instance, in the year 1884 the cost of telegraphing from England to New York diminished from 2s. 5d. to 1s. 5d. per word, and, in 1885, the Berlin Telegraphic Conference produced a cheapening of the rates from India from 4s. 7d. to 4s., and from China from 10s. 8d. to 9s. 4d.—these undertakings seemed best left to private enterprise. That such associations did not shrink from outlay seemed established by the fact that, at the end of our period, the Eastern Telegraph Company, working between London, Egypt and Bombay, owned no less than 25,000 miles of wire, and was in communication with some 80,000 more, which enabled messages to be transmitted from South Africa, Australasia and China.

The telephone, an apparatus for transmitting the

human voice, owed more to American than to English men of science. The idea was first put into actual form by Professor Reis, of Fredericksdorf, but Mr. Graham Bell, a Scotsman living in Boston, produced the first practical and commercial instrument in 1876. Various improvements were

thoughts with Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool. To pursue the matter beyond our strict limits, we may add that a line was opened between the English capital and Paris in 1891. Again the State was urged to step in and purchase, at least the trunk lines from one city to another,



SIR WILLIAM THOMSON (AFTERWARDS LORD KELVIN).
(From a Photograph by Elliott & Fry, Baker St., W.)

subsequently effected, notably by Mr. Edison and Professor Hughes, an Englishman who lived for many years in America, the latter inventing in 1878 a microphone so delicate that it could render evident sounds that were otherwise quite inaudible. His principle was introduced into the Gower-Bell telephone, which came into extensive employment at the British General Post Office. Under various forms, of which the most generally used was the Crossley, the telephone was established in England by the year 1880, and it was not long before the Londoner could exchange his

before the struggles of rival syndicates threw the whole system into confusion. The Post Office, however, declined to exercise its full rights, as established by an important judicial decision of December, 1880, and preferred to lease the telephones to the companies in return for one-tenth of the receipts. One result of this non-interference was an enormous amount of litigation for the protection of patents, and another the establishment of exchanges in situations ill-adapted to the public convenience. Partly owing to this reason, and partly to the innate conservatism of the

English character, the telephone, in the Jubilee year, was by no means put to such extensive use as in the United States, and even the small communities of Switzerland and Luxemburg were a long way ahead in this respect.

Another instrument which seemed capable of

aiding in the distribution of wealth was Edison's invention, the phonograph. As yet, however, it remained a scientific toy, registering isolated sentences of dead poets and cardinals, which, though full of human interest, had no more, or rather, a good deal less practical utility than written messages.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887.

The Coal Age—The Energy represented—Increase and Value of the Output—Its Use—Economies effected—Depletion of the Supply—Sir W. Armstrong's Opinion—Jevons's Treatise—The Commission of 1866—The Output of Pig-Iron—Blast-Furnaces—The Bessemer Process—Sir Henry Roscoe's Discovery—Basic Processes—The Steam-Hammer and other Machines—Superiority of the Bessemer Process—The Siemens Process and its Developments—Uses of Pig-Iron—The Cotton Industry—Its Development—Improved Machinery—Sources of the Cotton Supply—The Cotton Famine—Continued Preference for American Cotton—The Factory System—Trades Unions—Arbitration and Provident Societies—The Factory Acts—The Unskilled Trades—Calico-Printing—New Dyes—Bleaching—The Linen Industry in Ireland—Silk Manufactures—The Wool Trade—Jute and Alpaca—Saltaire—Shoddy and Mungo—The Sewing-Machine—Its Use in the Boot Trade—The Salt Industry—Agriculture—Decline of the Wheat Crop—Yeomen and Tenant Farmers—Scientific Farming—Artificial Manure and the Rotation of Crops—Improved Breeds—New Machinery—Legislative Interference—Condition of the Agricultural Labourer—The Navy—The Army—A Period of Stagnation—The Crimean War—The Volunteer Movement—Mr. Cardwell's Reforms—Existing Shortcomings.

ONE important cause of England's opulence is to be found in the distribution of her minerals. Iron and coal exist in close proximity so that they can be worked with the minimum of cost and the maximum of efficiency. We have already given some figures in connection with these important industries, showing the increase of their output during the reign of Queen Victoria, and the object of the present chapter is to deal with certain general considerations. If we must concede ascendancy in value to one of the two, coal seems on the whole to possess the better title, since it is, in the words of Professor Jevons, "the mainspring of modern material civilisation." To quote from his famous treatise on the coal question published in 1865, "As the source especially of steam and iron, the mineral is all-powerful. This age has been called the Iron Age, and it is true that iron is the material of most great novelties. By its strength, endurance, and wide range of qualities, this metal is fitted to be the fulcrum and lever of great works, while steam is the motive power. But coal alone can command in sufficient abundance either the iron or the steam; and coal therefore commands this age—the Age of Coal." The saying had not ceased to be true in 1887, though electricity was obviously the predominant force of the future. Now, the coal area

of the British Islands was 5,400 square miles, and the estimated quantity, 190,000 millions of tons, was more than twice as much as that of France and Belgium put together. It is true that the total amount contained in the Coal Measures of America was estimated at four millions of millions of tons, or more than twenty times that contained in the strata of Great Britain, and that the figure was placed even higher by some authorities. But the production of coal in the United States was as yet inferior to that of Great Britain, despite the wonderful development of the industry in Pennsylvania, where the annual output had risen in 1887 to 65,000,000 tons, the total for the whole Republic being 95,000,000 tons. Accordingly Britain remained, throughout the period, the great coal-producing country in the world; in fact she raised about half the total amount. Now, there was science to show that the amount of power put forth by a man during the 6,000 days of his working life could be produced from no more than three tons of coal. Consequently, the 157,000,000 tons extracted from the Durham, Scottish, Lancashire, Welsh and other mines in 1887 represented the life-long energy of over 52,000,000 persons. It was to the possession and use of this vast source of power that Britain owed her manufacturing supremacy, and her great prosperity as compared with other nations.

A few figures will illustrate the increase in the production of coal better than pages of disquisition. In 1800 the quantity raised exceeded 8,000,000 tons, after which date the annual yield rose rapidly owing to the facilities of carriage presented by the canal system. In 1816 the output was, according to the most moderate estimate, 16,000,000 tons, or double that of sixteen years before. At the beginning of the reign the figure may be placed at 23,000,000 tons, but it was not until 1854 that adequate provision existed for testing with some approach to accuracy the actual amount of coal extracted in the United Kingdom. By that year the country was intersected with railways, and they had stimulated production and distribution to such an extent that the quantity produced, according to official records, was no less than 64,661,401 tons. In 1861 the total was 83,635,214 tons, valued at £20,908,803, in 1871 117,352,028 tons, valued at £35,205,608, and in 1887 157,518,482 tons, valued at £38,145,930. The value of the pig-iron produced during the three years in question was less than half that of coal, and the latter mineral far exceeded in value all the metals put together, including iron, copper, lead, tin, zinc and gold, which were priced at £14,694,060 in 1861, £20,179,770 in 1871, and £12,997,847 in 1887.

And how was this source of wealth utilised? We have the statement of Sir Lowthian Bell in an address to the Iron and Steel Institute which, though referring to 1872 only, may be considered to hold good as a rough generalisation throughout the last two decades of the period. Of every 1,000 tons of coal produced, 6 tons were employed in the paper manufacture; 8 tons in smelting copper, lead, tin and zinc; 14 in water works; 18 in breweries and distilleries; 19 in chemical manufactures; 20 in railway works; 30 in steam navigation; 31 in clay and glass works, and lime-kilns; 42 in textile manufactures, wool, cotton, silk, flax, and jute; 60 in gas works; 67 in mining operations; 92 in exports to foreign countries; 121 in miscellaneous purposes, chiefly for steam-engines; 172 for domestic purposes; and 300 in the manufacture of iron and steel. Hence it appeared that the last-mentioned manufacture consumed nearly one-third of the coal raised.

Two questions connected with coal were fiercely canvassed during the latter part of our period; the first its waste, and the second its rapidly increasing consumption. For domestic purposes, economies were, indeed, effected by stoves, such as those invented by Dr. Arnott, Mr. Gurney, Sir

Carl Siemens, and their developments, which went a long way towards saving fuel. Again, as we have already shown, high-pressure engines were constructed both for steamers and railway trains, in pursuance of Sir William Fairbairn's advice with the view of minimising consumption. Further, certain savings were effected in the manufacture of iron in blast-furnaces, notably by the Middlesborough masters, who about the year 1865 reduced the consumption of coal from three and three-quarters to two tons per ton of iron. Their improvements were carried much further during the next twenty years, until the saying in the report of the Commission on Coal in 1871, "Not one-thirtieth of the whole theoretical value of coal was realised in power," ceased to represent plain facts. Upon the second topic the discussion may be said to have been inaugurated by Dr. Buckland, in his famous Bridgewater Treatise delivered in 1836. Mr. Hull, however, really brought the subject to the front by his statement put forward in 1860, that if the consumption went on doubling every twenty years, the total available supply would be exhausted in the year 2034, with the curiously evasive conclusion, "I am inclined to place the possible maximum of production at one hundred millions of tons a year [wherein he greatly miscalculated], and yet with this enormous output there is enough coal to last eight centuries." Then came Sir William Armstrong's address delivered before the British Association in 1864, in which he estimated that at the current rate of increase the coal beds would only supply the country for 212 years. "It is clear," he continued, "that long before complete exhaustion takes place, England will have ceased to be a coal-producing country on a large scale; and other nations, and especially the United States of America, which possess coal-fields thirty-seven times more extensive than ours, will then be working more accessible beds at a smaller cost, and will be able to displace the English coal from every market. The question is not how long our coal will endure before absolute exhaustion is effected, but how long will those particular coal-seams last which yield coal of a quality and at a price to enable this country to maintain her present supremacy in manufacturing industry. So far as the Newcastle coal-field is concerned, it is generally admitted that 200 years will be sufficient to exhaust the principal seams, even at the present rate of working. If the production should continue to increase as it is now doing, the duration of these seams will not reach half that period."

Upon this formidable pronouncement followed the remarkable treatise of William Stanley Jevons, published in 1865, upon "The Coal Supply," which argued that the consumption of that fuel was progressing at a geometrical ratio, like compound interest, and that if this rate was maintained, the whole available contents of the ascertained coal-fields would be exhausted in 110 years. He added that "a reduction in the ratio of increase in consumption meant a check to the manufactures and prosperity of the country, that this reduction must inevitably come within a very short period, and that, probably within a lifetime, England must be prepared to enter on a future of comparatively diminished prosperity, and to see the manufacturing and commercial pre-eminence she had hitherto enjoyed in the world pass to other nations—probably the United States of America."

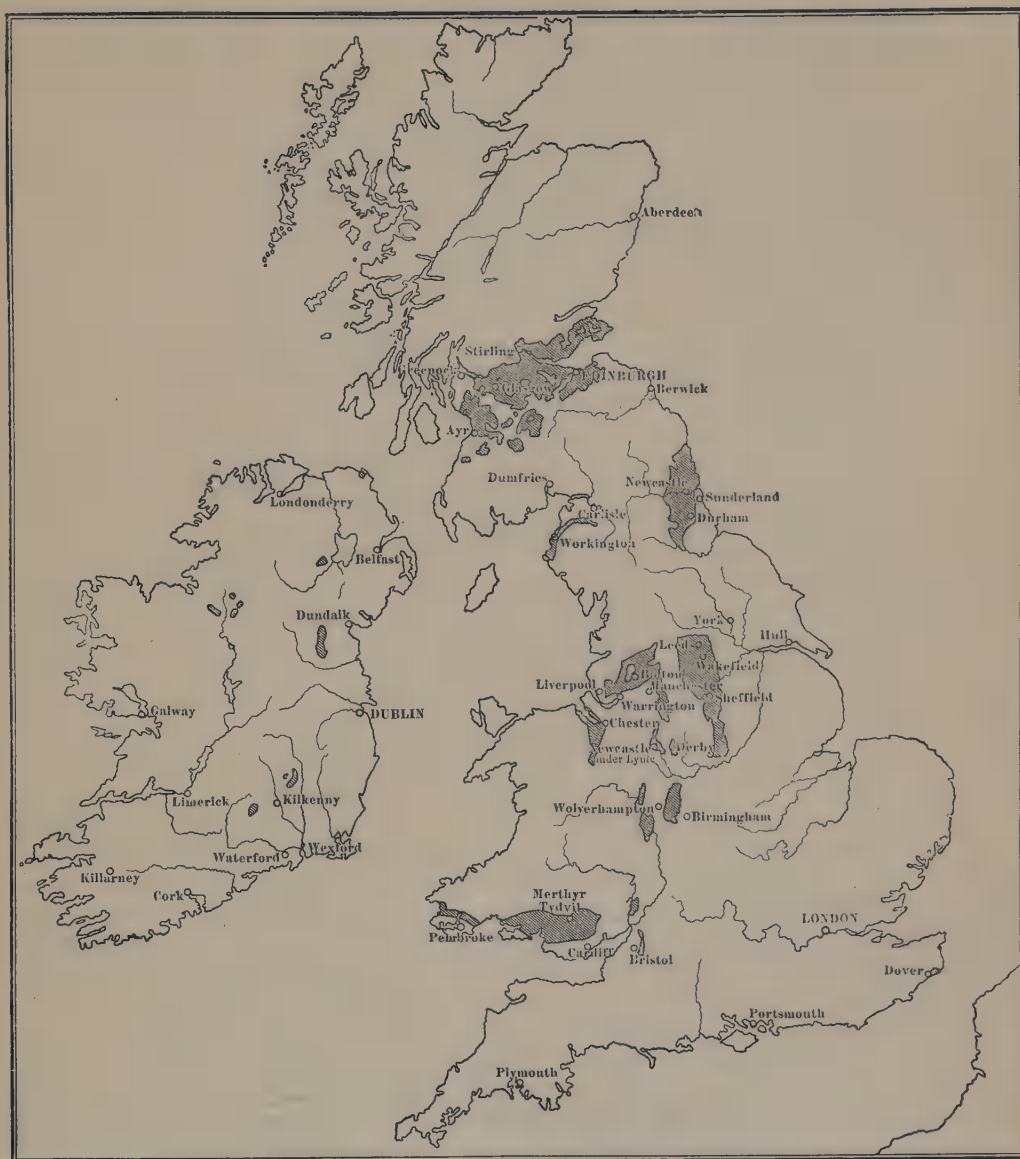
This work made a profound impression upon many minds, notably those of Mr. Gladstone and John Stuart Mill, and in 1866 a Royal Commission was appointed "to inquire into several matters connected with coal in the United Kingdom." On the whole that body fully substantiated Jevons's conclusions, and it even found that the rate of increase between 1859 and 1869 was greater than his estimate, that it was, in fact, 4 per cent. per annum. Professor Tyndall added these weighty words—"I see no prospect of a substitute being found for coal as a source of motive power. We have, it is true, our winds and streams and tides, and we have the beams of the sun. But these are common to all the world. We cannot make head against a nation which, in addition to those sources of power, possesses the power of coal. We may enjoy more than their physical and intellectual energy, and still be unable to hold our own against a people which possesses abundance of coal; and we should have, in my opinion, no chance whatever in a race with a nation which, in addition to abundant coal, has energy and intelligence approximately equal to our own. It is no new thing for me to affirm in my public lectures that the destiny of this nation is not in the hands of its statesmen but of its coalowners, that while the orators of St. Stephen's are unconscious of the fact, the very life-blood of this country is flowing away." The Commissioners considered that coal could not be worked below 4,000 feet from the surface owing to extreme heat. Accordingly, the amount of available coal was put at 148,620,000,000 tons and estimates were made as to its duration ranging from 276 years to 360. Their conclusions, stated briefly, were that, if the present

rate of increase continued, the progress of exhaustion would be very rapid, that diminished consumption must check the nation's prosperity, and that, though coal could never be completely worked out, yet the importation of coal must eventually become the rule and not the exception. Other countries would undoubtedly be in a position to supply the deficiencies of the United Kingdom, for North America alone possessed tracts of coal-bearing strata, as yet almost untouched, of seventy times the area of the British. But it might be doubted whether the manufacturing supremacy of Great Britain could be maintained after the importation of coal had become a necessity. There the matter remained; though patriotic Britons could take comfort in the circumstances that science was rapidly discovering in electricity partial substitutes at least for the mineral.

Our purpose being purely retrospective, we will not attempt to forecast a somewhat remote future, but will proceed without delay to consider the progress achieved in the iron and steel industries. The figures may be stated as follows:—In 1837 England produced 1,120,000 tons of pig-iron and imported 25,000. Of this 235,000 tons were exported in manufactured form, while 910,000 tons were retained for home consumption, giving an annual average of 78 lbs. per head of population. In 1887 Great Britain produced 8,600,000 tons, imported 420,000, exported (in round figures of course) 5,000,000, and consumed 4,020,000 or 290 lbs. per head of population. Meanwhile the price, according to Sir Lowthian Bell, had dropped from 77s. to 35s. 2d. It was, however, worth noticing that here, too, the United States were treading on the heels of Great Britain, their output having risen from 300,000 in 1837 to 5,600,000 in 1887. But a truce to croaking; the question must now be asked to what this wonderful elasticity was due. The answer would seem to be to the substitution of railways for canals as a means of transport, and the introduction of improved methods of production. These innovations greatly changed the locality of the industry: thus in 1837 Wales produced one-third of the total yield, with Staffordshire second, and Scotland third; but at the end of the period the most productive district was that of Northumberland, Durham and Yorkshire, while Cumberland and Lancashire came second, and Scotland still third. In fact, the Cleveland district, with its huge towns of Darlington, Stockton and Middlesbrough, is entirely a creation of the Victorian reign, and with its rise the importance of Wales and Staffordshire declined.

Turning to processes, we find no absolutely new departure in the production of pig-iron. The blast-furnace was in use centuries before 1837, and even Nelson's famous discovery, that coal

experiment was George Parry's some fourteen years earlier for utilising the gas that escaped from the flue. In the manufacture of malleable iron and steel the old puddling process and the



MAP OF THE COAL-FIELDS OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

could be greatly economised by heating the blast to 600° Fahrenheit before it reached the furnace, dates from 1828. It remained for the Middlesborough masters to increase the weekly yield of furnaces from 100 tons to 200, by doubling the size and raising the blast to the temperature of 1,000°. This grand innovation was effected in the year 1863 and onwards, while an equally successful

bloomery furnace continued in vogue until 1856, when Mr. Bessemer read his paper before the British Association "On the Manufacture of Iron and Steel Without Fuel." The patent was adopted with enthusiasm, but the first trials proving failures, the ironmasters as rapidly abandoned the idea. Certain defects were undoubtedly discovered, and these Mr. Bessemer quietly set himself to

remedy. After the expenditure of £10,000 and three years of incessant labour, he once more brought the invention before the public. But the iron trade manifested no interest, the public had forgotten, and the scheme, now on the eve of success, was universally regarded as a total failure. "One of two things," said Mr. Bessemer, "became imperative; either the invention must be abandoned, or the inventor must become a steel manufacturer." He did so; and at Sheffield, its natural *habitat*, the new firm of Henry Bessemer and Co. established its first steel works. Immediately the enterprise took root, the factory became the resort of steel makers anxious to grasp the mysteries of the new art, and the process soon spread into every European State and even into India and America.

The process, described in the briefest language, was as follows: Pig-iron, which contains generally about 5 per cent. of carbon, was melted in a reverberatory furnace and then poured into a vessel lined with refractory clay. This vessel, which was capable of holding five tons, and, in its latest developments, nearly twelve, was called the converter. It was fixed on a pivot, and through the latter passed a tube leading from a powerful blowing apparatus. The air passing along the tube was blown into the converter through tuyeres or blow-holes fixed in the bottom of the vessel, and was thus forced through the body or mass of the molten metal. In its passage through the metal the air burnt off the carbon, as well as silicon and small quantities of other bodies. At a certain point the blast was stopped and the operation came to an end, the whole process occupying about fifteen minutes. The essential feature of Mr. Bessemer's notable discovery was the upward instead of the downward direction of the compressed air, which rendered possible a much larger current. Thus, it was, in principle, a development of the blast, though the efficiency of the two would hardly bear comparison. Still, various imperfections remained to be encountered, and chemists came to the assistance of Mr. Bessemer. Thus, the action of the air in decarbonising the metal could only continue for a certain time, indicated by the appearance of the flame issuing from the mouth of the vessel, when for the success of the operation it was absolutely necessary that the blast should be stopped. If it were continued ten seconds too late or stopped ten seconds too soon, the operation would fail and Bessemer steel would not be produced. The metal contained in the conductor would be too viscid to admit of being poured off, or it would

contain too much carbon, and would crumble under the hammer like cast iron. A trained eye could tell the proper moment with a certain amount of accuracy; still, mistakes frequently occurred, until in 1863 Professor Roscoe made the discovery through the spectroscope that the Bessemer flame contained the following substances—sodium, potassium, lithium, iron, carbon, hydrogen and nitrogen. In his own words, "At a certain stage of the operation I found that all at once the lines supposed to be due to carbon disappeared, and we obtained a continuous spectrum. The workmen, by experience, had learned that this was the proper moment at which the air must be shut off; but it is only by means of the spectroscope that the point can be exactly determined." For some reason this discovery was not greatly utilised in England, though it was largely employed on the Continent.

Another device, with which Mr. Mushet's name is associated, remedied the grave difficulty that only the very purest sorts of pig-iron could be treated in the Bessemer converter. He found that the addition of a small quantity of carburet of manganese obviated the defects of inferior pig, and conferred upon the steel the property of welding and working more smoothly under the hammer. Another discovery, even more important, was the basic process for getting rid of the phosphorus common to nineteen-twentieths of the iron ores of Great Britain. Of the various attempts to remedy this defect we can only give the most meagre account, and that in untechnical language. Sir Lowthian Bell advocated the transference of the pig-iron to a puddling furnace after it had remained for a few minutes in a Bessemer converter, and the completion of the process in the latter. This plan was attended with marked success, and resembled very closely that by which Herr Krupp produced his world-renowned ordnance. But a more generally adopted method was that known as the "basic" process, for which Mr. Snelus took out a patent in 1872, and which was subsequently modified and improved by Messrs. Thomas and Gilchrist. This consisted in adding to the iron a small amount of lime, or lime mixed with iron oxide, and then continuing the blast after the decarbonisation. As a result nearly 90 per cent. of the phosphorus was found to become oxidised and converted into slag.

The efficiency of the Bessemer process was largely assisted by improvements in machinery. Of these Nasmyth's steam-hammer, as modified by Mr. Crane, is perhaps that which fixed itself most

strongly in the popular imagination. It was originally patented in 1842, and its inventor, like Sir Joseph Whitworth and Sir William Fairbairn, was a mechanical engineer of Manchester. The machine may be roughly described as a ponderous hammer combined with the engine that worked it. The steam acted directly upon the hammer-rod without the intervention of fly-wheels, cranks or levers, and the force of the descending cylinder was placed under a self-acting apparatus, which so regulated the blow that it could crush a huge mass of iron or crack a nutshell without crushing the kernel. The weight of these instruments rapidly increased; thus, about the year 1860 it was generally stated in hundredweights, but at the close of the period hammers of 40 and even 80 tons were in existence. Also duplex hammers were invented, in which steam regulated both the upward and the downward stroke.

Almost equally important were Sir William Armstrong's application of hydraulic processes to the moving of vessels containing, perhaps, some 15 tons of fluid steel, and the improvements carried out by Mr. Ramsbottom and his successors in the rolling-mills. Some of these engines, particularly the "three-high train," with which Mr. Thomas's name was connected, were of great power; for example, a railway bar 130 feet in length could be drawn within four minutes from an ingot 6 feet long. Hardly less remarkable were the gigantic shears which cut the bars into the requisite lengths of 30 feet. But a complete list of the improved applications connected with the Bessemer process would be altogether beyond the scope of the present sketch. Among them was the slide-rest invented by Henry Maudslay, whereby the workman was able to give to metal a greater uniformity of workmanship than it had been hitherto possible to attain. Sir Joseph Whitworth's planing machine gave to plates a greater perfection of surface, while his measuring machine enabled men to work to the ten-thousandth of an inch. Another of his admirable innovations was the uniform and accurate system of cutting the threads of screws, which obviated the previously existing confusion. In fact it is not too much to say that he revolutionised the practical iron-work of the Victorian era. Of course mechanical engineering did not stand still after his death in 1887, and a notable advance was made in the powers of steam-cranes, until they seemed almost endowed with human intelligence. Remarkably enough, the Jubilee year witnessed the creation of a crane worked by electricity, though the machine

was admittedly susceptible of considerable improvement.

Of the superiority of the Bessemer process over its predecessors, both in economy and powers, there could be no question. Thus plates of Yorkshire wrought iron cost some £25 per ton, while Bessemer plates only fetched £9. Again, the breaking weight of the former was 59,500 lbs. per square inch, and that of Bessemer soft cast-steel was 110,000 lbs. per square inch. Also the breaking weight of the best Sheffield cast steel was 130,000 lbs. to the square inch, while that of the best Bessemer cast-steel was 152,000 lbs. As a result of experiment in 1862 on the London and North Western Railway, near Chalk Farm Station, two rails of Bessemer steel were found to outlast eight pairs of iron bars, after both faces of the latter had been exposed to the traffic. Again, the maximum plate that could be turned out in 1837 was one of 18 or 20 cwts., in 1887 plates of 43 tons were manufactured.

Nevertheless, there were those who declared that the Bessemer process failed to produce steel suitable for Sheffield cutlery, or of an absolutely uniform quality. They preferred to put their trust in the "open-hearth," or Siemens process, as being less speedy in its action, but considerably surer in its results. The germ of this idea is to be found in a method practised by Heath in 1845, namely, that of fusing pig iron in a cupola, and of then running it into a steel-making furnace, in the upper portion whereof were bars of malleable iron which, melting, dissolved in the pig. Heath, however, failed to see that sufficient heat could not be obtained without a regenerative furnace, and it was this addition which made the invention of the brothers Siemens so complete a success, more especially when modified by Messrs. E. and P. Martin. This latter change chiefly consisted in the construction of a separate furnace, in which the iron was heated before being introduced into the melting chamber. Another modification was that whereby the heated air was made to play over the molten metal, instead of penetrating it from below. Yet another plan, which Sir Carl Siemens discovered, was the "precipitation process," by which steel was produced immediately from the ores by the action of coke or anthracite coal. At the close of the period this experiment had hardly established its claims to be a complete commercial success. Curiously enough, even the open-hearth process, though the conception nearly coincided with that of the Bessemer, was somewhat slow in obtaining recognition from practical

engineers. During the last years of our period, however, the annual quantities of steel made in this method gained considerably on those due to its rival, the figures in 1887 being 1,570,000 tons of the Bessemer and 694,000 of the other; and

agricultural purposes, such as tools, fencing and so forth. The number of blast-furnaces in work at the beginning of 1887 was 399, and they produced a far larger output than 683 did fourteen years previously. The number of puddling



THE BESSEMER PROCESS—THE "CAST" AND THE "BLOW." (See p. 215.)

very significantly, the new Forth Bridge was constructed of metal made by the open-hearth process rather than by the Bessemer.

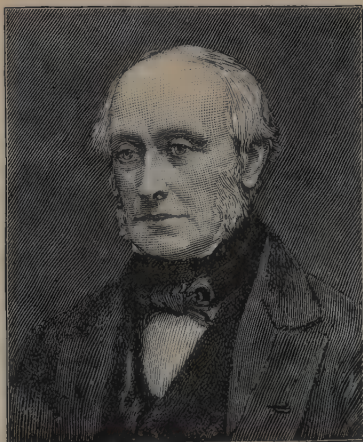
If we take the average annual output of pig-iron at about 7,800,000 tons during the last decade of the Victorian epoch, of which some 4,000,000 were exported, it is probable that some 430,000 tons were used in railways, partly in the construction of new stock, and partly in making good wear and tear. Again, some 562,000 tons were consumed in shipbuilding, 250,000 for gas- and water-pipes, and about 2,000 for domestic and

furnaces in operation was 2,900, and they produced 1,616,000 tons.

It would be impossible to mention a single industry into which iron and steel did not largely enter. These metals composed alike the main-spring of a watch and the girder of a bridge, and where would the cotton trade, for example, have been without its mules, costing, with the most recent improvements, some £250 apiece? If the imagination attempts to realise the progress achieved in the last department of commerce during the fifty years, the conclusion must be that,



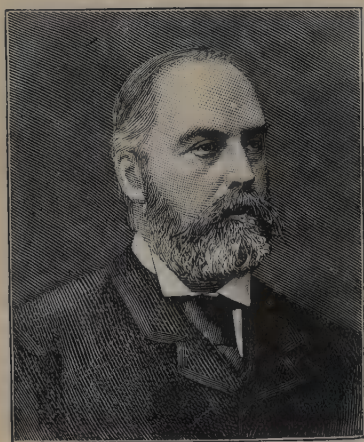
JAMES NASMYTH.
(After the Painting by Sir George Reid, P.R.S.A.)



LORD ARMSTRONG.



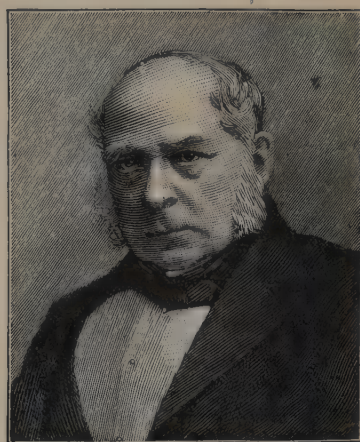
SIR EDWARD JAMES REED.
(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)



SIR WILLIAM PALLISER.
(From a Photograph by W. M. Crockett, Taunton.)



SIR HENRY ROSCOE.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



SIR HENRY BESSEMER.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



SIR CHARLES WHEATSTONE.
(From a Photo. by London Stereoscopic Co.)



SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE MORSE.
(From a Photograph by Sarony, New York.)



THOMAS ALVA EDISON.
(From a Photograph by Falk, New York.)

GREAT INVENTORS.

despite great fluctuations, the record is highly creditable to British energy and enterprise. No doubt the interest experienced its ups and downs, and the terrible outlook at the beginning of the reign, when more than half the hands throughout Lancashire were idle, found a grim parallel in the famine of 1862 and 1863. Still, the development was, on the whole, most remarkable, as the following figures will show :—In 1837 the raw cotton imported was under 500,000,000 lbs. ; in 1887 it was over 1,700,000,000. In 1837 the home consumption of cotton was 400,000,000 lbs. ; in 1887 it had risen to 1,510,000,000 lbs. During the same period the number of spindles had risen from 18,000,000 to over 40,000,000 ; and the number of looms from 100,000 to 528,000. The number of factories, according to official returns compiled under the Factory and Workshop Inspection Act of 1885, was in England and Wales 2,481, in Scotland 147 and in Ireland 7, and the persons employed were 504,609. It should be remembered that in the cotton trade no principles were introduced of such absolute novelty as the Bessemer process. Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton and Cartwright had laid down the lines of machinery before the Queen's accession, and with their inventions the factory system also came into being. Still, the machinery of 1837 was essentially assisted by hand, while that of 50 years later had become far more automatic. It is true that Richard Roberts patented his self-acting mule as early as 1825, and his quadrant winding apparatus in 1830 ; but the machine would appear somewhat primitive beside the mechanism of 1887, which instead of some 300 spindles contained 1080, and could work any size of yarn under "two hundreds." Again, the action of the machine known as the "opener" for cleaning and separating the raw cotton was rendered far more efficient, particularly with regard to the draught of air which carried away the dust and seeds. Thus Crichton's "opener" was equipped with a vacuum, which drew the cotton into the blowing-room. Similarly, various devices were adopted in the lap-machine for pressing the cotton, and for stopping the action when the lap was complete. The essential feature of the improved carding-engine was the smoothness and ease with which its cylinders worked as compared with its earlier forms ; it would also halt automatically directly the process was finished, and electric stops had been instituted for that purpose. With regard to the drawing, slubbing, and intermediate and reeling frames they undoubtedly acted at a far greater speed, and their winding was

considerably more regular than fifty years previously. So, too, the throstle or spinning-frame could accommodate a much larger number of spindles, and the "ring and traveller principle," which dates from the Great Exhibition of 1851, was subsequently developed and improved. But, if a cotton-spinner had been asked in the year 1887 which of his various machines reflected the greatest credit upon British inventors, he would have replied, the mule.

An important consideration of cotton manufacturers was the source whence their cotton was supplied. In the eighteenth century the product came almost entirely from the West Indies, the British, French and Spanish colonies contending for the favour of Lancashire and Scotland. Then came the discovery that the Southern States of America could grow better qualities than the Islands ; and cotton from thence obtained a practical monopoly of the English market, no less than 85 per cent. being shipped from New Orleans and other ports belonging to the Republic. With a virgin soil and a practically limitless supply of slave labour, the planters increased their annual crop with wonderful rapidity. Thus, the raw cotton imported in 1837 was only 500,000,000 lbs. and in 1860 it had reached the huge figures of 1,390,000,000 lbs. of which 1,115,000,000 came from America. The cotton famine of 1861-63 followed, which was due to an unwise dependence upon a single territory, combined with a considerable amount of over-production. We cannot find room in this place for more than the merest mention of that acute crisis, which reflected the utmost credit upon all classes concerned. The patient endurance of the operatives under their terrible trials beggars approbation ; and the labours of the Central Relief Committee of Manchester, with Lord Derby as its chairman, and of the Mansion House Committee of London, were honourable in the extreme. Fortunately, too, Mr. Charles Villiers was President of the Local Government Board, and his Union Relief and Public Works Bill did much to alleviate the general tension. When the corner was turned in the summer of 1863, it was found that very nearly £2,000,000 had been subscribed by charitable societies and individuals, and it is not too much to say that never was so large a sum more carefully administered. At the same time the losses were calculated by competent authorities at £66,000,000, of which quite a half fell upon the workmen.

One result of the famine was an immense stimulus to the growth of cotton in other parts of

the world. Manufacturers were compelled to have recourse to the hitherto despised crops of India, in spite of its short staple and generally inferior quality. Egypt also began to supply a cotton of infinitely better value than that produced by India, but unfortunately the annual yield did not amount to much more than 100,000 bales. In all, 35 countries competed for the English market, including the colonies of Queensland and New South Wales. But directly the civil war ceased in America, the Southern States again asserted their pre-eminence, and ten years later they had beaten most of their rivals out of the field, except India and Egypt. The Surat cotton, which had doubled during the famine, continued, however, to occupy an inferior position to the American, though efforts were made to improve its character, and to check the adulteration which was so rife in the "sixties" and "seventies." Still, much remained to be done in that respect; besides, India was fast becoming a great manufacturing state, which bid fair not only to supply her own wants but to oust Lancashire from the cities of the East. Egypt continued to extend her area of production, and it was considered that the Nile Valley might claim to be, so far as the average per acre was concerned, the finest cotton-growing country in the world. The total value of raw material which she exported to Great Britain in 1887 was no less than 176,600,000 lbs., valued at over £5,000,000. Still manufacturers continued, as formerly, to depend for the most part upon America, and it will be observed that the Egyptian contribution did not count for much in the grand total of 1,715,000,000 lbs. of cotton imported during the year 1887.

It is with the cotton trade and Lancashire industries generally that we are, perhaps, most inclined to associate the factory system and trades-unionism, which were the essential features of artisan labour during the period under review. A few words, therefore, upon these subjects may not be amiss in this place, though we must be content with the leading dates in the history of industrial emancipation. The status of trades-unions at the beginning of the reign was a curious one. The repeal of the combination laws had given them a right to exist; on the other hand, they had no legal protection whatever for their funds. To a certain extent this was remedied by the Friendly Societies Act of 1846; but thirteen more years were to pass before they were recognised as lawful institutions by an Act placing their moneys under the guardianship of the law, and they were not

expressly recognised until 1875. It is not too much to say that the weakness of the unions and their want of combination were the main causes of the temporary popularity of Chartism among the working-classes. At any rate, as the unions grew in size and strength their numbers exhibited an increasing tendency to rely in their dealings with employers, not upon violence, but upon combination and moral suasion. It would be useless to deny that, as the foregoing pages have shown, strikes were sometimes begun on somewhat frivolous pretexts, or that they continued when the dictates both of humanity and common sense counselled a return to work. Again, the ideals of the new unionism differed widely from the old; and while the former had advocated a sturdy independence alike of parties and Governments, the latter seemed somewhat prone to invoke the interference of the State, both in regulating the hours of labour and in settling the relations of capital and labour. Still, much was effected by voluntary effort, particularly by the establishment of Arbitration Boards, a movement which came to a head in 1866, to settle disputes by conciliation rather than through the last resort of a strike. These institutions speedily took root throughout the Midlands, and spread thence to the North, though there was an increasing feeling that the system could not attain its full efficiency unless the award was backed by the authority of Government. At least there could be no question of the benefits achieved by associations similar in character to Trades-unions, such as Building, Friendly, and Provident Societies. The offspring of the spirit of self-help, they received, nevertheless, the benevolent attention of various Ministries, both Liberal and Conservative, and though the legislation on their behalf was censured in some quarters as somewhat timid, it went far to protect the societies from peculation, without undermining the virtues of spontaneous thrift.

At the close of the period the workman was no longer liable to drawbacks on wages, or the abuses of truck. Also much had been accomplished, though more legislation seemed necessary, to prevent accidents, particularly in the mining industry, under the Acts of 1860, 1872 and 1875. Again, the owner's liability for damages after preventable accidents had occurred had been enforced by an important statute, the Employers' Liability Act of 1880. It was vitiated, however, by the dubious legal doctrine of "common employment," whereby a master was held to be exempt from payment of compensation when injury was

inflicted on one of his men by another, and the question remained ripe for future law-making. Nor could finality be said to have been attained in the Factory and Workshops Acts, though the efforts of the long line of philanthropists, beginning with Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Oastler and ending with Mr. Mundella and Viscount Cross, constitute one of the noblest monuments of the reign. We have already touched incidentally upon the misery prevalent, during the first decade of the era, among every class engaged in manufactures and mines. All had to pay for dear food out of the scantiest wages, and the horrors endured by female and juvenile labour, as elicited by the Royal Commission on the Employment of Women and Children, surpass belief. But as we have already quoted the salient passage of that terrible indictment, it remains to notice the measures passed to remedy a national scandal. Factory Acts existed, no doubt, before the year 1837, but they were for the most part inoperative, and though the Mining Act of 1842 effected the abolition of female and child labour under ground, Lord Shaftesbury had to submit to numerous defeats before he wrung from Sir Robert Peel's Government the Act of 1864, whereby the working hours of children under thirteen were limited to six and a half hours, and those of young persons and adult women to twelve. It is unnecessary to particularise the supplemental statutes passed to include various unprotected industries, though the Act of 1871 cannot go entirely unrecorded, since it finally established the system of Government, as opposed to local, inspectorship, while that of 1874 raised the age of the employment of "half-time children" from eight to ten years of age. Finally Lord Cross's great measure, the Factory and Workshops Act of 1878, repealed, consolidated and amended all previously existing amendments, with the result that both sexes became entitled to a clean and sanitary workshop; that dangerous machinery was fenced, and undue heat forbidden; that no young person could be employed in a factory under the age of sixteen without a special medical certificate; and that no woman or child could work more than twelve hours a day, with two hours for meals, and on Saturdays not later than 1.30 p.m. with half-an-hour's interval. Children were employed either on half or alternate days. Thus the lot of skilled labour had considerably ameliorated during the fifty years, but still certain occupations remained extremely unhealthy, notably the white lead and chromolithography, while many unskilled trades, like cheap tailoring and shoemaking, and to a certain

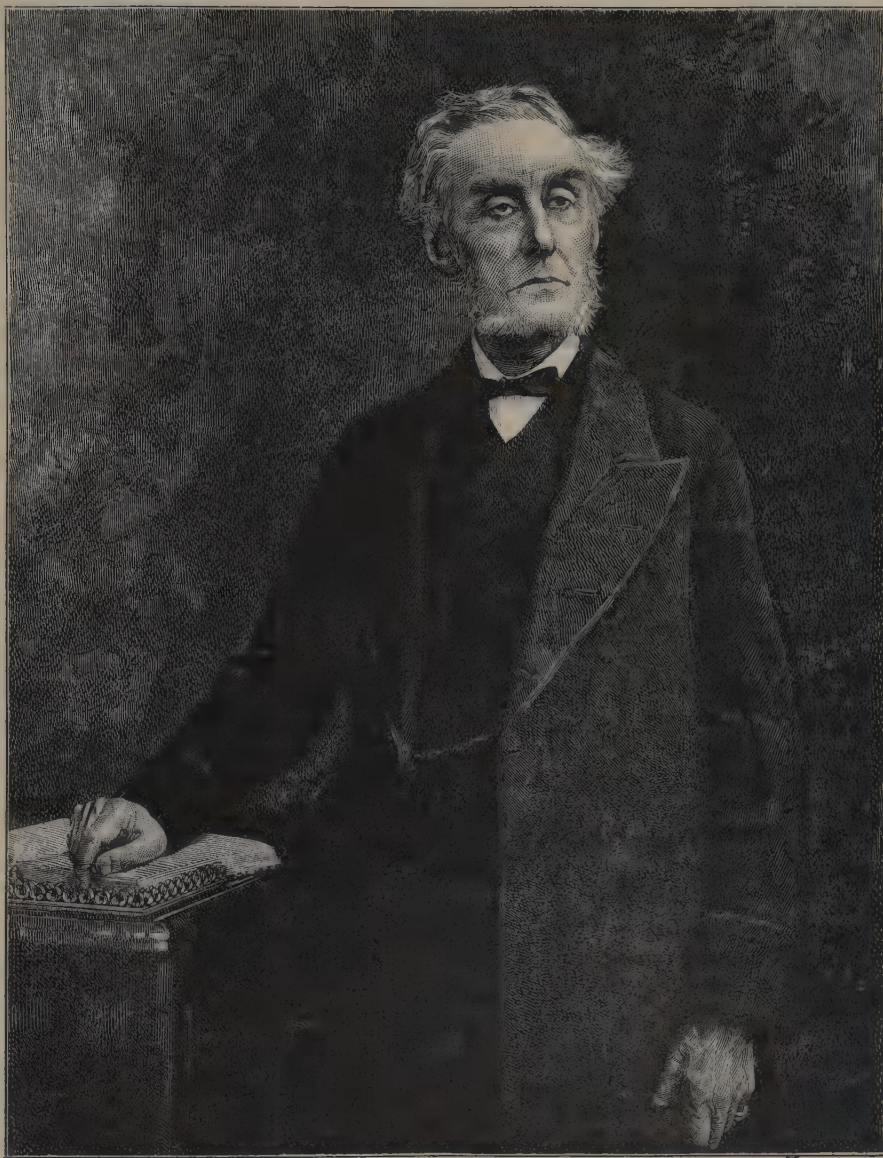
extent baking as well, suffered from the continual evils of long hours, low wages, and ill-constructed and ill-managed establishments. In some cases laws existed for their protection in the last respect, but were not enforced; in others commissions and committees had reported, but no action had been taken thereupon; and the struggle for existence, though less severe generally, continued to be extremely acute with the residuum of the labour-market.

Though cotton-spinning remained throughout the period Lancashire's most characteristic industry, other allied employments achieved a progress no less marked. Chief among them was calico-printing, which, thanks mainly to the abolition of vexatious duties, made great advances in 1852 and onwards. Already the block process was fast giving way to cylinder machinery which, by means of an apparatus called the "toby," could print in six colours at once, and turn out a piece (25 yards) per minute, against the six or seven pieces a day of the older method. Again, great improvements were effected in the "ageing" of goods before being printed, which was reduced from a period of three or four days by the aqueous-vapour processes patented by Messrs. Thorn and Walter Crum in 1849 and 1856 respectively, to a quarter of an hour. But the greatest innovations were perhaps effected in the matter of dyes. At the beginning of the reign these pigments consisted either of certain mysterious concoctions imported from China—the secret of whose manufacture was unknown in Europe—or the so-called spirit-colours extracted from wood, which quickly faded, and sometimes rotted the calico, or of various preparations of indigo, cochineal, and so forth. A step in advance was the use of albumen, derived from the white of egg or from blood, to fix the colours. But the grand find was that of 1856, when Mr. W. H. Perkin accidentally made the discovery that gas-tar, a product which, hitherto, had been put to little or no use, would produce a beautiful tint, to which was given the name of mauve. These aniline dyes, as they were called from *anil*, the Portuguese name of indigo, promptly attracted the attention of chemists, and while Dr. Hoffmann, a German, extracted various violets, and M. Verguon, a Frenchman, magenta, Englishmen, among whom Mr. Nicholson and Mr. Lightfoot were perhaps the most conspicuous, were manufacturing greens, yellows, oranges, blacks, and browns. Ten years after Perkin's discovery madder and its extracts became popular, and they had the advantage of being amenable to the action

of steam, and so obviating immersion in the dye-tank or vat. Four years later, several chemists hit almost simultaneously upon a method of producing the madder reds and pinks from anthracine,

Mr. Lightfoot patented a method to obtain that result in 1867, but it was not fully realised until nine years later, and then in Germany.

As for bleaching, chloride of lime continued to



THE SEVENTH EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, K.G.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Russell and Sons, 17, Baker Street. W.)

a product of coal-tar, and this product, known as artificial alizarine, being cheaper and more productive, superseded the vegetable. The latest efforts of inventors were being directed towards the simultaneous printing of dye colours upon an indigo ground without producing an inharmonious blend.

be the ingredient used for whitening the cloth, until towards the end of the period the Mather-Thomson process, in which carbonic acid was substituted, was tried, though not with conclusive success. But the machinery changed its character a good deal, more especially after the

Bleaching and Dyeing Works Act of 1860 had imposed the necessity for regular hours of work. Hence the old "dash-wheel" fell into disrepute, and was used only for muslins, while the cylindrical washing machine, an improvement of an idea of Bridson's patented in 1852, performed that operation with a considerable reduction of time and labour. So far as calico was concerned, the whole operation, including the application of a finish in stentering stoves and the pressure of the goods into bales, could be comprised within seven days or even less, and the cost rarely exceeded 1½d. per lb.

Bleaching, whether by the tedious process known as "crofting" or exposure to the open air, or by the action of lime and hydrochloric acid, was common also to the linen industry, concerning which a few words may be said in this place. On the whole, this manufacture hardly displayed that tendency to expand which characterised cotton-spinning. The growing of flax was essentially an Irish employment, the area under cultivation in the Emerald Isle exceeding all the areas of the rest of the United Kingdom put together, and amounting in the "sixties" to over 250,000 acres, producing some 50,000 tons. But in spite of State grants, which were continued under one form or another until 1871, the yield steadily declined under the influence of Russian competition. In truth, the preparation of flax for the market by "retting" or rotting in water was a somewhat unsavoury occupation, and neither the process of steam-retting patented by Watt of Glasgow in 1852, nor the experiment of a heated chamber advocated by Mr. Andrews, of Belfast, in 1873, could be claimed as a permanent success. Again, in the subsequent stages of manufacture the herb's rough fibre to a certain extent defied improved machinery, and a good deal of work had still to be done by hand, though the Combe heckling machine, for example, had effected a great economy in labour. In the same way hand-loom made a far stouter fight against power-loom in linen than in cotton-weaving, and though the latter machine was introduced by Maberly and Co., of Aberdeen, some fifteen years before the commencement of the reign, the former continued in 1887 to be employed in the neighbourhood of Belfast. Fine linen was a fabric for which the North of Ireland was justly celebrated throughout the period, and the number of spindles rose from 560,000 in 1835 to 860,000 in 1887, while the power-loom increased from some 3,500 to nearly seven times that number. In Scotland the trade, which had for its centres

the towns of Dundee, Perth, and Dunfermline, was concerned partly with such heavy articles as sail-cloth and sacking, and partly with damask goods such as table-cloths and napkins. Owing to the rapid rise of the jute industry, to which we shall allude presently, the Scottish linen manufacture remained practically stationary, while that in England, which had Leeds for its headquarters, steadily declined. No trustworthy figures for the home-consumption of linen throughout the reign seem to be forthcoming, but the value of goods exported rose from about £2,000,000 in 1837 to nearly £7,000,000 in 1871. In that year, however, the foreign demand reached its height, and it averaged from thenceforth about £5,000,000, or £5,500,000 worth per annum. At the same time, though other nations hampered the quantity of Britain's output of linen by protective tariffs, the quality of British goods retained its high reputation. At the close of the period 111,000 persons were employed in flax factories, which were 388 in number (England and Wales 70, Scotland 152, Ireland 166). The number of spindles was 1,220,000, and of power-loom 47,000.

A trade that presented a far more melancholy result was that of silk, and British manufacturers of that material were compelled to confess that they could not hold their own against the French and the Germans. Some of the best machines in use were throughout the period of English make, for example, the comber invented by Mr. Lister, of Bradford. But though English appliances compared favourably with those employed in other countries, the product was always something of an exotic, so far as England was concerned, and the French commercial treaty of 1860, which lowered the duties by 50 per cent., produced a most formidable competition, against which the makers of Coventry and Manchester were unable to contend. In fact, the period at which the silk manufacture showed its greatest relative prosperity was between 1820 and 1830, before the hand-loom had been displaced by the power-loom and domestic weaving given place to the factory. In those days some 24,000 looms were kept busy in Spitalfields alone, but in 1887 the industry, though various philanthropic ladies made strenuous efforts to bring about a revival, barely dragged on a pitiable existence in the East End of London. The introduction of power-loom tended to put workmen on a par, and so neutralise British manual skill, and the displacement of Bengal silk by Japanese in 1857 and onwards produced a somewhat similar result,

since the former found its way more naturally to London than to Lyons. However, there are figures to show that the treaty of 1860 was the real cause of the decline and fall of the English manufacture of silk fabrics. Thus in twenty years the amount of raw silk imported sank from 8,000,000 lbs. to 3,600,000 lbs., and Coventry turned her attention from the making of ribbons to that of bicycles, the looms rapidly decreasing from 9,000 to barely 2,000. Fortunately, a trade in spun-silk sprang up, notably at Bradford and Halifax, so that the export figures, taken as a whole, were not absolutely depressing, except when compared with those of Lyons and of Crefeld in Germany. Still, there being no doubt that the popularity of silk as an article of wear had increased among all classes, and that the amount of silk goods imported from France also rose by leaps and bounds, it was clear that the industry no longer held its former importance among the leading English employments. In fact its hands only numbered 42,000, the spindles, 1,000,000, and the power-looms 12,000.

We turn to a yet older staple—that of wool, which dates from the very beginning of English commerce. Here we find that the net result was anything but discouraging; thus, the imports had risen in the fifty years from 45,000,000 lbs. to 615,000,000 lbs. valued at £24,000,000; and the exports from goods worth £5,000,000 to goods worth £24,000,000, and weighing 400,000,000 lbs. These figures are of course modest when compared with those of the cotton industry; but they show, nevertheless, a most gratifying expansion. Moreover, it was the case that the empire seemed to be becoming self-contained so far as the wool trade was concerned, and supplies from Spain and Germany gave place to supplies from Australia and the Cape. As for the machinery, the number of power-looms increased from 2,000 to 63,000, and the character of the machinery employed became infinitely more elaborate and delicate. Thus the carding engines employed to turn out West-of-England broadcloths were regarded as marvels of aptitude; and, in the making of worsteds, combing machines were brought to a high pitch of perfection, notably by the inventions of Mr. Lister, of Bradford (whose name we have already mentioned in connection with the silk trade), and Mr. Donisthorpe, of Leicester, in the "forties," and their subsequent developments by Messrs. Bell and Noble. On the whole, however, in this, as in the cotton industry, it could hardly be said that any absolutely new idea was hit upon, but merely that Victorian Englishmen had improved upon their

ancestors' experiences. Also the woollen trades proper still remained faithful to Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, Leeds and Huddersfield in particular retaining an unimpaired repute for the manufacture of woollen goods generally, and the popularity of Kidderminster carpets slowly rising as that of Halifax declined. There seemed, in fact, a curious conservatism about this ancient industry, and the teazle-head still remained in use, although in any other commerce it would surely have been discarded for some mechanical device. The figures for 1887 may be summarised: woollen factories, 1918 (England 1503, Scotland 274, Ireland 141); number of spindles, over 3,000,000; power-looms, nearly 58,000; persons employed, 139,000; worsted factories, 725 (England and Wales 697); number of spindles, 2,763,000; power-looms, nearly 80,000; persons employed, 138,230.

Before quitting the textile industries we must notice various subsidiary manufactures, which barely existed at the beginning of the reign, but which fifty years afterwards had acquired no inconsiderable status. Thus the use of jute fibre, derived from two nearly allied plants growing in the East Indies, dates only from 1832, when it was employed in Dundee to mix with flax and tow. Three years afterwards useful sacking was produced from purer jute, and thereby the herb was established as a formidable rival to flax, its cost being barely half that commodity's. At first used only for the very coarsest materials, it was afterwards mixed with cotton, flax, tow, and hemp in making better kinds of goods. A further advance was made when jute was employed alone in the manufacture of such articles as sheetings, pack-sheets, baggings, sackings, sacks, wool-pack cloths, twine and fishing-nets. About the year 1865 a considerable quantity of cheaper carpeting began to be made from jute, though it was some time before the tendency of the colours to fade quickly could be arrested. Dundee, the original seat of this industry, owed much of her rapid prosperity to its developments. Thus, the amount of jute imported in 1838 was 1,136 tons, which quantity had risen to 8,905 tons in 1848, and ten years later the town was using as much jute as flax, tow, hemp, and hemp-cordilla put together. It would be difficult to trace the full range of the jute trade, after the material had begun to be largely used with flax in the manufacture of almost all fabrics except the very finest linens. Nevertheless, we may mention that 900,000 cwts., valued at £790,000, were imported in 1861; 3,400,000,

valued at £4,000,000, in 1871, and 5,000,000, valued at £5,000,000, in 1887. A large quantity was, of course, retained for home consumption. Still, the jute manufactures exported in 1887 were valued at £2,000,000. In that year 41,174 persons were employed in 120 factories (105 in Scotland), and the spindles and power-looms numbered 264,000 and 12,000 respectively.

Another and nearly contemporary trade, that also had scarcely been instituted when Queen Victoria ascended the throne, was the alpaca, from the wool of animals of the llama tribe. Indeed, the first person who succeeded in producing a marketable fabric from this product was Outram, of Greatford, near Halifax, whose articles sold in 1830 for high prices as novelties. But it was not until 1836 that the alpaca manufacture became established, and this result was due to the enterprise of some of the Bradford mill-owners and more especially of Sir Titus Salt. The manufacture did not begin to assume very large proportions until the introduction of cotton and other fibres for the warp. Thus alpaca-spinning was a mixed industry, its characteristic ingredient being used in combination with cotton, silk, goats'-hair, sheeps'-wool, and other materials. Its history is inseparably connected with the great establishment at Saltaire on the banks of the Aire above Shipley, whither Sir Titus Salt removed in 1853. Round the mill were built some 900 model dwellings, forming the nucleus of an entirely new town, containing 6,000 inhabitants, of whom more than 3,000 found employment at the works, and furnished with churches, chapels, schools, a mechanics' institute, baths and washhouses, all erected at the proprietor's expense. Equally remarkable was the economy of labour accomplished by the use of water-power, and by the highways and railways which penetrated to the very centre of the buildings, together with the approaches provided by canal and river. Thus, portage and carriage were entirely suspended, and direct communication was gained for the importation of wool and other raw produce on the one hand, and for the delivery of manufactured goods on the other. Again, Sir Titus Salt built bridges of the most durable and solid construction, both in cast and wrought iron, and one of the viaducts on the tubular girder system, crossing the canal and River Aire, was more than 450 feet long. In all, the factory covered some 20 acres, of which the part devoted to the works was not less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres. The mill proper was six storeys high, 550 feet in length, 50 feet in width,

and about 72 feet high, and it possessed considerable pretensions to architectural elegance. Immediately behind the main mill and at right angles to it, ran another six-storey building, devoted to warehouse purposes, such as the reception and examination of the newly-manufactured goods; and on each side lay the combing-shed (or apartment where the fibres of the alpaca, mohair, wool and so forth were combed by machinery), the offices, and the great shed for weaving by power-looms. It was in the combing-shed that in September, 1868, 3,500 of Sir Titus Salt's guests sat down, without confusion or crowding, and with perfect ventilation. The great loom-shed, we are told, would have accommodated under its single roof a party twice as numerous. Arranged in convenient situations were washing-rooms, packing-rooms, drying-rooms and mechanics' shops. The firm continued to flourish after Sir Titus Salt's death in 1876, but the prohibitive tariffs set up in America and other countries during the last decade of our period hit the company terribly hard, and in 1891 it underwent "reconstruction."

Alpaca factories contained few mechanical appliances that did not also belong to the kindred industries, and their output cannot be easily traced, as it is classed in the Board of Trade returns under the general heading of woollen goods. So let us proceed to the shoddy and mungo manufacture, which, though established by Benjamin Law at Batley so far back as 1813, had to live down a good deal of opposition before it took root firmly. This industry, however, eventually found a home not only at Batley, but at Dewsbury, Heckmondwike, and the neighbouring towns and villages of the West Riding of Yorkshire. As the materials used were of little or no use in themselves, and as by their employment fairly strong and serviceable garments were produced, the shoddy manufacture did not altogether deserve the ill name it bore in ordinary parlance. To descend to technicalities, shoddy was prepared mainly from old woollen rags, carpets, flannel, and worsted stockings; while mungo consisted of the better qualities of the same refuse, tailors' cuttings, and worn out garments. After being sorted and prepared, the materials were torn by a machine called a swift or "devil" into a fibrous condition, and before being worked up new wool was added, amounting to a third or even more than a half. In 1860 it was estimated that in Batley and its vicinity 40,000,000 lbs. of shoddy material was annually produced, and in 1887 the quantity had risen to 120,000,000 lbs. Besides the amount

retained for home consumption, its exports were valued at some £2,000,000, and 4,700 hands were employed in its 108 factories, containing some 96,000 spindles and 2,000 looms.

Before quitting the textile fabrics, we may remark that their preparation for human use was revolutionised by the invention of the sewing-machine. This was essentially an American device, whether we take Elias Howe's original patent of

wearing apparel, and in the case of certain articles of male attire, as shirts, and loose jackets, steam-power was employed in driving whole rows of sewing-machines at once. The sewing-machine was also applied to shoemaking by an American named Blake in 1858, and a further improvement was effected in 1862, when a curved-needle machine was patented for sewing soles on lasted boots. Its introduction into England was fiercely resisted,



THE OLD MANOR-HOUSE, MORLEY, BIRTHPLACE OF SIR TITUS SALT.

(From the Photograph in *Balgarnie's "Life of Salt."*)

1845, or Singer's of 1851. Its result was a large demand for female labour in connection with all kinds of sewing, together with a certain rise in wages; and women who could earn little by hand-sewing from want of skill, were enabled to make a tolerable living with the sewing-machine. It entered largely into domestic economy, and many dressmakers and mantle-makers owned or rented machines which they used at their homes. Again a vast development was given to the ready-made clothing trade by the use of the machine in tailoring, though, unfortunately, without a duly proportionate increase of wages. The factory system was introduced into the manufacture of

and in 1859 a great struggle took place at Northampton, the headquarters of the wholesale boot and shoe manufacture, which resulted in the transference of a considerable portion of the trade to Leicester. Nevertheless, good workmen continued to find plenty of employment, as the hand-sewn article was markedly superior to the machine-made.

It would be an easy matter to enumerate many other branches of industry in which great advances were made in the fifty years. For example, the salt manufacture, which was situated principally in Cheshire and Worcestershire, received a great impetus from the discovery, in 1862, of deposits at

Middlesborough. Again, improved methods were invented for pumping, through artificial solution by means of water descending through a double piping to reascend as brine. English manufacturers, however, adhered to the old system of open pans, despite the fact that a purer, if greyer article was produced in the closed vessels in use on the Continent. The importance of the trade may be gathered from the fact that in 1852 it was estimated that 1,000,000 tons were produced in England, of which 300,000 were used for domestic purposes, 200,000 for manufactures, notably that of alkali, and the rest exported. In 1887 the quantity was not far from 2,000,000 tons, and of the 1,200,000 tons exported 230,000 went to the United States, and 300,000 to the East Indies. Liverpool, as Cheshire's most natural outlet, transmitted nearly nine-tenths of this large total, her merchants being glad to convey the commodity as cargo, instead of sending out their ships in ballast.

We must turn to another interest which, by common consent, was acknowledged to be in a somewhat depressed condition during the last quarter of the period. Agriculture was affected more than any of the industries by the advent of Free Trade, and it had the hardest battle to fight against foreign competition. No doubt, from the consumer's point of view the cheapening of food-stuffs was a distinct and valuable gain, and, as we shall show, the agricultural labourer's condition changed considerably for the better. But the landlord and the farmer found the battle with virgin soils and more kindly climates a hard one, and figures showed that corn-growing was not a profitable occupation, after cheapened methods of transport had enabled the Americans to contend, on nearly equal terms, in the home markets. Thus in 1837 and the following years the wheat-crop amounted to 13,500,000 quarters, valued at £31,000,000, the average price being 50s. a quarter. At that time an acre yielded about 26 bushels, which quantity was raised fifty years later to 28. But, though science had intensified cultivation, there remained the broad fact that in 1887 the amount of wheat produced was 6,750,000 quarters and its value only £15,500,000.

This depressed state of affairs did not obtain immediately on the passing of Sir Robert Peel's Corn Bill of 1846; on the contrary, prices ruled higher during 1854 and 1855 (those of the Crimean War) than they had in any previous two years of the reign. Still, the figures of Tithe Commutation

do show a general drop after the passing of that epoch-marking measure, despite the rise in 1850 and onwards. It was in 1874, however, that the real downfall began, and it continued to the end of the period. At home lean years followed in rapid succession, only one season in five being at all favourable. On the other hand, the American harvest was unusually heavy, and railroads and steamers having cheapened the cost of transport nearly 80 per cent., an alarming drop in prices ensued. As we have already shown, in no part of the United Kingdom was it felt more severely than in Ireland, where the agricultural system, which had completely collapsed after the potato famine, had shown signs of a healthy revival, particularly in stock-raising. But in England, too, farmers lost nearly half their capital, rents were considerably reduced, and estates went almost a-begging. In many parts of the country, notably in Essex and Lincolnshire, land went out of cultivation, and everywhere cereals gave way to pasturage, which remained the farmer's forlorn hope. Thus it was reckoned in 1887 that the area under wheat and barley in England was less by 114,200 acres than in 1886, and in Ireland by 28,500. Yet the operation of grassing arable land could not be performed without considerable outlay, and the fields would have to lie practically idle for some three years or more. In fact, the landed interests in 1887 could hardly look forward to the future with confidence, since the process whereby these islands were getting to depend upon the foreigner for both animal and vegetable food-stuffs had evidently not reached its full development. The revolution, as we have already maintained, proved an immense gain to the nation at large, but it affected some of the classes that lived by the soil very severely indeed.

Nevertheless, the assertion may be hazarded that in few trades or occupations was more attention paid to the teachings of science. Rule-of-thumb no doubt prevailed among both landowners and farmers to a certain extent, and the yeoman class probably owed its extinction quite as much to a disinclination to march with the times, as to the tendency of small properties to be absorbed by large. In most respects, however, the latter-day tenant-farmer was distinctly a go-ahead individual, and showed a distinct appreciation of the value of new inventions, whether in machinery or fertilising chemicals. The scientific study of agriculture received a great impetus from the foundation of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1837, in imitation of similar institutions that had long existed in

Scotland. Kindred associations were established in all parts of the country in addition to the still earlier Bath and West of England, notably the Lancastrian, and much valuable experience was gained by the interchange of views.

We can but briefly indicate the various directions in which this activity manifested itself. Chief among them was the use of artificial manure, which owed more to Sir John B. Lawes than to any other man. At the beginning of the reign, a certain quantity of bones was imported, otherwise farmers depended almost entirely upon the cleansings of stall and stable. Two years later came the trial of nitrate of soda, then of Peruvian guano, and afterwards of superphosphate of lime. The second of these substances ceased to be important towards the close of the seventies, owing to the exhaustion of the supply, but nitrate of soda, through the discovery of mines in Chili and elsewhere, continued to be largely employed. All the substances were extensively experimented upon by Sir John Lawes at Rothamstead in Hertfordshire, an estate of which he took possession so far back as 1834. Nine years later he engaged the services of Dr. Gilbert, and began a series of agricultural experiments which, at first confined to crops, were extended in 1856 to grass. In brief, his discoveries proved that the tendency of wheat to exhaust the soil could be obviated by the interpolation of roots and clover supplied freely with manure. The rotation of crops was, of course, no new secret, inasmuch as the idea, borrowed from the Dutch, had been introduced into Norfolk by Lord Townshend during the early part of the eighteenth century. But great advances were achieved from the old "four-course" system, and on some model estates intervals of ten or more years separated the planting of the same crop. Another innovation, which added to the land's productiveness, was the vetch, which, sown after the harvest, prevented fields from lying idle until turnips or mangold could be laid down in the summer. It should be added that all varieties of roots and cereals were immensely improved by crossing towards the end of the period. Thus, different kinds of wheat were found to suit different parts of the kingdom, and while Scotland preferred Red Fife, Ireland trusted in White Connell. Meanwhile, Sir John Lawes' experiments showed the particular sorts of manure that produced a maximum of yield from particular vegetables compared with the results if none were used at all. With regard to pasturage, he proved that a careful selection of seed, combined with a plentiful

application of chemicals, would cleanse the fields of weeds and give a fairly satisfactory result even upon second-rate land.

To no department of agriculture was more attention paid than to the improvement of stock. No doubt there was a general reluctance on the part of farmers to change their breeds, and Devonshire adhered to her red cattle with an almost religious conservatism, as did parts of Scotland to the polled Angus. Still for dairy purposes, various classes gradually obtained favour, especially the beautiful cows from the Channel Islands; while the Shorthorns acquired a still more marked ascendancy in the meat-market owing to their prompt maturity. The high prices paid for chosen specimens of this breed, amounting in some instances to small fortunes, showed the importance which the question of strains had acquired. In the same way Leicester sheep tended to oust other breeds, because of their early readiness for the butcher, though Southdown and Welsh mutton fetched a better price per pound. Again, the size and strength of cart-horses used on large estates was considerably improved, though for general farming the establishment of Government studs, as in France, seemed a distinct desideratum. Feeding was a problem which received close study, more especially after the Royal Agricultural Society had shown waste and inexperience to be widely prevalent, and the average weight of the beasts exhibited at the Smithfield cattle-shows increased nearly 20 per cent. within fifteen years of the association's foundation. Besides the general variety of fodder encouraged, we may notice the introduction, about the year 1845, of oil-cake, which proved a most valuable provender. Some thirty-five years later still came the experiment of ensilage, or the storing of green grass and other vegetables in pits or stacks, to which pressure was applied. Where the hay-crop could not be saved owing to rain, it was widely adopted, and, despite the unpleasant smell, the silo became an established institution upon many dairy farms. No less than 2,694 silos had been constructed in 1887. So, too, the sewage of towns was utilised on various pastures, and with undoubted success, despite the groundless prejudice that attached, for many years, to milk derived from such quarters.

Agriculture also owed much to the introduction of labour-saving machinery, which may almost be said to have begun with the reign. In 1837 very few instruments of the sort existed beyond turnip and chaff-cutters, together with the important threshing-machine, which, in its most primitive

form, was used by Aitchison, of Dunmore, in the distant year of 1803. Even after the foundation of the Royal Agricultural Society, the attention of inventors was chiefly absorbed in improving the ordinary plough, and in turning out instruments for breaking up the soil, known as grubbers and scarifiers. The first great innovation was the

was also an American, and a prolonged struggle for pre-eminence ensued between the three, Mr. James Slight, curator of the Highland Agricultural Society, having called attention to Bell's derelict machine. In the end the Royal Agricultural Society adjudged superiority to Hussey's patent, and it continued in general use until the end of the period,

Lieut. R. N. Reserve
(everyday dress).

Lieutenant
(full dress).

Marine Sentry.

Master-at-arms.

Bandsman.

Chief Petty Officer.



Admiral
(full dress).

Captain
(frock coat).

Midshipman
(full dress).

Seaman
(white full dress).

Seaman, Landing Order
(for service ashore).

1st Class Petty Officer
(everyday dress).

UNIFORMS IN THE BRITISH NAVY.

reaping and mowing machine, which was originally invented by the Rev. Patrick Bell, of Carmyllie, in Forfarshire. It remained, however, absolutely neglected for five-and-twenty years, and an American named McCormick was the first person to produce a reaper which farmers put to any practical use. Whether McCormick was indebted to Bell for his idea, or whether he conceived it independently, has been fiercely debated, and this much appears certain that the two men's productions were identical in principle, though McCormick's was the more serviceable of the two. At the Great Exhibition of 1851 two reapers were on view, namely, McCormick's and that of Hussey, who

its efficiency being increased latterly by the addition of a binding apparatus. Very shortly after McCormick's rediscovery of the reaper, John Fowler, of Leeds, about the year 1850, invented a steam draining plough. This he converted to tillage purposes five years later on the suggestion of Mr. William Smith, of Woolston, in Hampshire; and in 1865 he effected a most important change in his machine by substituting a second engine for the movable anchor with which it had hitherto been equipped. Meanwhile, Mr. Smith had been developing a cultivator of his own, of which the distinguishing principle was its penetration to the sub-soil, but Fowler's patent was preferred by the

Royal Agricultural Society. These two machines, the reaper and the steam-plough, continued in use to the end of the period, though of course their paraphernalia were greatly improved. The reaper, having been adapted to heavy crops, was employed on nearly every farm of any pretensions; but the steam-plough, owing to its costliness, was generally

and the dual ownership established by the Land Acts of 1870 and 1881 seemed about to give place to a system of peasant-proprietorship, effected through moneys advanced by the State. In England the excellent relationship prevailing between the two classes had necessitated no such sweeping changes, though the Agricultural Holdings Act had

2nd Lifeguardsmen.

3rd Hussars.

17th Lancers.

1st Royal Dragoons.

Infantry of the Line.
(Private.)
Gloucestershire Reg.Grenadier Guards.
(Private.)Drummer.
E. Surrey Reg.Officer.
Derbyshire Reg.Officer.
Rifle Brigade.Black Watch.
(Private.)Royal Fusiliers.
(Private.)Gunner.
R.A.

UNIFORMS IN THE BRITISH ARMY.

hired for the occasion, though in some districts farmers clubbed together and bought a machine. Of course, these contrivances do not exhaust the labour-saving devices introduced into British agriculture; indeed they numbered several thousands, and included press-rollers, drills, turnip-thinners, cake-crushers, and many others besides.

On the whole, while landlords experienced a reduction of rents amounting to quite 30 per cent., which naturally cramped their spending powers, farmers had derived considerable benefits from the Legislature. In Ireland the relations between squire and tenant had been entirely revolutionised,

materially strengthened the farmers' position. Again, the Settled Land Act effected certain desirable easements in the transfer of property, though much remained to be accomplished in that direction. There was still a prosperous outlook for dairy-farming, particularly in the neighbourhood of large towns, and the best and most perishable kinds of agricultural produce continued to defy foreign competition. But the small farmer's struggle for existence was severe, more especially as he showed an unwise disinclination to supplement his resources by growing fruit and raising poultry. The conversion of arable land into pasturage combined with the introduction of

labour-saving machinery had its inevitable result in the enlargement of farms and the conversion of two or more small holdings into one. This process began about the year 1850, when improved implements were introduced, and continued without abatement to the end of the period. Thus, a Parliamentary return showed that between 1851 and 1871 the number of farms in seventeen of the principal agricultural counties of England fell from 68,635 to 59,870, and the decrease of holdings under 200 acres was most marked. In fact the soil of the United Kingdom was in fewer hands than that of any other country in Europe. At the same time Scottish thrift continued to make a living where South Britons failed, and some of the home counties, notably Hertfordshire and Essex, became peopled with little colonies of industrious Lowlanders from beyond the Tweed.

We have already dealt with the rural exodus from the villages to the cities, and the figures could hardly be said to make for wholly satisfactory conclusions. No doubt higher wages and a more diversified existence were to be obtained in the manufacturing centres, and in many cases the substitution of machinery for manual labour gave "Hodge" no choice but to turn townsman or to emigrate. This was especially the case in Ireland, whence the peasantry had been accustomed to repair to England during the harvest. Still, the more unskilled labourer had to submit in his new surroundings to much overcrowding, and a good deal of squalid misery. On the other hand, those that did remain experienced considerable improvement in their material status. In the last resort, the relaxation of the Poor Law with regard to outdoor relief rendered the burden of old age less intolerable. Again, the able-bodied hind derived immense benefit from the cheapened food-supply, and the days in which he barely touched meat from one week's end to the other had become well-nigh unknown to the later generation. True it is that the cottages, in many districts, were a disgrace to civilisation, though the richer landowners had spent large sums in a somewhat unprofitable form of outlay. Still, the average of wages had increased considerably, notably during the last fifteen years. As we have shown, when Mr. Arch founded his Agricultural Labourers' Union in 1874, the weekly pay ranged from 10s. to 13s. a week, and in some of the western counties was as low as 8s. and even 7s. In 1887 the rate was between 15s. and 16s., and nowhere did the minimum go below 10s. Moreover, much was hoped from

allotments and small holdings; matters upon which, and upon free education as well, the time for legislation had fully arrived.

Passing from the chief industries of the United Kingdom, we must briefly describe the reforms effected in the navy and the army, which were their chief safeguards and defence. As the transformation of the line-of-battle ship from a wooden vessel worked by sail to one of iron or steel propelled by steam has been already described, it remains to note some leading occurrences affecting the crews and training. And, in the first place, we may note that the number of men increased from 26,500 to 62,500, besides 4,000 coastguardsmen, 18,000 of the Royal Naval Reserve, 2,200 of the Seamen and Marine Pensioner Reserve, and 1,500 Naval Artillery Volunteers (now disbanded). It was also certain that of the 98,000 men on steam vessels employed in the merchant service, a considerable proportion would be available in case of war. Moreover, in addition to the formidable ordnance already described, the men were personally armed with Sniders and afterwards with Martini-Henrys, which were immense improvements upon the "Brown Bess" in use at the beginning of the reign. Again, if the historic courage of the British tar had not increased, it certainly had not diminished; while his conduct both afloat and on shore had immensely improved. Much of this amelioration was due to philanthropic and religious influences, but more to the system of training which was instituted after Sir Alexander Milne's celebrated letter to the Duke of Northumberland in 1852. Instead of relying upon haphazard for competent sailors, training-ships were established for youths of eighteen at Portsmouth, Falmouth, Portland, and Devonport, to which special schools were afterwards attached for gunnery and torpedo-practice. Further, the *Britannia* was stationed in Dartmouth harbour as a school of instruction for cadets in 1857, and Mr. Goschen's administration of the Admiralty (1871-74) witnessed the foundation of the Royal Naval College at Greenwich both for the junior grades of the service and naval architects as well. As for the men, their material prospects were improved by the abolition of flogging, by the institution of good-conduct badges, by increased pay for special acquirements, such as the knowledge of torpedo-management, by the privilege of re-engagement for a second term of service, and above all by the substitution in 1865 of pensions for admission to Greenwich Hospital. The Royal Naval Reserve enrolled in compliance

with the recommendations of Lord Cardwell's Commission constituted a most valuable link between the Royal Navy and the Merchant Service, inasmuch as it was enrolled from officers and men in the latter service.

The British Army had also increased greatly both in numbers and efficiency, though, as was natural with a naval Power, the land forces looked puny indeed beside those of the Continental nations. In 1837 the total strength of the army was nominally 111,200 men, but really about 101,500, excluding officers, armed with the "Brown Bess" and supported by only 62 field-guns. Of these 46,000 served at home, 36,000 in the colonies, and 19,000 in India. The militia, which could barely be said to exist, since it was never drilled, numbered on paper 68,000 men, the yeomanry about 18,000, and there were no volunteers. In 1887 the regulars at home and in the colonies were reckoned at 138,000, and in India at 71,700; while the first class Army Reserve numbered 52,000 and the second 5,000. There were besides 141,000 militiamen, 14,000 in the yeomanry, and 256,000 volunteers, giving an exact total of 679,522. By way of comparison we may state that France had a war-force of about 2,500,000 at her disposal, Germany some 2,650,000, and Russia about 2,100,000, besides large bodies of partially trained men.

These being the figures, it remains to be seen how they grew and how a chaotic system gave way by degrees to military requirements. In order to form a clear idea, we will first deal with the period of stagnation from the commencement of the reign to the Crimean War. During those eighteen years the administration was divided in the most confused fashion imaginable between the Secretary of State *for* War, who controlled operations on the outbreak of hostilities, the Secretary of State *at* War, who was responsible for estimates and expenditure, the Commander-in-Chief, who had charge of regulations and promotion, and the Board of Ordnance, which kept up the fortifications and superintended the manufacture of arms and ammunitions, besides being the directing authority of the Artillery and Engineers. The Commissariat remained under the control of the Treasury, the Militia under the Home Office, and Transport could not be said to exist. As for the officers, their training consisted of a knowledge of drill and the acquirement of unreasoning obedience; and the education provided by the Sandhurst and Woolwich Academies was of the most perfunctory character. The uniforms in vogue looked well on the parade-ground, but were useless in time of

war, and the manœuvres were far too elaborate and technical for the emergencies of a campaign. The men were severely flogged for trivial offences, badly fed, and lodged in most insanitary barracks. They were enlisted for life or for a twenty-one years' term, and as they were not allowed to marry without leave, their morals had best be left uncriticised. They were armed with the "Brown Bess," which would not carry 200 yards, and it was not until the eve of the Crimea that the more accurate Enfield and Minié rifles were introduced. Among the few reforms effected was the Short Enlistment Act of 1847, authorising service with the colours for ten years, while the Militia Bill of 1852 at least invested that force with a semblance of reality by fixing its strength at 120,000 men. But, despite the warnings contained in Sir John Burgoyne's famous paper of 1846, and the Duke of Wellington's equally remarkable letter of 1847, the country remained without valid protection from invasion.

The appalling confusion and unpreparedness revealed by the first months of the Crimean War, resulted in the prompt abolition of the multiple control for an administration by the Secretary for War and the Commander-in-Chief. It also resulted in the recognition of the axiom that transport cannot be left to chance, and the soldier's health to improvised expedients. The next departure was the creation of the Volunteer movement consequent upon the war-scare of 1859, followed by the creation of the National Rifle Association in 1860. Under the impulse of Napoleon III.'s supposed designs of invasion, battalions came into existence in all parts of the country, and England was stronger by 120,000 men before the twelvemonth had elapsed. It took some time before the force lived down a good deal of cheap ridicule, or was seriously accepted by regular officers as an efficient body. To Continental nations its creation appeared well-nigh incomprehensible, but love of athletic exercises combined with love of country to inspire the Volunteers with permanent and increasing vitality. Of kindred purpose was Lord Palmerston's Fortifications Act, whereby £7,460,000 was devoted to the safeguarding of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and other important dockyards and arsenals. Again, the muzzle-loader gave place to the Snider, after the breech-loader's superiority had been proved in the Austro-Prussian War; so that the years 1853-70, taken as a whole, were by no means those of stagnation in military matters. The militia had ceased to be a local force, and was

available for service in all parts of the United Kingdom.

It remained for Mr. Cardwell to reconstruct the British Army according to modern requirements, so far as that feat could be accomplished without having recourse to conscription. In brief summary his reforms came to this:—he subordinated

Exchanges Bill of 1875. Further, the short service system at once provided a more abundant supply of recruits, and enabled the Government to form that indispensable force, an Army Reserve. The men enlisted for twelve years, of which seven were generally spent with the colours, and five with the Reserve, though well-conducted soldiers

Trooper, Middlesex Yeomanry.

Officer, Yorkshire Hussars (Yeomanry).

Trooper, 2nd West York Yeomanry.



Cyclist. Artists' (Private.) Medical Staff Corps. London Rifle Brigade. (Sergeant.) 5th V. B. Manchester. (Private.) London Scottish. (Private.) Queen's Westminster. (Officer.) Fusiliers. (Officer.) Artillery. (Gunner.) 3rd London. (Private.) Engineers. (Sapper.)

UNIFORMS IN THE VOLUNTEERS.

the Commander-in-Chief, the Surveyor-General of the Ordnance (an official subsequently abolished), and the Financial Secretary to the Secretary of State for War, though for reasons of State the first appointment was not converted into that of Chief of the Staff on the French and German model. However, he simplified the staff arrangements by placing the Quartermaster-General's department under the Adjutant-General's, thereby obviating the evils of divided authority. The abolition of purchase, though decried at the time, was a great advance towards the promotion of officers by merit, and some of its asperities Mr. Gathorne Hardy softened by the Regimental

were allowed to serve the whole twelve years with the regiment, and could even re-engage for a second term of nine years with the prospect of a considerably increased pension. Further, the institution of territorial regiments resulted in the partitionment of Great Britain and Ireland into 13 military districts, with 102 regimental or sub-districts, in which each brigade consisted, as a rule, of two line battalions, one of which was generally abroad, while the other served at home, two militia battalions, the rifle volunteer corps, and the infantry of the Army Reserve. The titles adopted for the new regiments were undoubtedly of the most cumbersome description, and the

Government unfortunately shrank from applying the principle of localisation to the cavalry, and from connecting that force with the yeomanry. The artillery, however, though still retained as one regiment, was distributed in 12 sub-districts, and brigaded with the Militia Artillery and that of the Volunteers and Army Reserve. Mr. Cardwell rearmed the British Army with the Martini-Henry, which in the Jubilee year was giving place to the Magazine-rifle, but the Artillery remained deficient in breech-loading field-guns, which had been adopted long since by Continental nations. He encouraged the formation of local forces in the colonies, with the result that Canada in 1887 rejoiced in a militia establishment of 48,000 men, and an excellent Royal Military College at Kingston, founded in 1875; while New South Wales had 6,500 Volunteers; Victoria, 5,600; and Queensland between 3,000 and 4,000.

There still existed a want of purpose and finality about the British military system, a condition of things, however, which is almost inevitable

in a State that recognises party government. And though the short-service system provided a fair standard of recruits, some of the young soldiers appeared unfitted for campaigns in tropical climates. Again, when trade was brisk the pay, 1s. a day, by no means attracted the pick of the labour market, more especially as somewhat unjust drawbacks considerably reduced the nominal lump sum of £21, which the private was supposed to receive on his discharge. It was also the case that time-expired men did not readily adopt civilian habits, but led in many cases a precarious and vagabond existence. Still, the lot of the soldier, as a whole, had materially improved; his punishment had become lighter through the substitution of fines for flogging and imprisonment; he was far better housed and fed, while institutes and recreation-rooms provided a way of escape from the canteen. At the same time the Hartington Commission pointed out many weak places in the organisation of the British army, which, fortunately, between 1870 and 1887 were not tested by a great war.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

Education in 1837—The Education Committee—Scotland and Ireland—Inspectors appointed—The Battersea School—The Religious Difficulty—The Minutes of '46—The Revised Code—Its Modification—Mr. Forster's Act—The Scottish Education Act—Cost of Education and its Statistics—Criminals and Paupers—Intermediate Schools—Commissions of Inquiry—The Act of '69—Examining Bodies—High Schools for Girls—Intermediate Education in Scotland and Ireland—The Public Schools—University College and King's College, London—The London University—The Victoria University—Welsh University Colleges—Durham University—Teaching at Oxford—The Act of '54—The Cambridge Commission—New Colleges and Unattached Students—Legislation of 1877—Mansfield and Women's Colleges—The Scottish Universities—Mr. Inglis's Act—The Executive Commission—Irish Universities—Education in India—Colonial Education—The Church at the Queen's Accession—The Oxford Movement—Tractarianism—Secessions to Rome—The Gorham Judgment—"Essays and Reviews"—Broad Church and Low Church—Ritualism—The Public Worship Regulation Act—Revival of Convocation—New Dioceses—Sisterhoods—Position of Nonconformity—The Wesleyan Bodies—The Agitation—Wesleyan Statistics—Congregationalism—The Baptists—Other Denominations—The Salvation Army—The Ten Years' Conflict in Scotland—The Veto Act—The Claim of Right—The Establishment after the Secession—The Free Church and the United Presbyterians—The Irish Temporalities Act—The Tithe Commutation Bill—The Disestablishment Act and its Results—Roman Catholicism in Ireland—Religious Progress in the Colonies.

If we turn from the material to the mental and moral progress of the nation, we shall find that the record of achievement is equally remarkable. At the beginning of the reign elementary education could barely be said to exist, and the instruction given in the village and urban schools was notoriously inefficient, because exempt from Government control. A grant of £20,000 a year from the Treasury had been instituted in 1833, and it was

administered through the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society for the purpose of building schools. It was not until 1839 that the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was appointed, consisting of the Lord President and four other Ministers, which assumed powers to appoint inspectors and administer funds voted by Parliament. Nevertheless the sum remained at £20,000 and was still administered through the

two societies, though its uses were extended to the providing of salaries for inspectors, and the establishment of training colleges for teachers, or, as they were then called, normal schools. Thanks mainly to the energy of Dr. Kay, or, as he afterwards became, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, the Education Committee did some excellent work, and some of the old National schools, particularly where local patriotism came to their aid, provided excellent instruction. But as a whole, the slender provision failed entirely to keep pace with popular wants, more especially in districts which the factory system had crowded with masses of imported children. Besides, a vital part of the scheme, namely the normal schools, had promptly to be abandoned owing to the opposition of the clergy to their system of combined religious instruction.

Far different was the state of affairs in Scotland, and even in Ireland the Board of National Education, as established under Mr. Stanley's Act of 1831, administered the grant, formerly allotted to the Kildare Place Society, upon an eminently practical system, whereby a common secular education was combined with separate religious instruction both for Protestants and Roman Catholics. North of the Tweed, indeed, national education had been established by statute so far back as 1696, and its scope had been considerably enlarged in 1803. It was supported in the country districts by a rate levied from the local landowners, and in the towns by a contribution from the public funds. Besides, the church had accomplished much towards an adequate accommodation for pupils, while the normal schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow existed long before similar institutions were founded in England. Accordingly, Scotland was free to employ the Government grant in establishing a new training college, and the general knowledge among the working classes continued far in advance of that possessed by the southern artisan or agricultural labourer.

In 1840 the Education Committee effected an important departure by providing that whenever Government aid was accepted, the right of inspection would be exercised. In order to prevent religious friction, several kinds of inspectors were appointed; thus, laymen visited the establishments founded by the British and Foreign School Society, which body strenuously objected to the supervision of religious instruction; while clergymen attended Church of England schools and presented duplicate reports—one to the Committee of Council, and the other to the Archbishop of the diocese. In both cases inspectors were appointed

after previous consultation with the Society or the Archbishop. Shortly afterwards the grant was extended to the schools of religious bodies in which the Bible was taught, such as the Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, and Jewish. Still, the inspectors found themselves practically powerless, as their authority was confined to recommendation only. In particular they were defeated at every turn by the ignorance and poverty of the teachers, who in many instances depended upon the doles of the working classes. Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth saw that voluntary effort must come to the Government's assistance, and in conjunction with Mr. E. C. Tufnell and the Hon Robert Eden, he established his celebrated normal school at Battersea. Though its regulations were somewhat fanciful and severe, the institution, whose scope was at first confined to the training of masters for workhouse schools, received prompt recognition from the Committee of Council. At the same time the founders felt that their plan might be so widened as to provide a supply of teachers for elementary schools in general. Their resources proving unequal to that end, they magnanimously made over the Battersea school to the National Society in the year 1843. Nevertheless, normal schools had now become recognised necessities, and the problem how to teach the teachers had been solved.

The religious difficulty, however, continued to block the way, and the Independents founded the Congregational Board of Education, the Baptists the Voluntary School Society, rather than co-operate in benefiting the Church even indirectly. Nonconformist opposition wrecked Sir James Graham's well-intentioned attempt to educate the factory districts, by establishing schools in which the religious instruction given should be that of the Church, while Dissenters' children were excused attendance from those classes. Nevertheless, Sir James Shuttleworth, become Secretary to the Committee of Council in 1839, produced some important minutes in 1846, whereby stipends were provided for pupil teachers, scholarships founded at the training colleges, and the salaries of teachers increased, on the condition that the local managers would furnish a house rent-free, and a further salary double that of the grant. Thus he asserted the principle of co-operation between the central and local authorities, upon which the educational system hinged for the remainder of the period. These minutes applied to Scotland as well as to England, and so extended the system of Government inspection over the northern kingdom. It proved, however, extremely unpopular at

first, many of the masters preferring to forego State aid rather than submit to State supervision; in fact it hardly obtained in the national schools at all. Nevertheless, Sir James Shuttleworth had accomplished a great work, and Ministers honourably seconded his efforts. The grant was now £100,000, and within fifteen years it rose to £750,000.

The Duke of Newcastle's Commission, appointed in 1858, recommended a capitation grant from the local rates to supplement the Government contribution, and to depend upon the number of children that passed in the three R's. The object of the latter suggestion was to discourage the tendency to neglect stupid pupils and to push on the more brilliant. It was undoubtedly sound as a general maxim, nevertheless Mr. Lowe erred in its application when he produced the Revised Code of 1861. Suavity was a virtue unknown to that statesman, and his logical mind was so taken with the idea of "payment by results," that he proposed to sacrifice everything to it, including the pay of pupil teachers, and the augmentation grants of the masters and mistresses. Thus, voluntary contributions would be discouraged and education reduced to mere "cram." The clamour that arose was prodigious, and the wise objections of Sir James Shuttleworth to a purely mechanical instruction were supported by the religious bodies, though on more denominational grounds. In Scotland the narrowness of the proposed standard was denounced up hill and down dale, more especially as a clause provided that the grants should apply only to children whose parents supported themselves by manual labour. This root and branch proviso struck hard at the old parochial schools, which all classes attended, and which were, moreover, established by statute, not through local benevolence.

To a certain extent Mr. Lowe was compelled to abate the asperities of his code. His four groups, arranged in an arbitrary fashion according to age, were abandoned for six standards, and the teacher could choose upon which rung of the educational ladder his pupil was to start, while the capitation grant was made to depend partly upon attendance, and partly upon examination. Moreover, the augmentation grant to the masters was not abolished but reduced. Subsequent enactments gave an even greater importance to average attendance, established a "merit-grant," and included subjects other than the rudiments within the range of the Government aid. Still, the English elementary schools remained, at the end

of the period, elementary indeed; and the young British artisan or agricultural labourer started with but meagre intellectual equipment as compared with the German. In Scotland the principle of "payment by results" was so stoutly opposed that it was never applied at all, and the teachers remained serenely independent of the Government inspector's report.

Mr. Forster's Education Act of 1870 left Mr. Lowe's panacea untouched, and aimed merely at extending school accommodation, that elementary education might become national both in fact and in name. We have dealt with that great measure elsewhere, so that the briefest recapitulation of its principal features will be sufficient for our present purpose. Essentially a compromise, the Education Bill dealt tenderly with existing institutions, particularly the Church of England schools, in the support of which the clergy had earnestly laboured. Accordingly he divided the country into districts and ascertained the deficiencies in each. If possible these gaps were to be supplied by voluntary effort, if not, the State was to interpose and cause the local authorities to provide sufficient accommodation out of the rates. The new schools were to be managed by boards, and they might aid schools already existing, and admit what religious education they thought fit, from which, however, the children of dissidents were exempt under a conscience clause. They could determine whether attendance should be or should not be compulsory. Mr. Forster at first wished that the School Boards should be appointed by Vestries and Town-Councils; but in the end they became popular bodies elected by the ratepayers through the ballot and the cumulative vote. Again, instead of the local grant to the denominational schools, there was substituted an increase of the Parliamentary grant; but a time-table conscience clause was introduced, limiting the teaching of religion to certain fixed hours. This clause also obtained in the Board schools, and in them no catechism or distinctive formula was to be used. The age for compulsory attendance was finally extended by one year—from five to thirteen, instead of from five to twelve. Any description of the heated debates in the House of Commons, or of the storm that raged during the following years around the 25th Clause, whereby poor parents, unable to pay their children's school-fees, were allowed a liberty of choice between secular and denominational schools, would be out of place in a general sketch. We may note, however, that Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 strengthened the machinery of compulsion.

though hardly to the extent that seemed desirable, by establishing industrial schools, to which "wastrels" or neglected children under ten years of age could be committed on the order of a magistrate, and enabled Town Councils and Boards of Guardians to appoint Attendance Committees without requiring them to elect a School Board.

Mr. Forster fulfilled his undertaking to cover the country with "cheap and good schools." The Scottish Education Bill introduced by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Young, in 1872, and amended in 1878 and 1883, went a long step farther. It embraced not only the parish schools, but the grammar schools, and, the religious difficulty being happily non-existent, owing to the prevalence of the Presbyterian form of faith, School Boards became universal. They possessed powers of compelling attendance, and could superintend religious instruction subject to a conscience clause, without any limitations upon catechism or formula. Further, the system of payment by results was adopted in deciding the amount of the grant which, at first administered by the Education Board, was afterwards placed in the hands of the Scottish Education Department of the Privy Council. It may be mentioned that the lowering of the educational standard, which many apprehended, did not ensue; on the contrary, an increasing number of children obtained certificates for proficiency in the classics and more abstruse branches of mathematics.

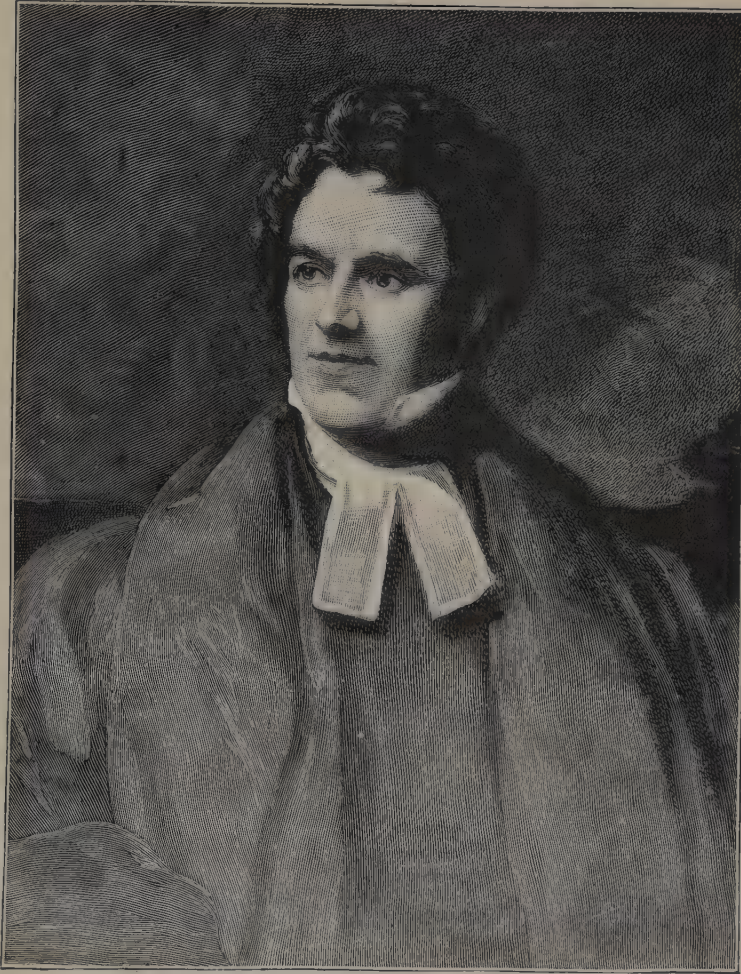
The cost of these reforms was considerable, and would have struck the earlier generation with absolute dismay. The annual grant, which at the beginning of the reign was £20,000, and only £750,000 when the Newcastle Commission presented its report, had risen at the beginning of 1887 to £2,860,000 for England, £420,000 for Scotland, and £850,000 for Ireland. Again, the rates, which Mr. Forster had hoped to keep at 3d. in the pound or under, had risen to 6½d. for England and Wales, and over 8d. for London. Together with endowments, voluntary subscriptions, and school-pence, they produced nearly £4,000,000 in England, nearly £600,000 in Scotland, and £84,000 in Ireland. On the other hand, the accommodation provided had increased enormously, and so had the attendances. In 1860 the State assisted in the education of only 920,000 English children out of 2,170,000, and 200,000 out of 500,000 Scots. In 1887 the number that could be taught in England and Wales had risen to 5,145,000 out of 5,470,000, and the average attendance was 3,438,000. In Scotland the figures were: number of children

732,500, number that could be accommodated 691,000, and average attendance nearly 477,000. The average attendance in Ireland was about 490,000 out of 1,000,000. The number of certificated teachers in England, which Mr. Forster placed at 12,400 in 1870, had risen to over 89,000 in 1887, and 19,022 schools were under inspection. In Scotland there were nearly 11,400 teachers, and 3,092 schools under inspection. The numbers of Board and voluntary schools in England and Wales were:—Board Schools 4,024, and of the others, 11,797 were Church of England, 554 Wesleyan, 882 Roman Catholic, 1,387 British, undenominational, and miscellaneous. In Scotland there were 2,569 public schools, 96 Church of Scotland, and 154 Roman Catholic. The number of schools administered by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland was 7,752.

Materialists would possibly maintain that the marked decrease of pauperism and crime during the reign was caused not so much by the spread of education as by cheaper food and higher wages. The problem hardly admits of solution with any approach to mathematical accuracy; since other considerations must obtrude themselves, such as the effects of a humaner code and less severe treatment of prisoners and convicts, besides the influence of prohibitory legislation on the sale of intoxicants. Whatever the real explanation may be, such a thoroughly satisfactory improvement in the criminal statistics is a matter for congratulation. With regard to crime we find that the number of persons committed for trial in England and Wales for 1842 was 31,309, of whom 22,733 were convicted. The totals continued to rise until 1855, when the Criminal Justice Act authorised magistrates to pass sentences for short periods. The Summary Jurisdiction Act of 1879 and the various statutes affecting juvenile crime were also of great benefit in emptying the gaols. By 1868 the number of persons convicted had sunk to 11,487, and in 1887 it was only 10,338 out of 13,292 persons committed for trial, though, as we have already shown, the population had multiplied enormously. The Scots and Irish statistics were equally healthy, though perhaps more stationary. In 1887 the number of persons committed for trial in Scotland was 2,319, and the number of convictions 1,809, against the 2,273 of ten years earlier. Similarly, Ireland could show that, whereas in 1878, 4,183 persons were committed for trial and 2,293 convicted, there were ten years later only 2,694 persons in the first category, and 1,411 in

the second. There could be no doubt that the Royal Commissioners who reported on Reformatory and Industrial schools in 1882 were right when they ascribed to those admirable institutions a salutary effect in reducing the amount both of juvenile and adult crime. They were chiefly the

had extended the period during which vagrants might be detained in the wards. At the beginning of the reign the pauper population on a given day cannot be stated with certainty, since 799 parishes with a population of over 2,000,000 had not been brought under the Act, and the Irish Act



DR. ARNOLD OF RUGBY. (*After the Portrait by J. Phillip, R.A.*)

creations of the Victorian era, the Act of 1866 being the starting-point for their establishment in England, and that of two years later for Ireland.

Closely connected with criminal statistics are those of pauperism, which also made a creditable show, though the cost of relief increased, owing to more efficient administration and improved buildings, from £5 or £6 to over £10 per pauper in England, and £12 in Ireland. On the other hand the figures, particularly for adult and able-bodied paupers, showed a constant falling-off, more especially after the Casual Poor Act of 1862

was not passed until 1838. However, the English total for 1840 can be roughly calculated at 1,199,000 (indoor 169,000, outdoor 1,030,000). In 1850 the returns gave in England 921,000, in Scotland 79,000, and in Ireland 308,000; in 1870 1,079,000 English, 126,000 Scots, and 74,000 Irish. In 1887 the figures were for England and Wales 817,289 (adult and able-bodied 110,229, others 707,060); for Scotland 92,071 (paupers 58,683, dependents 33,388), and for Ireland 113,241 (including asylums), of whom 47,390 were indoor paupers and 65,015 outdoor.

Intermediate education remained during the period exempt from State supervision, and in the hands of private enterprise. Hence there was a lack of organisation, and of the gradation of teaching, while many endowments that might have been devoted to practical purposes were for a long time hampered by obsolete restrictions. The Governments displayed great activity in inquiry, and various Commissions sat and reported, but little action was taken thereupon. We start with the Charity Commissioners' Report of 1842, which dealt with 705 grammar-schools, and 2,200 described as non-classical. It did little more than enumerate, and the Clarendon Commission of 1862, while dealing incidentally with the grammar schools, investigated really the eleven great public schools—Winchester, Eton, Westminster, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Shrewsbury, Merchant Taylors', Marlborough and Wellington. Upon them action was taken, as we shall presently show, but the lower classes had to be overhauled afresh by the schools Inquiry Commission of 1865, which made a searching investigation not only into endowed establishments but into those of private venture. It revealed an unsatisfactory state of affairs with regard to accommodation in general, a low standard of efficiency in third grade and proprietary schools, and a want of method about the secondary. The result was the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, which dealt with the endowments of various schools having a gross income of £592,000. Its pioneer, Mr. Forster, made a serious, and partially successful effort, to reorganise the grammar schools and other middle-class institutions, so as to make them a link between the primary education of the poor and the Universities. His reward was the revival of many ancient grammar schools like that of Tiverton, which seemed on the point of extinction, and the marked increase of University scholars, first-class men, and wranglers hailing from Derby Grammar School, Manchester Grammar School and similar foundations. But proprietary undertakings remained untouched, and while the more expensive sort found stimulus in the scholarships to be gained at the great public schools, and by the increased difficulty in gaining admittance at all, those devoted to lower middle-class education remained inadequate, because exempt from any general system of inspection. To a certain extent the College of Preceptors, established in 1854, the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, instituted in 1858, supplied this want. Again, there were at the close of the period no less than 2,000

schools in connection with the Government Science and Art Department, while the University Extension lecturers gave admirable instruction upon history and general subjects. Similarly, few large towns were without their high schools for girls, in which the teaching was of a very different order from that administered at the Misses Pinkertons' immortalised by Thackeray. At the same time the small tradesman's son continued, in many parts of England, at a loss for opportunity of acquiring sound knowledge at a fair price. More particularly was this the case in technical subjects, for which, however, provision was made in London through the generosity of the City Guilds.

In Scotland intermediate education was also hampered by the application of endowments to purposes which had ceased to exist. Nevertheless, the Commission of Inquiry of 1872 was followed by the appointment of an Executive Commission, which remodelled such charities as consented to come under its supervision. But little of the annual income of £170,000 was affected by this voluntary surrender, and in 1882 Mr. Gladstone's Government armed a Commission with more valid powers, and thus secured a considerable application of means to ends. Still, much remained to be done, and it was found that some of the old establishments yet lagged behind the times. On the other hand, newer foundations, such as Trinity College, Glenalmond, and Fettes College, Edinburgh, were equipped with a teaching body equal to that of the English public schools. In Ireland middle-class education continued chaotic until Lord Cairns' Act of 1878 devoted to that purpose £1,000,000 of the Irish Church surplus, and established an examining board under a Commission. Though the wide range of subjects was thought to encourage "cram," an average of over 5,000 pupils yearly presented themselves for examination.

With the so-called "nine great public schools" of England, and their younger rivals, Marlborough and Wellington, may be associated institutions like Uppingham, Repton, Haileybury, Rossall, Cheltenham, Repton and Clifton. The eleven schools were subjected to Parliamentary legislation in 1868, after the Clarendon Commission had reported, but the Act merely regulated endowments, appointed governing bodies, and removed restrictions. It did not attempt to deal with the subjects of study, nor management. On the whole this moderation was well-advised, since excessive discipline expired with Dr. Keate of Eton; and Dr. Arnold of Rugby, before his death in 1842, taught the great lesson of mutual confidence

between masters and boys, and established the sixth form as a small *imperium in imperio*. The purely classical character of the education was liberalised when the professions became affected by the competitive examination system, through the introduction of modern languages, history and even science. Most schools established a "modern side" or special classes, which prepared for the army and civil services.

In no direction was the educational activity of the Victorian era more manifest than in the founding of institutions which may be classed as Universities and University Colleges for the final courses of instruction. University College, London, had been opened in 1828, nearly ten years before Queen Victoria's accession, as a non-sectarian body, with a professorial staff that taught the arts, law, and medicine. In the same year King's College, London, received its charter of incorporation, in order to supply instruction according to the principles of the Church of England. The determination of the former association to apply for powers to grant degrees in subjects other than theology, led to fierce opposition on the part of the old Universities and the Royal College of Surgeons, and when its leading spirit, Lord Brougham, asked Mr. Bethell, the counsel for its antagonists, what was to stop University College from taking the proposed step, he received the crushing reply, "The opinion of the civilised world." Nevertheless, the enthusiasts persevered, and in 1835 an address to the Crown, embodying their proposals, passed through the House of Commons. The Whig Government, however, were influenced by Bishop Blomfield's exertions on behalf of King's College, and resolved to remodel the plan. It was decided that the authority to confer degrees should be reposed in an entirely new corporation, which became known as the University of London, and to which University College, King's, and other colleges were affiliated. Thus London University, which received its charter on the 28th of November, 1836—on which day also University College was incorporated—remained a purely examining centre, without professorial staff, and in the first instance it could only confer degrees upon students who had been educated at the daughter colleges. Hence those who presented themselves for examination were few, indeed in 1858 the number of matriculations was under 300. In that year an important step was taken in the abolition of these inconvenient restrictions, though candidates in medicine were still required to have studied at some accepted school. Moreover, in the year

1883 women were admitted both to examinations and degrees, the University having countenanced the movement for the higher education of that sex ever since its inception, about the year 1869. Hence in 1887 those presenting themselves for matriculation numbered over 2,000, 192 B.A. degrees were granted and 10 M.D. degrees. From the first Burlington House, which became the local habitation of the University, set considerably severer tests than the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge for its matriculation, and made the M.A. degree a matter not of the mere payment of fees, but of passing a very stiff examination. Hence it exercised considerable influence upon intermediate education, more especially as the matriculation certificate alone was recognised by the Incorporated Law Society, and other professional institutions, as exempting from certain preliminary examinations. At the same time a University which existed only to confer degrees was regarded as something of an anomaly, and in 1887 the idea of making it a teaching institution as well began to take shape.

Meanwhile, another great University had arisen in the North of England. On the 12th of March, 1851, the Owens College was founded at Manchester, through the generosity of Mr. John Owens, a merchant of that city, who bequeathed property valued at £100,000 for its endowment. The idea was to afford an education equal to that obtainable at Oxford and Cambridge to young men who were unable to resort to those seats of learning through want of means. It met with little encouragement at first, its detractors asserting that a good school would fully meet the requirements of Cottonopolis. However, the authorities adhered to the benefactor's wishes, and the institution, which was purely unsectarian in character, rapidly became popular. The citizens of Manchester readily responded to appeals for subscriptions, and new buildings, including an admirably appointed medical school, were opened in 1873. By this time Owens College had ceased to be a private venture, and a new departure was made in July, 1877, when a memorial was presented to the Privy Council praying that the rank and style of the University of Manchester might be bestowed on the institution. However, the Yorkshire College, Leeds, took strong umbrage at the priority thus given to Lancashire, and the neutral name of Victoria was given to the University, though Owens College still remained its headquarters. With it were associated the Yorkshire College, Leeds, and University College,

Liverpool, and arrangements were made for the future federation of other institutions possessing sufficient merit. Thus it was hoped that the Firth College, Sheffield, and the Mason College, Birmingham, would eventually come within the scheme. Under its charter, dated April 20th, 1880, the University was constituted at once an examining and teaching corporation; and its national character was emphasised by the appointment of certain

degrees at London, Edinburgh, Dublin and Glasgow, but somehow they hardly seemed in the full current of prosperity, the number of students at Cardiff in 1887 being 140, and at Bangor 102, there being a resident hall for ladies at the latter establishment. Another institution which appeared to have missed its mark was the University of Durham, which dates from 1831, just before the commencement of the Victorian era.



LONDON UNIVERSITY, BURLINGTON HOUSE.

members of the governing body by the Crown. As for the teaching of Owens College, it was wisely concerned less with the classics than with medicine, science, and economics, and the names of Sir Henry Roscoe and W. S. Jevons will always be associated with its brilliant beginnings.

Wales possessed no University of its own, St. David's College, Lampeter, founded in 1822, being mainly a theological seminary for the Church of England, and Aberystwith College, dating from 1872, being chiefly supported by Nonconformists. Towards the end of the period the University College of South Wales was founded at Cardiff in 1883, and that of North Wales in 1885. Undergraduates at these colleges were admitted to

It was closely modelled upon Oxford and Cambridge, and placed on intimate relations with the Cathedral, the dean and chapter being governors. Unfortunately there was not room for so ecclesiastical an institution in the extreme north of England, and though University College, founded in 1837, was succeeded by Bishop Hatfield's Hall in 1846, and by Bishop Cosin's Hall in 1851, the last was afterwards abolished, and in 1887 the students did not number much above 200. At the same time the University had done its best for education by founding an excellent School of Medicine in 1865, and this was followed by the establishment of a College of Science at Newcastle. Also the important Newcastle Medical School,

dating from 1832, was early affiliated to Durham. Still the vigour of these offshoots hardly received much support from the parent stem, and if Durham was happy its annals were certainly dull.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, on the other hand, were torn by fierce conflicts, both educational and doctrinal. Perhaps the Tractarian movement will be better treated when we come to religion; at the same time its influences on Oxford learning were considerable, particularly on the studies of ecclesiastical and secular history. As we shall show, it was in full operation by the beginning of the reign, and Oriel and Balliol, its headquarters, were also the colleges which, having thrown open their fellowships to competition, possessed the most illustrious set of resident M.A.'s. But though—to use the language of the Commissioners appointed in 1850—"the studies of the University had been raised from their abject state by the statute passed in 1800" and afterwards modified, there could be no doubt that the undergraduates acquired very little knowledge in 1837. The methods of examination had indeed been reformed for the better; thus the honours list had been instituted, and afterwards divided into three classes, written papers had been substituted for oral questions, mathematics relegated to a separate school, and *Literæ Humaniores* made to include the Greek and Latin languages, philosophy and ancient history. Again, the old scholastic exercise of Responsions had been replaced by an elementary examination, bearing the same name, which prevented the freshman's year from being passed in absolute idleness. But it was not until 1850 that the intermediate examination known as Moderations was instituted, and the honours Schools of Natural Science and Law and Modern History added. The last was divided into the two Schools of Jurisprudence and Modern History in 1872, and the School of Theology was founded two years previously.

The statute of 1850 did not save the University from a most searching investigation by the Royal Commission appointed in that year, though the authorities did their best to thwart the inquiry, and many of that body's recommendations were carried out by the Act of 1854. In the first place the Hebdomadal Board, consisting of the Heads of Colleges and the two proctors, which had the sole power of originating legislation, was replaced by an elective Council, in which sat the Heads of Colleges, the professors, and resident M.A.'s. Further, a new Congregation was created, embracing all resident members of Convocation, to act as a deliberative

assembly, and the necessity of speaking in Latin was abolished. The Commission having reported that the small number of matriculations—barely 300 a year—was due to the provision that students must reside in a college or hall, the old institution of private halls was revived, but it hardly exercised much influence. Again, professorial teaching, which had practically become extinct, was re-endowed, through contributions from the colleges, though these gifts being voluntary they were not particularly extensive. The holders of fellowships were to a certain extent emancipated from the obligation of taking orders in the Church of England, and scholarships were largely augmented both in number and value, while in both cases the principle of open competition was admitted. Further, a mass of obsolete oaths was abolished, and no religious test was necessary any longer, either for matriculation or the B.A. degree, though Nonconformists still remained debarred from the M.A. and from election to fellowships.

Similar legislation followed for Cambridge in 1856, but as that University had been apter to move with the times, less had to be done in the way of correcting abuses. Indeed the complaisant tone of the contemporary Cambridge Commission contrasted most forcibly with the caustic comments of the Oxford body. The worst feature in the Cambridge system was the indifferent character of the college tuition, which obliged everyone who desired to take a high degree to have recourse to a "coach." But the Mathematical Tripos had been a stern reality ever since the middle of the eighteenth century, and the Classical Tripos had existed since 1825. On the other hand, if clever young men had a better chance of distinction there, the pass degree for the ordinary B.A. required, if possible, less effort than at Oxford. Still the restrictions upon merit were, on the whole, less galling than at the older University; scholarships were by no means confined to the pupils of certain schools, and the natives of certain counties; and fellowships were less of a close borough through the absence of the clerical regulations. The recommendations of the Commission proceeded on much the same lines as those of the Oxford body, except that they embraced also the establishment of a medical school which produced many an expert in physics, chemistry, and elementary biology. Oxford retaliated by founding a museum, equipped with an admirable laboratory and scientific apparatus.

The next leading date in the history of the Universities is the year 1871, when, after an acrimonious struggle, religious tests, already reduced,

were entirely abolished. It is worth noticing that the movement which secured this reform emanated from the Universities themselves, Cambridge taking the lead with a petition presented in 1862. Meanwhile private liberality had been greatly benefiting the various colleges, which were, accordingly, able to increase their accommodation by erecting new buildings, particularly at Oxford. Keble College, incorporated in 1870, was erected in memory of the Rev. John Keble of Hursley, and four years later Magdalen Hall was refounded, under its original name of Hertford College, with a large endowment, provided by Mr. T. C. Baring. Cambridge followed suit in 1882, when Selwyn College was founded, on the model of Keble, in memory of Bishop Selwyn. Further, both Universities had opened their doors to non-collegiate students—Oxford in 1868, and Cambridge in the year following. The “unattached” were of course shut out from many of the pleasures of undergraduate existence; still, they could live far more inexpensively than at most colleges and had every means of instruction. At Oxford their numbers rose so high as 284 in the year 1880, but as some of the smaller colleges became cheaper, they declined again. If we remember also that the Professoriate at both Universities had now become of world-wide fame, that scholarship and science had shown every sign of revival, and that even college tuition had become less farcical than formerly, the conclusion follows that great things had been accomplished at both seats of learning since the State had last attempted to regulate their internal affairs.

Nevertheless Government again determined to institute a Commission of Inquiry, particularly into the revenues and academical properties. It was created in 1872, with the Duke of Cleveland as president, and embraced both Universities, its powers being strictly limited to investigation, and not recommendation. Nevertheless, its facts formed useful preliminaries to important legislation which, first introduced as separate measures in 1876, became a joint Bill in 1877. Its central idea was the necessity of making larger provision out of college revenues for University purposes, and particularly for the encouragement of natural science. Accordingly two executive Commissions were formed, and armed with large powers of legislation, while the colleges were given a voice in the new statutes, by means of chosen representatives, who, however, were not allowed to thwart the inquiry. The commissions performed their

task thoroughly, if slowly, and framed entirely new sets of ordinances both for the Universities and colleges. The latter were compelled to endow new professorships, readerships, and lectureships, and the duties of these dignitaries were strictly regulated. At the same time, as many of them taught subjects which were not included in the University curriculum, and attendance was not obligatory, it may be questioned how far the professorial ideal was attained, though the endowment of research was undoubtedly furthered. Again, University lecturing was organised under Boards of Faculties, which arranged joint-lectures for the members of certain colleges. The system of fellowships was entirely remodelled; official fellowships implying tutorial work, or the holding of some office as bursarship, being separated from the sinecure appointments, which were tenable for seven years only. Moreover, several colleges were allowed to bestow fellowships on persons distinguished in literature or science, even if they were unconnected with the Universities. Lastly, the restriction of celibacy was abolished, and, except in a very few instances, that of clericalism also. In 1887 the students numbered at Oxford 3,069, and at Cambridge 2,979, and proved that either *alma mater* was popular with the aristocracy and professional classes. The colleges for women, particularly Girton and Newnham at Cambridge, were in a flourishing condition, and the foundation of Mansfield College at Oxford in 1886, as a Nonconformist establishment in the very centre of the Church of England influences, was significant of many things.

The Scottish Universities aimed at a far more popular and undenominational education than the English. In fact they approached far more nearly to the mediæval and Continental ideals of seats of learning open to all classes of the community. Their professors were of world-wide reputation, and the Medical School of Edinburgh had attained to a high level of scientific and practical teaching. At the same time the Royal Commission, which reported in 1831, pointed out considerable defects in the general system. The public lectures were excellent, but they were arranged on no definite plan, and degrees were seldom sought, a certificate of attendance being regarded as a sufficient credential. Not only were the courses of study defective, but hardly any stimulus to learning existed in the shape of scholarships and fellowships. Moreover, the governing bodies of the Universities, composed of the principals and professors, except at Edinburgh,

mismanaged the revenues through their unbusinesslike habits. A Bill, founded on the Commission's recommendations, was introduced in 1837, but was withdrawn, owing to the opposition of the General Assembly. Twenty years were to pass before Parliament was again free to deal with the question, and meanwhile the Senate of Edinburgh University was in frequent collision with the Town Council, which body acted, under the charter, as patrons and guardians. Sir William Hamilton also strongly resented the Town Council's interference, and in 1838 it retaliated by putting a stop to his course in metaphysics. On the other hand, the Council sometimes appointed professors of ability, who would have been rejected by the Senate because they did not belong to the Established Church, and the disruption of 1843 gave a great impetus to the desire for the abolition of tests, and to other principles of University reform.

The Act of 1858, introduced by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Inglis, effected some sweeping changes, more particularly in the constitutions of the Universities. The principals and the professors were to remain a *Senatus Academicus*, but a University Court was established, consisting of a Rector, the Principal, and a certain number of assessors, "to control the administration of University property and revenues; regulate and alter from time to time the course of studies, and generally supervise." Also councils were formed from the graduates of each University with the right to a certain share in the administration, and the power to elect the Chancellor. The Rector was to be elected by the students, who in the case of Glasgow and Aberdeen were divided into nations. Thus each University was reconstituted upon a basis of popular autonomy, and at Aberdeen the two Universities of King's College and Marischal College were amalgamated. The Professors' stipends were increased by a Parliamentary grant, and new chairs were created; the total sum devoted to these purposes being £10,000. Private liberality soon supplemented this State benefaction, and in twenty years over £140,000 was bequeathed for the establishment of scholarships at Edinburgh alone, including the munificent Vans Dunlop bequest, and the noble medical school had been founded. Meanwhile, an executive Commission, which sat from 1858 to 1862, had been framing ordinances for the regulation of studies, and the establishment of degree systems. It displayed a remarkable aptitude for this difficult task, and preserved the democratic character of the Universities, while giving definition to their aims.

The courses of study were divided into three departments in the faculty of arts, namely, classics, mathematics including natural philosophy, and mental science together with English literature. The B.A. degree was abolished in this faculty, after an existence of but fifteen years, and the old M.A. of the Scottish Universities alone remained. In the faculty of medicine, for the single degree of Doctor of Medicine, were instituted three classes, namely, the Bachelor of Medicine, Master in Surgery, and Doctor of Medicine, and later all M.D.'s were required to present a thesis on "some branch of medical knowledge which he might have made a subject of study," since graduating as M.B. In the faculty of law the degree of LL.B. was conferred on those who had passed their M.A., with the degree of B.L. as a minor honour. The influence of these changes was promptly seen in the increased number of students and of recipients of degrees. Thus in 1834-35 the number of students at Edinburgh was 1,624. It had dropped in 1868, owing to the foundation of University College, London, and other institutions, to 1,575, but in 1887 it had risen to 3,556. The figures for the other Universities in 1887 were: Glasgow, 2,187; Aberdeen, 850; and St. Andrews, 217; while the University College of Dundee had 232 pupils. At the same time, though Edinburgh University established a degree in Divinity in 1864, and degrees in science very shortly afterwards, certain defects remained, notably in the arts faculties. A Royal Commission was appointed to report upon the constitutions of the Universities of Scotland in 1876, but at the end of the period no legislation had been attempted.

In Ireland, Dublin University, which practically meant Trinity College, maintained a high level of learning, particularly in moral science; but it was frequented by the sons of the Protestant minority, and religious tests debarred Catholics from degrees. As we have already dealt at some length with the efforts to reform Irish University education while narrating Mr. Gladstone's failure in 1873, a bare summary must suffice in this place. The first great attempt was Sir Robert Peel's, who in 1850 established the Queen's University, with a central seat at Dublin and with affiliated colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway. But the "godlessness" against which Sir Robert Inglis thundered in the House of Commons alienated the Catholics, and though the students at Belfast came to number 400, the other two colleges were indifferently successful; nor did a greater measure of

prosperity attend the Catholic University, which was hastily erected, as a body more or less independent of the State, in 1850. Mr. Gladstone's plan of amalgamation in 1873 was built upon statesmanlike lines, but it broke down over the religious

superficiality was fostered thereby, and, whether or no the charge was just, the creation could hardly be considered a final settlement of the difficulty.

The dependencies more than kept pace with the



THE UNIVERSITY, EDINBURGH. (From a Photograph by A. A. Inglis.)

difficulty. At last Mr. Fawcett was able to carry a measure abolishing religious tests in Dublin University, and as that body proceeded to relax the conditions of residence, the number of students steadily rose, until in 1887 it totalled 1,258. Also in 1880 the Queen's University was superseded by the Royal University, an examining body established on the model of London University and furnished with some endowed fellowships. Its critics maintained that a system of "cram" and

mother-country in their zeal for education. In India the Government had committed itself to the principle of "Occidentalism" as expounded in Macaulay's famous Minute, and had declared that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed in English education alone." This principle, the absolute

wisdom of which has been questioned by great authorities like Sir Henry Maine, became the bases of the higher education, as inculcated by the three Universities of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, which were incorporated by Acts of the Government of India in 1857, though the later University of the Punjab, incorporated in 1883, aimed at the promotion of Oriental learning. These institutions granted degrees in arts, law, medicine, and civil engineering, and in 1887 their matriculations numbered 1,070 at Calcutta, 1,895 at Madras, and 837 at Bombay. The 109 colleges, of which Allahabad was the best known, taught nearly 11,000 pupils, and the high and middle schools some 400,000 more. Primary education was represented by schools scattered over the country with some 2,500,000 scholars in all. The Government grants had risen from £10,000, to £2,020,000, but even so the untaught vastly outnumbered the taught. Accordingly, a Commission, appointed in 1883, recommended that more attention should be paid to the vernacular schools, especially among the more primitive tribes, and provisions were rapidly being made to carry out that advice.

Of the self-governing colonies Canada could boast a University to nearly every province, with some 2,000 students in all. These bodies granted degrees, and the University of Toronto, founded in 1849, admitted women to its privileges. Of its rivals the best known were the Catholic University of Quebec, the University of Montreal, which was undenominational, and the affiliated body McGill College, which dated from 1821. These institutions were freely aided by the Provincial Governments, and the disbursement for primary and intermediate education was even more lavish. The common or public schools were free, except in Quebec, where a low fee was charged; and compulsory except in New Brunswick; while, under the British North American Act of 1867, careful provision was made for religious minorities. In 1887 the Government grants for public and high schools were 2,000,000 dollars, and the total expenditure 6,000,000 dollars with the excellent results that 840,000 pupils attended the former, and 950,000 the latter. In Australasia primary education was free in Victoria, Queensland, and New Zealand, and, practically speaking, secular; in New South Wales, South Australia, and Tasmania, fees were charged, and in West Australia the State aided denominational schools. Thus there was considerable difference of system in the various colonies, and whereas in New South Wales the State assisted secondary education, in

Victoria and elsewhere it was mainly supported by local effort, the working classes preferring that scholarships should be given instead to pupils from the elementary schools. The figures for 1887 were: in New South Wales 186,000 scholars, supported by a Government grant of £640,000; in New Zealand the grant was £480,000, and the number of scholars 105,000; in Queensland the average attendance was 32,250, and the cost to the colony £161,700; and in Victoria the cost of instruction was £586,000, and the number of children on the roll 230,000, of whom 52 per cent. attended. Every colony had a University, with the exception of Tasmania and West Australia, and the systems were mostly modelled on the Scottish Universities, with a high matriculation standard, but somewhat low level for honours. Melbourne University, founded in 1853 and incorporated by charter in 1859, and Sydney, established in 1858, were magnificently endowed and supported by large public grants. In New Zealand the University, founded in 1870, was an examining body merely, with three affiliated colleges, namely, Otago University at Dunedin, Canterbury College at Christchurch, and University College at Auckland. Similarly, the University at the Cape, incorporated by charter in 1873, had no teaching institutions attached, while higher education was represented by State-aided colleges like the South African at Cape Town, and the Stellenbosch for the Dutch. The primary schools for whites established on Sir John Herschel's advice after his return from the Cape in 1838, were not compulsory, but they held some 27,000 pupils in 1887, and Sir George Grey's governorship (1854-61) witnessed the establishment of schools for the natives, of whom 48,000 attended at the close of the period. It is unnecessary to give statistics for each of the minor colonies; enough that stagnation was nowhere to be found, and that in some settlements remarkable progress was accomplished.

The history of religion in England reflects during the fifty years so many various tendencies, that their classification becomes no easy matter. With regard to the Established Church, the Evangelical doctrines, of which Simeon was the most famous exponent—he died in 1836—were a powerful, if not absolutely dominant force when Queen Victoria ascended the throne. Cambridge was the chief centre of that school, and Oxford had produced three notable Broad Churchmen in Archbishop Whately, Dr. Arnold, and Dr. Hampden. Latitudinarian influence, however, was considerably discounted by the strong opposition which

had arisen to the appointment of the last-named as Regius Professor of Divinity, and already the University was becoming the home of a more vital agency in the famous Oxford movement. For the original cause of this departure we must seek elsewhere than at the seat of learning on the Isis. It arose from a strong reaction against the Church's prevalent lethargy, the perfunctory character of her services, and the general absence of development. This view obtained chiefly in the metropolis, and Bishop Blomfield, who had been appointed to the see in 1828, gave it a practical turn by his energy in building new churches. Oxford, however, invested the revival with a doctrinal and historical significance when Newman, Pusey and Keble, reinforced by the erratic genius of Hurrell Froude, combined to write the "Tracts for the Times." A zeal for antiquity had taken possession of literature and art, as the labours of the elder Pugin bore witness, and the Tractarians accordingly set themselves to prove that the Church of England was descended not from the Reformation, but by Apostolical Succession, and that upon this great doctrine all the others depended. This return to primitive Christianity was unquestionably calculated to attract public attention, and Tractarianism was winning adherents in all directions, until its opponents hit upon the damaging charge that its practices resembled those of the Church of Rome. In reply there appeared in 1841 the famous Tract No. XC., in which Newman set himself to prove that the Articles did not condemn any Catholic doctrines, as they were believed by the earlier Christians, but only the later accretions of Romanism. It was promptly condemned by the Hebdomadal Council at Oxford. In 1843 Dr. Pusey was suspended from preaching before the University for three years for his sermon on "The Holy Communion a Comfort to the Penitent"; and in 1845 W. G. Ward was deprived of his degree for his "Ideal of a Christian Church," in which he claimed a right to hold "the whole cycle of Roman doctrine," while remaining a member of the Establishment. Finally, the Oxford movement was divided in two, Dr. Pusey, Keble, and Dean Hook remaining to lead the Anglican or High Church party, while Oakley, Ward, Newman and Faber went over in rapid succession to Rome. These important defections shook the Church to its foundations, though in other respects it had been greatly strengthened by Parliament, which passed the Pluralities Act in 1838, and the Tithes Commutation Act in 1850.

Meanwhile Evangelicalism, thanks to the

success of its missionary societies, and the earnest personality of Lord Shaftesbury, was rapidly coming to the front again, and in consequence it fell under the ban of that fiery cleric, Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter. By refusing in 1849 to institute to a living a certain Mr. Gorham, who held Low Church views on baptismal regeneration, he brought matters to a crisis, and the pronouncement of judgment against him by the Privy Council was followed by a further stampede to Rome. Nevertheless, Pius IX.'s re-establishment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy was a premature step, though clumsily met by Lord John Russell's Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, and under the influence of alarm Churchmen proceeded to compose their differences for awhile. However, the appearance of "Essays and Reviews" in 1856, with Dr. Temple, afterwards Bishop of London, as one of the joint authors, aroused a perfect storm of censure against Latitudinarianism. But the Privy Council having given judgment in favour of two of the most pronounced essayists, namely Mr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson, toleration became possible for the Broad Church party. All the same, that virtue was hardly extended to the publication of Bishop Colenso of Natal's work on the Pentateuch in 1863, with its free-spoken criticism of the earlier parts of the Bible, and more particularly of the story of the Deluge. Dr. Gray, Bishop of Capetown, his Metropolitan, passed sentence of deprivation and then of excommunication against him, and the step was approved by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, and by a large majority of bishops assembled at the first Lambeth Conference, which had been summoned at the instance of Dr. Tait, then Bishop of London, in the hope that good might grow out of evil. However, the Privy Council, before which the case came on appeal, pronounced Dr. Gray's proceedings to be legally invalid, and Colenso occupied the see until his death in 1883. He represented the somewhat crude extreme of Latitudinarianism, and Dean Stanley, who died in 1881, its more cultured side. Among the Broad Church party towards the close of the period were unquestionably men of great ability, who proved worthy successors of its earlier leaders, like Robertson of Brighton, who died in 1853, and F. D. Maurice, who died in 1872. At the same time the school's influence was perceptibly on the decline, and the abandonment of orthodox views by celebrated preachers like the Rev. Charles Voysey and the Rev. Stopford Brooke naturally caused alarm among their followers. Nor could

Evangelicalism be said to be holding its own, in spite of the large number of Low Church bishops that had been recommended by Lord Palmerston under the influence of Lord Shaftesbury, and the popularity of preachers like Dr. Ryle, who in 1880 was appointed Bishop to the newly-erected see of Liverpool. It ran counter to the tendency of the day, and displayed a certain want of elasticity in its organisation. At the same time it continued to supply a large majority of the foreign missionaries, and it had permeated the whole Church with the spirit of self-sacrifice and of unswerving endeavour.

The fierce controversies that raged around "Essays and Reviews," and Dr. Colenso's writings, effectually distracted attention from the Ritualistic party when its numbers were few and its influence was small. That movement may be defined as the development of moderate Tractarianism from theory into practice. It was called "Puseyite" from its most conspicuous figure, but as a matter of fact Dr. Pusey had little sympathy with peculiarities of observance, and aimed rather at spiritual advance. Nevertheless, he advocated the practice of confession on occasion, and thereby caused the enemies of Ritualism to denounce him as a Romanist. Simultaneously, various London clergymen attempted to revive the past by the introduction of choral services, of the cross over the altar, and of the eastward position. Ritualism, in its essence a matter of outward signs, soon became invested with an inner significance, and the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, of St. Barnabas', Pimlico, raised a prodigious storm in 1850 by innovations which afterwards passed almost unnoticed. Relying upon a decision of the Privy Council, the Rev. Bryan King, of St. George's-in-the-East, proceeded to adopt vestments, lights on the altar, and choral celebrations. In consequence his church became the scene of most disgraceful riots, and Ritualism, gaining strength from persecution, became firmly established in St. Peter's, London Docks, by Father Lowder, and by the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie at St. Alban's, Holborn. The tactful statesmanship of Dr. Tait, first as Bishop of London and then as Archbishop of Canterbury, did much to reduce the acerbity of the conflict. Nevertheless, when both parties—the Ritualists organised as the English Church Union, and the Evangelicals as the Church Association—were in deadly earnest, an absolute compromise was impossible. Dean Stanley was sent to report upon Saint Alban's, Holborn, and in answer to Dr. Tait's question he replied, "Well, my lord, I saw

three men in green, and your lordship will find it hard to put these men down." The Ritual Commission, appointed in 1867, produced the New Lectionary Act, sanctioning the new table of lessons, and the measure commonly known as the Shortened Services Act. But it did not solve the vexed question of vestments, which became further confused by the conflicting judgments of the Privy Council. Nor could the Public Worship Regulation Act, introduced in 1874 by the Conservative Government, at the instance of Archbishop Tait, be considered as other than a somewhat dubious palliative, since it resulted in the imprisonment of various blameless clergymen, beginning with Mr. Tooth in 1877 and ending with Mr. Bell Cox in 1887, whose only crime was an excess of zeal. Fortunately the Ridsdale Judgment of 1877 effected a certain limitation of practice with which the more reasonable concurred, though extremists hinted at Disestablishment as the only remedy. But a more powerful factor in the allaying of dissension was the high character of the Ritualists themselves, and their remarkable influence over the poorest inhabitants of crowded cities, which appeared to most minds to compensate for a good deal of extravagance and hysteria. Dr. Benson, who succeeded Dr. Tait as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1882, was confronted by few of his predecessor's difficulties.

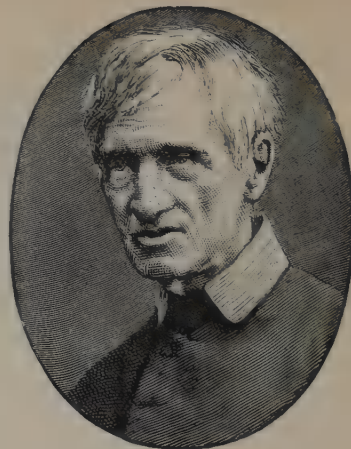
The ordinary Churchman who preferred simple orthodoxy to partisanship could point to a remarkable increase of general efficiency during the fifty years. The Lambeth Conference of 1867 was followed by two others in 1878 and 1888, and they all tended to strengthen the bonds between the mother-church and the daughter communities which increased during the reign from ten to sixty-three bishoprics. In England, the most important event was the revival of Convocation in 1852, after that the Gorham Judgment had shown the necessity of some representative assembly. That body was at first debarred from debating, but this power was granted in 1860, and five years later Convocation promulgated new canons which considerably relaxed the terms of subscription. A voluntary House of Laymen was convoked in the Southern Province in 1886, to be followed six years later by a similar body in the Northern, but neither assembly exercised much influence. Again, the annual Church Congresses dated from 1861, and the revival of diocesan synods and conferences began in 1871, unless indeed a somewhat irregular body convoked by Bishop Phillpotts twenty years previously can be styled a synod.



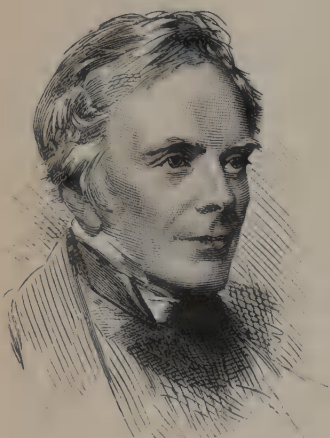
FREDERICK WILLIAM ROBERTSON.



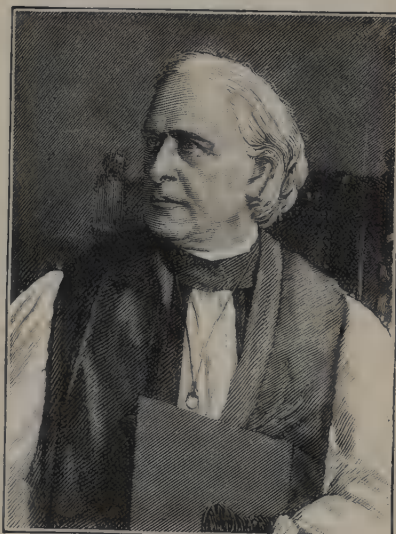
DR. PUSEY.
(From a Photograph by S. A. Walker.)



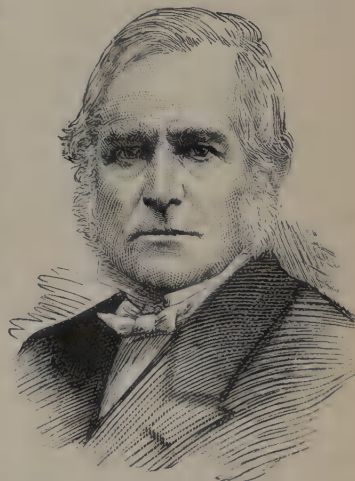
DR. (AFTERWARDS CARDINAL) NEWMAN.
(From a Photograph by H. J. Whitlock.)



JOHN KEBLE.
(After the Painting by G. Richmond, R.A.)



ARCHBISHOP BENSON.
(From a Photograph by Walery, Ltd.)



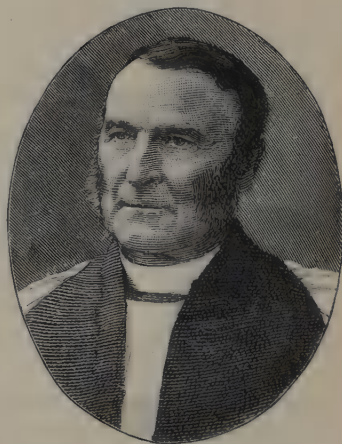
FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



BISHOP COLENSO.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



DEAN STANLEY.
(From a Photograph by S. A. Walker.)



BISHOP (AFTERWARDS ARCHBISHOP) TEMPLE
(From a Photo by London Stereoscopic Co.)

LEADERS OF THOUGHT IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

The dioceses, too, were increased by the foundation of the sees of Manchester in 1848, of St. Albans, and Truro in 1876, of Liverpool in 1880, of Newcastle in 1882, and of Southwell in 1884, and of Wakefield in 1887. Further, the number of the clergy rose during the fifty years from some 10,700, to nearly 14,000, and, according to the "Official Year-Book of the Church of England," the annual grants made by the Ecclesiastical Commission represented a capital sum of some £25,000,000, while the total of voluntary subscriptions for a single year was over £1,733,000. Most of the last-mentioned gifts went to church building and restoration, which formed a remarkable feature of the Anglican revival. In connection with this object special associations were established in nearly every diocese, of which the most important was the Bishop of London's Fund, established in 1863. The old societies, like the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, exhibited an unflagging energy, and were supplemented by institutions like the Additional Curates Society founded in the year of the Queen's accession. Again, every parish had its guild or workman's club, while the devoted labours of women were utilised, *e.g.* in the Devonport Sisterhood founded in 1845 and that of St. Peter's, Kilburn, established in 1861. With these signs of vitality on all sides, the opponents of the Church of England began to shift their ground towards the end of the period. When the Liberation Society was founded by Mr. Miall and others in 1844 its avowed object was general disestablishment. Latterly, however, its efforts were chiefly aimed at securing disestablishment and disendowment in Wales, where, despite much laudable endeavour to make up leeway, Nonconformity continued in a great majority owing to the Church's lethargy in the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

Turning to the religious communities outside the Church, we notice that their position had been greatly affected by the legislation of the reign. The gradual steps whereby they gained admittance to the Universities have already been dealt with, and it is unnecessary to do more than enumerate the abolition of the compulsory payment of church rates in 1868; the Burials Act of 1880, whereby interments were permitted in churchyards without the intervention of the clergyman, and the permissive substitution of affirmations for oaths in Courts of Justice. Thus all restrictions that could constitute social inferiority were fast disappearing,

and therewith the causes of political agitation. Hence the best minds among the Nonconformists devoted themselves rather to the cure of souls than to the promotion of secular objects, and spiritual activity prevailed in every denomination. Notably the Wesleyans, though divided into various branches, such as the Old and New Connexion, the Primitive and Free Church Methodists, and the Bible Christians, exhibited energy in all directions, especially in the establishment of training colleges. Most of these secessions, especially that of the New Connexion, occurred in the eighteenth century, but the Wesleyan Methodist Association, afterwards known as the Methodist Free Churches, was founded by Dr. Warren in the year 1836, and was a protest against the conservatism that animated the leading ministers and the wealthier laity. Under the wise direction of Dr. Jabez Bunting the Old Connexion averted further disruption until 1844, when a movement known as "the agitation" began, which took the form of anonymous pamphlets. Eventually the authors of these productions, chief of whom was James Everett, were expelled, and within the next few years 100,000 members left the Society, of whom some joined the Free Church Methodists, and others the New Connexion. The parent body, however, had recovered its strength by the year 1860, when it numbered some 300,000 souls. Warned by experience, it proceeded to carry out reforms, notably a more equal division of preaching talent among the circuits, together with the bestowal upon these bodies of the right to memorialise Conference, and the increased privileges of the laity who, after animated discussions, were admitted to Conference in 1876. Thenceforward the Old Connexion fared peacefully and prosperously enough, as the Thanksgiving Fund of 1879, with its total of nearly £300,000, bore witness. Among Dr. Bunting's most celebrated successors were Dr. Osborn, who carried on the more conservative traditions; Dr. Morley Punshon, whose death in 1881 was a serious loss to Methodism; Dr. Arthur, and Dr. Rigg, the sect's most talented administrator and controversialist. In 1887 the Old Connexion numbered some 460,000 in Great Britain alone, with over 2,200 ministers, 15,000 lay preachers, and 7,185 chapels, and its general sympathy with the other bodies was proved at the Ecumenical Methodist Conference of 1881. On that occasion the delegates from all parts of the world were reckoned to represent 5,000,000 members. At the close of the period the New Connexion numbered some 28,000, with 178

ministers, and 444 chapels; the Primitive Methodists, who were especially strong in the Midlands, 191,600, with 1,038 ministers and 4,300 chapels; and the Bible Christians, living chiefly in Cornwall, at 24,300. The United Methodist Free Churches, who had an able president in Mr. Bulmer, numbered over 66,600. In Wales the prevalent form of Methodism was Calvinistic, and an important step was taken in 1864, when the first General Assembly was held, and a union of the North and South Wales Associations effected. In constitution the body tended to adopt Presbyterian arrangements, and its general progress may be estimated by the circumstance that its members numbered about 58,600 in 1850, and in 1887, 277,000, with 989 ministers, and 1,380 places of worship.

When the Queen ascended the throne the Congregational Union, representing the denomination formerly known as the Independents, was some five years old. It was an attempt to combine common professions with absolute independence, and it was accompanied by a declaration of faith setting forth the common belief among Congregationalists "reserving to every one the utmost liberty of conscience." Among its first chairmen were Dr. J. Fletcher, Dr. Bennett of Bristol, and Dr. Hamilton of Leeds, and their tactful direction did much to prevent dissension. In 1860, however, a volume of poems, entitled "The Rivulet," by the Rev. T. T. Lynch, showed that a new school of Congregationalists was arising that had little sympathy with the Evangelicalism of the old. Accordingly, in 1871 a revised constitution was put forward, which, while definitely stating that the Union's object was to "uphold and extend Evangelical religion," added more explicitly than before "the Union recognises the right of every individual church to administer its affairs, free from external control, and shall not in any case assume legislative authority or become a court of appeal." Thereby schism was averted, and four years later the Congregationalists opened their Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street. The list of the chairmen and preachers at the annual and autumnal meetings of the Union shows an unusual number of celebrated men. It included the learned historian Dr. Stoughton, Dr. Allon, who for nearly half a century was pastor of the Union Chapel, Islington, Dr. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, Dr. Parker of the City Temple, Dr. Baldwin Brown, Dr. Lindsay Alexander, Dr. Clifford, and Dr. Fairbairn, who became the first Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. This placing of

Congregationalism in connection with the Universities was a sure sign of its progressive character, and among the rising preachers of the day few men had made a wider mark than Mr. R. F. Horton, of Hampstead. In 1887 the number of members in the United Kingdom was reckoned at 360,000, and of the persons connected with the body throughout the world at 1,250,000. The number of churches in England and the colonies was about 4,300, of which 2,600 were in England, as against 2,700 in 1850, with some 4,700 ministers and missionaries. Besides, these figures, thanks to the development of parochial organisation, give a necessarily imperfect idea of Congregational activity. For instance, the Union Chapel, Islington, became, under Dr. Allon, the nucleus of a benevolent society, a Sunday School Institute, and other enterprises of equal merit.

The Baptist Union dates from 1813, that is many years before the Congregational. There is little to say, however, concerning the creed's history during the half century; except that it proved entirely faithful to its traditions, notably in the matter of missionary enterprise. For the rest its most famous figure for some five-and-thirty years was the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, who first appeared in London in 1853, and who was the most popular preacher of his time. Among the other Baptist divines who achieved reputations far beyond their particular community were Mr. Baptist Noel, Dr. Joseph Angus, of Regent's Park College, Dr. McLaren, of Manchester, and Dr. Culross of Bristol. The figures relating to the denomination are somewhat perplexing, but at least the places of worship in Great Britain increased from 1,780 in 1851 to 2,240 in the Jubilee year. At the last date the members numbered 302,600, and the Sunday scholars 456,000. Of the minor religious sects, the Unitarians produced a remarkable thinker in Dr. Martineau, but they became broken up into several schools, and their numbers did not show any apparent increase. Still less was this the case with the Society of Friends, of whom many, like Mr. W. E. Forster, became members of the Church of England. On the other hand, Roman Catholicism was decidedly gaining ground, though not with the rapidity that marked the first half of the reign, its recruits being drawn mainly from the upper classes of society. Its success was due no doubt in a great measure to the fascinating qualities of two Archbishops of Westminster, Cardinal Wiseman and his successor, Cardinal Manning, and to the splendour of the edifices like the Pro-Cathedral,

Kensington, and the Brompton Oratory, which were built through the pious liberality of wealthy laymen, for instance, the Duke of Norfolk. It is remarkable that the revival of the hierarchy which produced in 1850 so great a commotion in England, was carried out eighteen years later in Scotland without the slightest opposition. The only trustworthy figures are those relating to the priesthood, which increased from about 600 in 1837 to no less than 2,300 in 1887, and in the last year the number of Roman Catholics in England and Wales was estimated at 1,354,000.

Very different in its methods from the stately Church of Rome was the Salvation Army, a new religious organisation, founded by the Rev. William Booth in 1865. At first called the "Christian Mission," it attracted little notice, until in 1878 the name of "Salvation Army" was hit upon, and the whole scheme reorganised upon a military basis. Its growth promptly became prodigious. In the first year 80 "corps" were formed, with 127 "officers," and these had increased in 1887 to nearly 4,000 corps and 10,000 officers. The Salvation Army increased from persecution by the roughs of the large cities, and its military uniforms, bands of trumpet and tambourine, the fervour of the services, broken by tears and groans, proved extremely attractive to the urban populations. Moreover, dogma was carefully avoided, though the critics of the movement complained that it indulged in an over-familiarity with things sacred. The Army spread rapidly through the colonies, and the week of self-denial would bring into the treasury as much as £33,000. Of the *War Cry* some 400,000 weekly copies were in circulation and 100,000 monthly. From these and other sources of revenue the organisation was enabled to acquire important centres in the offices in Queen Victoria Street, London, and places of worship in Oxford Street, the City Road (formerly the Eagle Tavern), and other thoroughfares. Again "barracks" were built or rented in rapid succession in the chief provincial towns, and shelters were established for the destitute, in which the night's lodging was paid by wood-chopping or some other unskilled labour. The movement was essentially autocratic in its government, since "General" Booth—as he had come to be styled—exercised an unquestioned authority. Accordingly, this dependence upon one man seemed to invest its future with a considerable amount of uncertainty. Still its most bitter opponents could hardly deny that it had accomplished much permanent good among the lowest classes of society.

In Scotland the beginning of the reign found the Established Church strong in numbers, but deeply divided on the method to be observed in the admission of ministers to parochial charges. In fact the great crisis known as the "Ten Years' Conflict" had begun in 1834. Its causes may be stated as follow:—The law of the Church, as regulated by an Act of Queen Anne's reign, vested the right of presentation in the patron of the living, while recognising that any member of the congregation had a right to object to the choice, and that the Church Courts could determine the validity of such remonstrance. In quiet times this divided authority worked smoothly enough, since the "call" which the in-coming minister was expected to receive from his future congregation had become a mere formality. But the reform movement infected the Church of Scotland with a spirit at once more earnest and more democratic, and the "Non-Intrusionists" speedily acquired a majority in the General Assembly. Limitations on the right of patronage were suggested, and these, in 1833, assumed the form of a Veto Act which, at first rejected, was passed in the following year. Its proposer, Dr. Chalmers, by far the most eminent man in the Assembly, had some doubts as to the measure's absolute legality, but he acted on the advice of the law officers of Scotland, and his aims were certainly pacific. In fact, all parties were agreed that an unpopular minister should not be forced upon a malcontent parish, and the Veto Act, which invested the majority of the congregation with the right of rejection, provided at least a workable plan. Unfortunately, the patrons, as represented by Lord Kinnoul, tested its lawfulness in the Auchterarder case, and both the Scottish Court of Session and the House of Lords on appeal in 1838 set aside the veto of the local congregation as *ultra vires*. Still, prompt legislation might have averted the secession, but Lord Melbourne's Government was slow to move, and though Lord Aberdeen propounded a statesman-like compromise, whereby the heads of families could object to the settlement of a presentee, and the Presbytery, if it thought the objections well-founded, could reject the presentation, his Bill, after undergoing much alteration, was rejected by the extreme Non-Intrusionists. Dr. Chalmers, after protracted negotiations, took their side; and the bill was ultimately withdrawn. In 1840 the Strathbogie case raised the question of State control in a still more serious fashion, since it caused the majority of the Church of Scotland to adopt the proposition that the Courts of Law had no

jurisdiction over any question which was within the competence of the Ecclesiastical Courts. On May the 22nd, 1842, the General Assembly adopted the famous "Claim of Right," with its statement that "All acts of the Parliament of Great Britain, passed without consent of the Church and nation, in alteration of or derogative to the government, discipline, rights and privileges of the Church, and also all sentences of Courts in contravention of the said government, discipline, rights and privileges, are and shall be null and void."

After this declaration, a secession of more or less magnitude was inevitable, and in November the Non-Intrusionists held a convocation at Glasgow, which passed resolutions pledging its adherents to take that extreme step in the event of the "Claim" being rejected by Parliament. While well-intentioned persons, chief among whom was Lord Aberdeen, were still attempting to discover a *modus vivendi*, the fateful 18th of May arrived, upon which at first 396, and afterwards 474 ministers retired from the General Assembly, and gave up their positions and their salaries rather than submit to restrictions which they deemed unjustifiable. How far the exercise of tact on both sides might have averted the schism may be a somewhat open question; there can be none as to the fine self-sacrifice displayed by the founders of the Free Church of Scotland. As for the Establishment, it rallied its shattered forces with creditable resolution. The question of the rights of patrons was dealt with, in a somewhat perfunctory manner, by Lord Aberdeen's Act of 1843, which allowed the Church Courts to deal with objections raised by the congregations against the presentees on "personal grounds"; and finally, in 1874, Mr. Disraeli's Government abolished lay patronage altogether. Many illustrious divines, among whom were Principal Tulloch, Dr. Norman Macleod and Dr. Robert Lee, adorned the Church of Scotland during the next forty-five years, and, though its disestablishment had been adopted as an item of the Liberal programme, it could claim in 1887 a noble record both in church-building, in preaching, and in social effort. The new endowments and edifices were valued at over £2,000,000, and the total number of clergy was about 1,700, and of members 571,000.

During the anxious times that followed the Disruption the administrative genius of its first moderator, Dr. Chalmers, proved invaluable to the Free Kirk. When he died in 1847 its fortunes were assured, and during the period from 1843

to 1887 the aggregate funds raised in Scotland for all purposes amounted to no less a sum than £18,339,700. With such liberality at its disposal the Free Church flourished exceedingly, and it could boast of some most able theologians in Dr. Candlish, author of "The Fatherhood of God," and Dr. Marcus Dods. The somewhat rigid temper of its theology produced a considerable crisis in 1880, when Mr. Robertson Smith, Professor of Hebrew, in the Free Church Divinity Hall, Aberdeen, was removed from his chair by the Assembly for criticising the Mosaic Books, according to modern methods. Nevertheless, the controversy produced a substantial widening of doctrine, and in every direction the Free Church showed signs of advance. Its communicants in 1887 were 331,000, and it claimed as adherents 993,000 of the population. Its ministers numbered 1,180, and its churches or stations 1,118. With so vigorous a record it is hardly to be wondered that not even the abolition of lay patronage in 1874 could induce the Free Kirk to renew connection with a body subject to State control. Equally independent was the United Presbyterian Church, a body formed in 1847 by the amalgamation of the Secession and the Relief Churches. Pledged at first to the old Standards, this community passed a Declaratory Act in 1879, whereby they were given an interpretation more in harmony with the times. In 1887 it had some 620 ministers, 565 churches, about 180,000 members, and an income of £373,500. The Episcopal Church of Scotland claimed the allegiance of some 77,000 of the population, who were chiefly connected with the territorial classes, and had in 1887 220 churches, and 255 clergy. Among the occupants of its seven sees were men of eminence, notably Dr. Charles Wordsworth, who was Bishop of St. Andrews from 1852 to 1893.

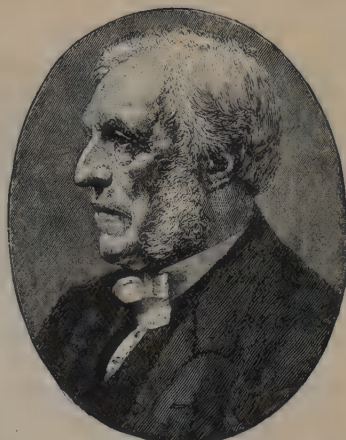
In Ireland the leading incident of the period was, of course, the disestablishment of the Irish Church in 1868. Of that community it may be said without hesitation that its worst enemies were those of its own household. The bulk of the population was bitterly opposed to its doctrines; indeed, throughout the south of Ireland parishes existed by the score without places of worship, clergymen, or congregations; and even in the Dublin diocese the proportion of Churchmen to each parish was under ten to one. Clearly, the existence of so wealthy a body in a poor country was logically indefensible, even though its rights had been solemnly guaranteed by the Act of Union, and though the doctrine that the State can interfere with



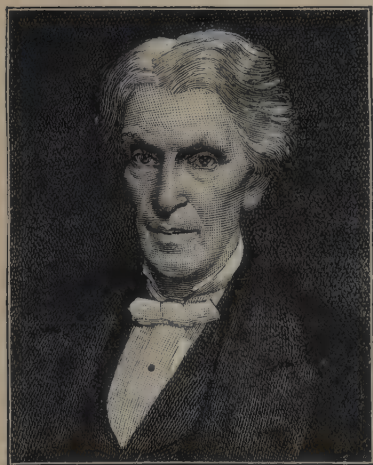
ROBERT WILLIAM DALE.
(From a Photograph by J. W. Beaufort.)



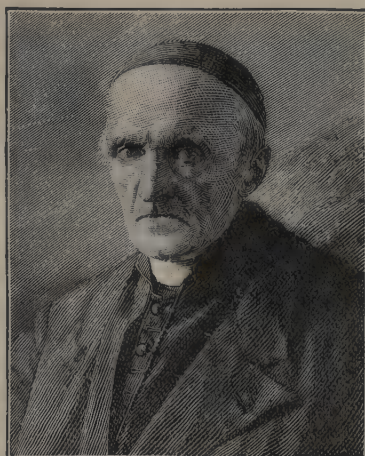
CHARLES HADDON SPURGEON.
(From a Photograph by Alabaster and Passmore.)



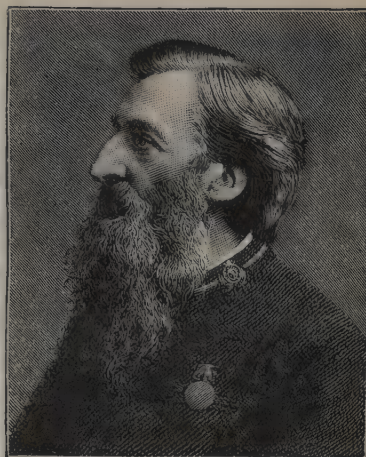
HENRY ALLON.
(From a Photograph by Martin and Sallnow.)



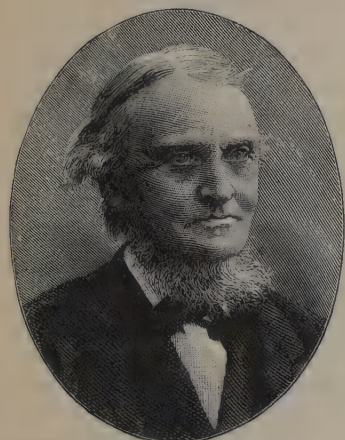
JAMES MARTINEAU.
(After the Painting by Enslic.)



CARDINAL MANNING
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



WILLIAM BOOTH.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



ALEXANDER McLAREN.
(From a Photograph by M. Guttenberg, Ltd.)



WILLIAM MORLEY PUNSHON.
(By Permission of Hodder and Stoughton.)



ANDREW MARTIN FAIRBAIRN.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

LEADING ENGLISH NONCONFORMISTS.

religious endowments may rest upon somewhat unstable arguments. Yet, though the passing of the Reform Act of 1832 was contemporary with the "tithe war," the only attempt at reform was the Temporalities Act of the following year, which suppressed ten out of the twenty-two Irish bishoprics, and laid a tax, saving existing incumbencies, on all benefices exceeding £200 a year, ranging from 5 to 15 per cent. The saving effected by the reduction of sees was to go to the augmentation of the smaller benefices, but this provision seems to have been inefficiently carried out. The change was undoubtedly a benefit so far as it went, but the problem remained unsolved thereby, and the various Tithes Acts proved equally inadequate solutions. The resolutions whereby the Whigs overthrew Peel's Ministry in 1835 provided that tithe should be converted into a rent-charge, that the Church of Ireland should be reduced in establishment, and that the surplus revenues should be devoted to the general education of all classes of the people. The House of Lords, however, struck out the "appropriation" clauses again and again from the Tithe Commutation Bill, and in 1838 Lord Melbourne's Government abandoned the principle altogether. This disastrous weakness, combined with the obstinacy of the Upper House, rendered the disestablishment of the Irish Church inevitable. Even yet its fall might have been broken by some scheme of concurrent endowment, but that principle, as cautiously propounded by Sir Robert Peel in the grant to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and the foundation of the Queen's Colleges in 1842, aroused such manifestations of Protestant zeal that no Premier had the courage to pursue the project. A series of motions, introduced between 1843 and 1867, committed the Liberal party to the principle of disestablishment pure and simple, and in 1868 Mr. Gladstone's resolutions placed the issue in the forefront of politics.

The Disestablishment Act of 1869, which was promptly carried by the Liberal Government on its accession to power, gave generous terms to the Irish Church, both in the commutation of the life-interests for over £7,500,000 sterling, and in the remission of capital for purposes of reinvestment to the amount of £7,000,000 more. Where the measure erred was in the absence of a definite scheme for the disposal of the surplus, which was, in consequence, frittered away by various Governments, both Liberal and Conservative, without any very definite benefit to the Irish people. As for the Irish Church, having become a voluntary

community, it reformed its Liturgy and constitution in an anti-sacerdotal and slightly Evangelical sense, under the prudent guidance of Archbishop Trench, and of his successor, Lord Plunket. Private benefactions added some £3,000,000 to its capital, and its members numbered in 1887 about 620,000. The decline of the population considered, the Protestant Church of Ireland seemed about to hold its own with the Roman Catholic; on the other hand, the Presbyterians of the North totalled some 470,000, and there were besides some 48,000 Methodists and members of other Protestant denominations, who if they were hostile to Rome, showed also no inclination whatever to amalgamate with the Episcopacy.

As for the Church of the majority, it underwent various phases, while manifesting much spiritual activity. At the beginning of the reign the pacific influence of Archbishop Murray availed but little against the fiery diatribes of Archbishop McHale of Tuam against England and things English. "The Lion of St. Jarlath's," as O'Connell styled him, encouraged the clergy to take part in politics, whereas, his rival, Cardinal Cullen, was more inclined to obey the injunctions of the Vatican, and to advise them to abstain. Nevertheless, he too was compelled, though a strong denouncer of secret societies, to side with the Nationalist movement; and his successor in the see of Dublin, Archbishop Walsh, was a pronounced Home Ruler. In fact the clergy in general, and the parish priests in particular, exercised throughout the period a powerful political influence, which was invariably directed against the Government, and in favour of popular aspirations. At the same time the new school of prelates, of whom Dr. O'Dwyer of Limerick may be taken as a specimen, applied themselves to the reformation of discipline by a more vigorous rule. The priesthood was recruited, as formerly, from the peasant class, and it was an open question how far their education in Ireland and not, as formerly, in Continental seminaries, tended to produce a cultured set of divines. At the same time their general zeal was indisputable, and equally praiseworthy was the self-denial exercised by the peasantry in the support of the Church by a system of voluntary offerings, for instance, the Christmas and Easter dues. No trustworthy statements are obtainable as to the income of the Catholic Church in Ireland, so we must content ourselves with the remark that some 3,800,000 of the population maintained a hierarchy of five archbishops, twenty-three bishops, and nearly 2,580 priests.

With regard to the progress of religion throughout the Empire, we must confine ourselves to the efforts of Christianity, and disregard the various native creeds. In India, the Government adopted after the Mutiny the attitude of absolute neutrality in questions of faith, and with that resolve vanished the splendid dream conceived by Sir Herbert Edwardes and other pious heroes of the Empire's speedy conversion. Accordingly, in spite of the noble labours of missionaries taken alike from the ranks of the Church of England and of Nonconformity, the native Christians only numbered, as we have seen, some 893,500, and the Eurasians 62,000, out of a grand total of 250,000,000, and more.

In the British Colonies the experiment of a State Church was tried only to be abandoned. Thus in Canada no less than one-seventh of the land had been set aside in the Upper Province for the support of the Protestant clergy, and the existence of that monopoly was undoubtedly responsible for much of the disaffection which culminated in the rebellion of 1837. Nevertheless, the grievance continued until 1854, when the Imperial Parliament passed an enabling Act, whereby the Clergy Reserves were resumed by the State, and the proceeds of the sales applied to secular uses. The measure formed an important precedent for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, since it compensated life-interests and created a fund for re-endowment. Indeed, the relative numbers of the creeds were such that some abatement of pretensions could not be averted. The Roman Catholics, owing to the French element, stood far ahead of the rival denominations in the Dominion, and their parochial organisation dated from the very beginning of the eighteenth century. Cardinal Taschereau, who was appointed Archbishop of Quebec in 1871, counted in 1887 no less than 1,792,000 among his followers, of whom 70 per cent. were in the province of Quebec. Next to the Catholics came the Methodists, who had gained greatly in power by effecting a union of the Methodist Church, the Episcopal Methodists, the Primitive Methodists, and the Bible Christians in 1883. They totalled 743,000 in 1887, and the Presbyterians, mostly of Scottish origin, came third with 676,000. They, too, had effected a judicious amalgamation in 1875, when the adherents of the Kirk induced the Presbyterian Nonconformists to enter the General Assembly. Next came the Church of England with 575,000 members, but it hardly seemed to make headway, as wealthy Canadians belonged

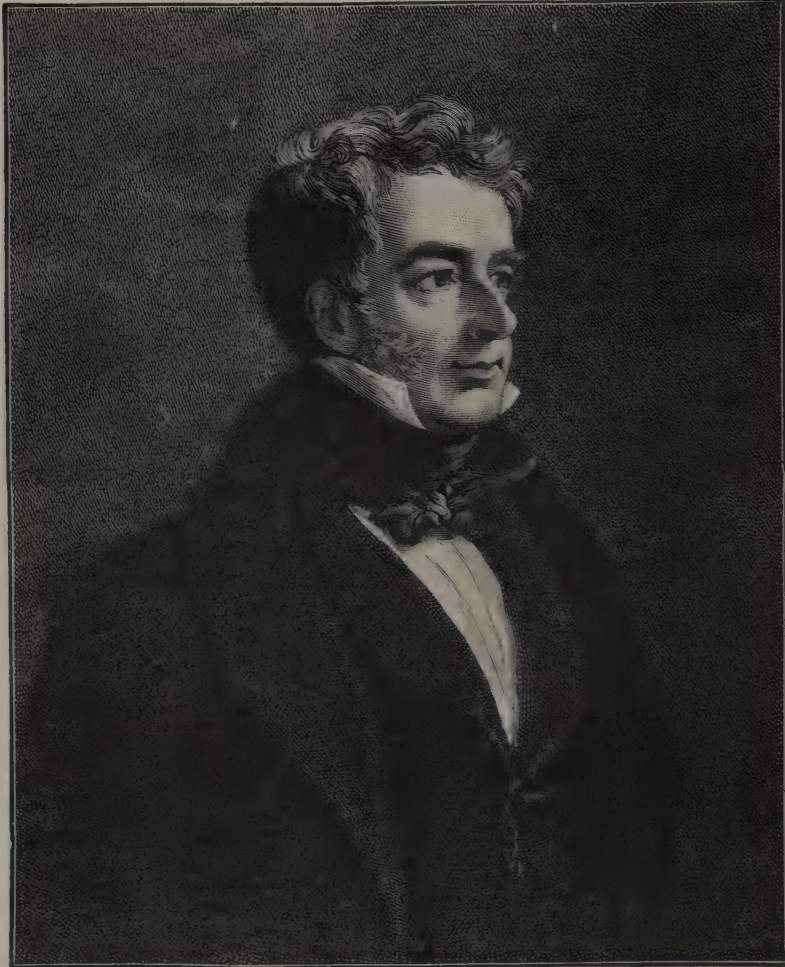
for the most part to the Nonconformist sects. Its tone was markedly Evangelical, and among its bishops Dr. Medley, of Fredericton, could boast an honourable record dating from 1845.

In Australasia the Church of England occupied a privileged position, and received State grants until representative government had been conferred, when her precedence was abolished. Again, the interesting experiment of concurrent endowment was tried in New South Wales before Victoria and Queensland became separate colonies; but it proved too heavy a burden, and finally the Church was partially disendowed, upon very generous terms. Unlike Canada, Australasia counted more followers of the Establishment among its citizens than of any other creed, though the proportions varied greatly in different localities. In New Zealand, owing to the establishment of Canterbury as a Church of England settlement, no less than 40 per cent. of the whole population belonged to that denomination, and next came the Presbyterians with 22 per cent. In most of the colonies, however, the Catholics stood next to the Church in point of numbers, the figures for the whole of Australasia being for the Church of England 1,300,000, Roman Catholics 700,000. The Presbyterians stood third with 400,000 members, but they were rather disunited, in spite of a partial amalgamation effected in 1885. On the other hand, the Wesleyans, some 300,000 strong, were powerfully organised, while the Salvation Army had already gained numerous converts. The Roman Catholics indeed seemed to constitute a class apart, against which Protestants in general stood strongly united upon questions of education. Still, the predominant tone throughout the period was that of tolerance, and the humanising influence of Dr. Selwyn, from 1841 to 1867 bishop of New Zealand, was carried on by numerous ecclesiastics after him, especially Dr. Moorhouse, from 1876 to 1886 bishop of Victoria, no less than by Wesleyan divines like Dr. Bateman, and Congregationalists like Dr. Bevan. The strict observance of Sunday formed a remarkable feature in Australian life, nor should the missionary efforts throughout the South Pacific be forgotten, since they produced more than one martyr to the faith, notably Bishop Patteson, who was killed by the natives in 1871.

Throughout South Africa the dominant faith was that of the Dutch Reformed Church, which was in communion with Scottish Presbyterianism. Thus the figures for the Cape in 1887 were—members of the Dutch Reformed Church 60,000,

Wesleyans 27,000, Church of England 15,000, Congregationalists 9,000. Owing to the absence of a strong Irish element, Roman Catholicism played a far less conspicuous part in South Africa than in the other self-governing dependencies. As for the Church of England, its

Lake district, and of the black bishop Dr. Crowther on the Niger, with no less pride than could the Presbyterians to those of Moffat in Bechuanaland, and of McCalmont in Nyassa, and the Wesleyans to those of Arnot in Garenganze. They followed the noble example set them by David Livingstone



LORD MELBOURNE. (After the Portrait by Sir George Hayter.)

record was fairly uneventful, for the Colenso controversy attracted more notice in the mother-country than in its actual birthplace. At first enjoying concurrent endowment with the other important communities, it had to submit in 1875 to the gradual withdrawal of the grant, and in Natal it was further weakened by the long delay in appointing a successor to Dr. Colenso after his death in 1883. It displayed, nevertheless, much missionary activity throughout South and Central Africa, and the Church could point to the labours of Dr. Smythies and Mr. Swann in the

during his long career in Africa (1840-1874), though that great man's influence was rather that of a pioneer than of an actual preacher of the Gospel.

The Crown Colonies can be dismissed briefly enough, the leading date in their religious history being the year 1868, when the Colonial Office asserted the principle that State assistance must be withdrawn. It continued, nevertheless, in some of the British possessions to the end of the period, chiefly in the form of concurrent endowment.



THE OBSERVATORY, GREENWICH. (From a Photograph by Poulton and Son.)

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

The Advance of Science—Sir John Herschel's Discoveries—Adams and Leverrier—Spectrum Analysis—Balfour Stewart and Professor Stokes—The Chemistry and Structure of the Heavenly Bodies—Colour and Photography—Conservation of Energy—Joule, Tyndall, and Thomson—The Kinetic Theory and Electro-Magnetism—Developments of Electricity—The Atomic Theory—Mathematics—Biology and Embryology—Lyell and Owen—Darwin and Wallace—The Darwinian Controversy—The Origin of Man—Applications of the Evolutionary Idea—Herbert Spencer—Arctic Exploration—Discoveries in Africa—Livingstone and Stanley—Travels in Asia—Australia and America—Physical Geography—Ordnance Surveys and Hydrography—Medicine and Surgery—Contagious Diseases—The Stethoscope and the Localisation of Disease—New Instruments—Conservative Surgery and Anæsthetics—Position of the Medical Profession.

AMONG the intellectual achievements of the Victorian era, its scientific discoveries claimed the foremost place. It is not too much to say that they revolutionised the general conception of nature, and substituted knowledge for speculation in many branches of learning. Again, Mr. Grant Allen could write with truth in 1887, that "fifty years ago there were many separate and distinct sciences, but hardly any general conception of science at large, as a single, rounded, and connected whole. Specialists rather insisted upon the utter insularity of their own peculiar and chosen domain. It was a point of honour with

each particular department, indeed, not to encroach on the territory of departments that lay nearest to it. And within the realm of each separate study, in like manner, minor truths stand severely apart from one another: electricity refused to be at one with magnetism, and magnetism was hardly on speaking terms with the voltaic current. Organisation and subordination of part to whole had hardly begun to be aimed at. The sciences were each a huge congeries of facts or unassorted laws; they waited the arrival of their unknown Newton to fall into systematic and organic order."

Astronomy, the oldest science of all, had effected the greatest relative advance in the year 1837. Sir William Herschel had discovered the northern heavens, and his distinguished son, Sir John, had established himself at the Cape, and was sweeping the skies with his telescope for stars, planets, and nebulae, and classifying them according to their brilliancy. It is not too much to say that his labours, as supplementing his father's, placed astronomy on an entirely new basis, and permitted the establishment of wide general laws. Accordingly, his famous "Handbook of Astronomy," published on his return to England in 1838, was a positive revelation to all except the inner ring of the learned, and the ordinary reader was able to realise for the first time the grand conception of a solar system travelling through endless space. Of his local discoveries the most important was that the Magellanic Clouds, or southern portions of the Milky Way, were composed of a most complex combination of stars, star-clusters and nebulae, arranged as a ring rather than as a disc. The year 1846 is the next leading date, so far as English astronomy is concerned, when the planet Neptune was discovered through Newton's theory of gravitation. The eccentric orbit of Uranus showed that some disturbing influence was at work, and calculating independently, the French astronomer Leverrier, and a young Englishman, John Couch Adams, fixed the place of the unknown planet within one degree. In the consequent search Professor Challis of Cambridge actually observed the planet on August the 4th, but was unable to identify it through want of a proper chart, and the honour fell to Herr Galle of the Berlin Observatory on the 23rd of September. To Adams and Leverrier also belongs the credit of having independently worked out the path of the November meteors in 1862, and four years later it was found to agree with the orbit of a returning comet, a fact which the Italian astronomer Schiaparelli had previously established with regard to the August meteors. We may add that the list of minor planets was increased during the fifty years from a dozen to some 250, that Sir John Herschel, previous to his death in 1871, had catalogued 5,079 nebulae and clusters, and that his successors fixed many more; that other investigators, among whom may be mentioned Mr. Lassell, identified the inner ring of Saturn, the satellites of Mars and Neptune, and the additional satellites of Saturn and Uranus.

The most unexpected triumphs, however, in the science of astronomy were won by spectrum

analysis. The undulating theory of light had become established by Dr. Thomas Young during the first decade of the century, and in conjunction with Fresnel he had worked out the theory of the polarisation of light before 1820. Thence sprang a series of experiments, among which Sir David Brewster's were the most conspicuous, and little remained to be added to that branch of inquiry after the French physicists, Fizeau and Foucault, had established in 1849 and 1850 the fact that the velocity of light is greater in air than in water. Meanwhile, the knowledge of the chemistry of light, as determined by means of the prism, had been partially advanced by Sir William Herschel's discovery of heat-rays in 1800, by Wollaston's observation of the dark lines in the spectrum in 1802, and still more by the Bavarian Fraunhofer's discovery and mapping of no less than 576 of them. The first steps in spectrum analysis, properly so-called, were made by Sir John Herschel, Mr. Fox Talbot, and Wheatstone, who previous to 1837 had shown that the incandescent vapour of metals was formed of bright lines, and that these lines differed for different metals. Hence new simple substances were eventually discovered. For example, in 1861 Professor Crookes found out thallium, from the green line which it threw upon the spectrum.

For a long time, however, the black lines in the solar spectrum defied inquiry. Balfour Stewart showed in 1858 that a body absorbs rays of the same refrangibility only, as it radiates when highly heated. According to Sir William Thomson, afterwards Lord Kelvin, Professor Stokes gave the true explanation of the lines in his lectures at Cambridge in 1851, but it remained unpublished and therefore the idea was not promulgated. Accordingly, it remained for Kirchhoff and Bausen, two Heidelberg physicists, to announce the secret far and wide in 1861, namely, that the dark lines in the solar spectrum were due to the presence of sodium in the sun. This grand assertion was followed by the verification of other metals, and the labours of Norman Lockyer and other enthusiasts added to the list. But not only was light thrown upon the chemistry of the heavenly bodies by the spectroscope, but their physical structure and history were also made known. Sir William Herschel's theory that the sun is a dark body surrounded by a luminous atmosphere was discarded by the discoveries of Professor Janssen in India, and Mr. Lockyer in England, during the eclipse of 1868, that the body of the sun, or photosphere, is intensely brilliant,

and that it is surrounded by an atmosphere of comparatively cool gases. Again, two Englishmen, Dr. Miller and Dr. Huggins, succeeded in 1862 in examining the more powerful stars by spectrum analysis, and so determining their temperatures and therefore their ages; while the latter, in 1864 proved, by the same method, that some nebulae are gaseous. Later still, Dr. Alexander Herschel took the spectrum of shooting stars, and established their affinity with aërolites; while Dr. Huggins proved small comets to contain carbon, and probably nitrogen. At the close of the period spectrum analysis was being actively pursued by eminent men like Sir Henry Roscoe and Professor Dewar, and promised to yield yet more astonishing results.

Again, spectrum analysis revolutionised the ideas about colour. Thus Clerk Maxwell proved in 1860 that yellow could be produced by a mixture of green and red, so that it had no claim to be considered a primary element of colour. Again, Professor Stokes had shown in 1852, by means of the phenomenon called "fluorescence," the existence of rays beyond the violet; and some thirty years later Captain Abney photographed the lines of the infra-red portion of the spectroscopy which Sir William Herschel had proved to exist. Again, Professor Tyndall ascribed the blue colour of the sky to the reflection of the blue rays by the minute particles floating in the atmosphere, and even diagnosed the crimson and gold of sunset. In recording atmospherical and astronomical phenomena photography was rapidly becoming of immense assistance; for example, Mr. Rutherford reproduced the surface of the moon, and Mr. Lockyer the ingress and egress of Venus during the transits. Itself a product of the Victorian era, photography had made immense strides since 1839, when the Frenchman Daguerre invented his process, upon which Fox Talbot speedily improved by fixing the "Talbotypes" on paper, and by obtaining a negative. We may instance the use of glass plates, first proposed by Sir John Herschel; of collodion, first used by Archer, of London, in 1854; and finally, of gelatine, which, becoming the foundation of the sensitive film employed in the dry-plate process, enabled, through its extreme delicacy, instantaneous photographs to be taken. Dr. Maddox appears to have produced the first successful negatives by this method in 1871, and it rapidly developed during the next sixteen years.

The doctrine of the conservation of energy was one of the most important scientific truths enunciated during the Victorian era, and to Englishmen

belonged the chief honour of its establishment. The old idea that heat was a material, not a movement, had received its death-blow in 1799 by Davy's celebrated experiment of melting two pieces of ice by rubbing them together in the exhausted receiver of an air-pump. Thus heat was shown to be derived from energy, but there was no means of measuring the amount of energy that produced a given quantity of heat. Dr. Mayer, of Heilbronn, pointed out that the mechanical equivalent of heat could be determined by experiment, and even went so far as to obtain a numerical value. It remained, however, for Dr. Joule, of Manchester, to ascertain the ratio, namely, that the fall of a pound through 772 feet sets free enough energy to raise the temperature of 1 lb. of water by 1° Fahr. This great discovery was made in 1843, and Hirn, of Colmar, attacking the problem from the other side, established the converse to be true, namely, that for every degree Fahr. added to the temperature of 1 lb. of water, enough work could be done to raise a 1 lb. weight to a height of 772 feet. Thence derives the conclusion that energy, whether potential or actual, remains unaltered whatever changes it may undergo, so that Nature forms a great storehouse of latent force. Next came Professor Tyndall's discoveries with regard to radiant heat, which he made public in 1863, wherein, following the experiments of Malloni, he showed that heat and gaseous matter interacted, and that the aqueous vapour of the atmosphere, by checking terrestrial radiation, augments the earth's temperature. Further, in 1852 Sir William Thomson, working in conjunction with Dr. Joule, hit upon the theory of the "dissipation of energy," whereby he conceived that the universe is drifting slowly into a state of rest, because of the waste that accompanies the transformation of energy. It is hardly necessary to point out how greatly the conception of the unity of nature was enlarged by these impressive generalisations.

With the discovery of the true nature of heat came to an end the theory that there was an absolute break between the different states of matter. Thus, Professor Andrews, of Belfast, demonstrated in 1862 that gaseous, liquid, and solid conditions were continuous; and Faraday's experiment in liquefying chlorine, which was carried out in the year 1823, was supplemented by similar achievements with oxygen and nitrogen; while towards the end of the period Professor Dewar actually succeeded in solidifying air by the application of intense pressure and intense cold.

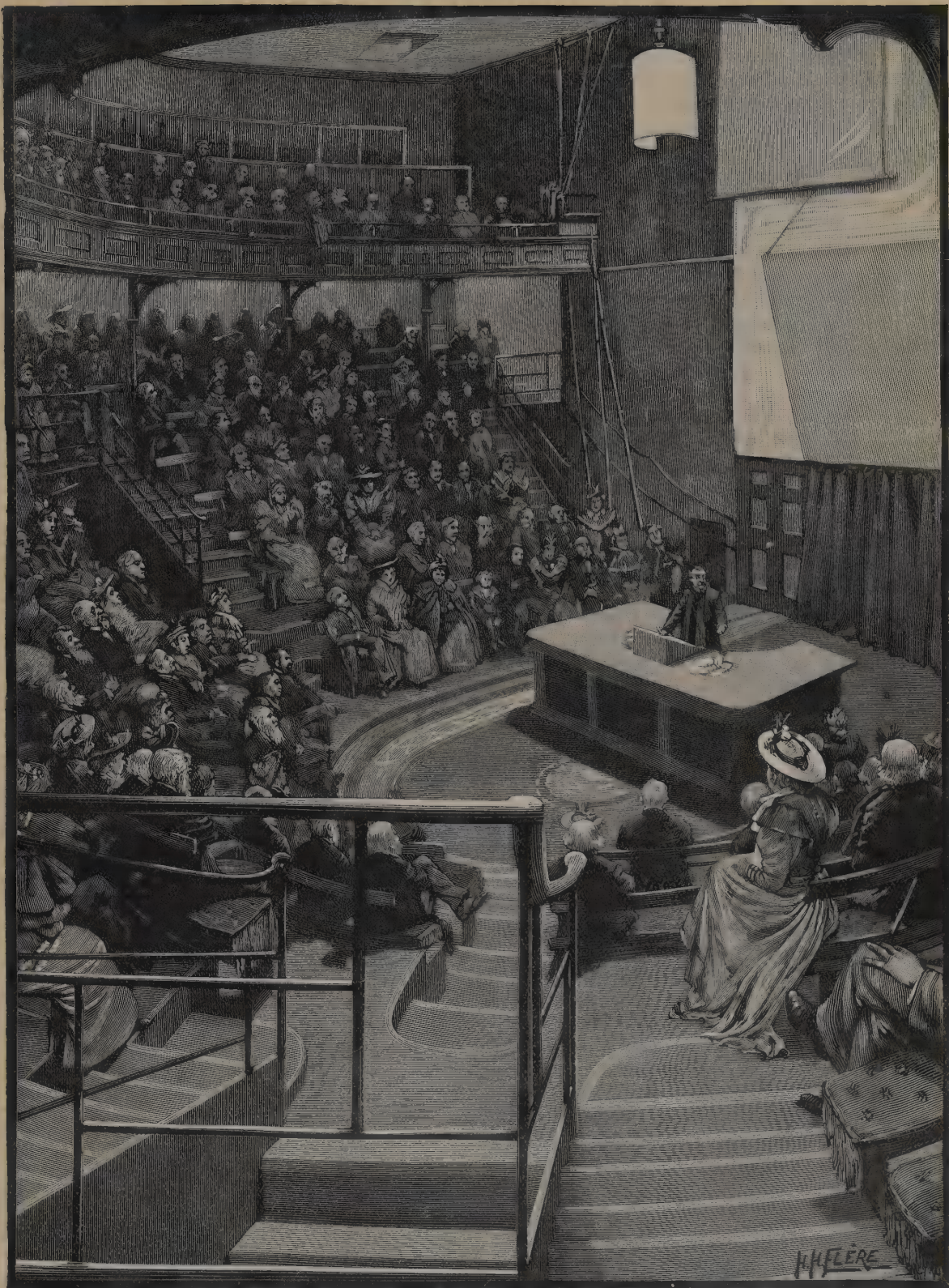
Accordingly, the supposed permanency of certain gases had to be abandoned, and the kinetic theory, whereby their elasticity was traced to the constant translation of molecules, became established on a firm basis. Thanks to the labours of Andrews, Graham, Joule, Sir William Thomson, and Clerk Maxwell in Great Britain, and of Professor Helmholtz in Germany, it became known that in the case of hydrogen at a temperature of 60° Fahr., the molecules were moving at a rate of 6,226 feet per second, and that, as a general principle, the rate of diffusion was inversely as the square root of the density of the gas. With regard to their size, Mr. Stoney in 1868, and Sir William Thomson in 1870, were able to calculate that each molecule was at most $\frac{1}{500000}$ of an inch in diameter, while Professor Sorby reckoned that within a length of $\frac{1}{50000}$ of an inch there would be some 500 or even 2,000 molecules—500 in albumen and 2,000 in water. He also considered that the most powerful microscope then in use could not define a sphere of organic matter so small that it did not contain many millions of molecules, and consequently that the ultimate molecule could not be observable by direct vision. Meanwhile, Professor Crookes was induced to believe that matter could exist in an ultra-gaseous state; while Professor Clerk Maxwell evolved his brilliant theory of electro-magnetism, from the supposed vortices in and between the molecules, and maintained light itself to be electro-magnetic disturbance.

The chief discoveries having been made in the twenty years before the accession of the Queen, electricity was ready to be converted to practical purposes, and the beginning of the period found Morse in America, Steinheil in Germany, and Cooke and Wheatstone in England busily engaged in developing recording instruments. Moreover, Alexander Bain, by using guttapercha as an insulating medium in 1847, prepared the way for subterraneous and submarine telegraphy. Sir William Thomson's name will ever remain connected with those great achievements, but as we have already dealt with them, it remains to mention the use of electricity in lighting, the transmission of mechanical power, and the precipitation of metals. These developments, as embodied in magneto-electric and dynamo-electric machines, depended upon Faraday's discovery of the induced current in 1831, but the subsequent labours of Holmes, the brothers Siemens and others resulted in substantial additions to the comfort of mankind. Thus electric lighting became, towards the close of the "seventies," employed in preference to gas in

public illumination, both for its greater brilliancy and freedom from noxious attributes. Again, the electric transmission of power had been so far developed by Sir William Thomson's experiments, that the working of machinery, and the utilisation of water at a distance, appeared capable of speedy accomplishment. The main problem was the storing of energy, and thanks to Sir William Thomson and Professor Veitch, it was nearing a practical solution.

The connection between electricity and chemical change had been established before the year 1837 by Davy and Faraday, and the latter's development of electrolysis opened up a field of inquiry in which Professor Gladstone, in particular, distinguished himself. Again, the methods of analysis had been further multiplied by the spectrum and the blowpipe; with the result that ten new elements were discovered during the fifty years, including thallium, by Professor Crookes. It should be remembered that until Dalton had shown that different chemical elements always combine in definite proportions, and had taught that all elements are therefore compounded of atoms, chemistry was devoid of scientific foundations. The immensely important atomic theory it was that gave investigators a theory upon which to work, and which led to the triumphs of the Victorian era. Thence arose the chemistry of organic compounds, though the doctrine obtained acceptance on the Continent sooner than in Britain.

We have already mentioned the mutual assistance which the sciences lent one another during the half-century, and both chemistry and electro-magnetism owed much to mathematics, which witnessed great developments during the half-century. Sir William Rowan Hamilton, Astronomer Royal for Ireland, did much to advance algebraic denotations, especially by inventing the calculus of quaternions, which he announced for the first time in 1853. In fact, no one illustrated more aptly the connection between mathematics and physical science than he, since his knowledge of the former enabled him to elaborate the theory of conical refraction. Again, the transformation of geometrical figures received great extension from the labours of Mr. Hirst and of Professor W. K. Clifford, who was cut off in his prime in 1879. Nevertheless, Professor Sylvester and Mr. Kempe proceeded to develop the principle of the conversion of circular into rectilinear motion, until they had evolved the theory of link-work, which opened the way to new and important possibilities. Further, the former, an Englishman by birth, but



THE LECTURE ROOM AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, LONDON.

an American by adoption, propounded in 1885 his theory of reciprocants, which more than doubled the resources of algebra, and in conjunction with Professor Cayley, of Cambridge, was engaged in applying to physical problems the new derivative forms known as invariants, convariants, and so forth.

The half century witnessed notable advances in the study of botany, and it became connected with zoology under the title of biology, instead of remaining isolated and therefore unfruitful. Sir William Hooker, and his no less illustrious son, Sir Joseph, contributed much to the knowledge of the geographical distribution of plants and their economical value, and under their care the Royal Gardens at Kew became the first botanical establishment in the world. To Robert Brown, the son of a minister at Montrose, was due the supplanting of the Linnæan system by that of vegetable physiology, and the discovery of new affinities strengthened the comparison of embryos. Again, Darwin took up Sprengel's discovery of the cross-fertilisation of flowers by means of insects, and thus added a new chapter to the known economy of nature. It remained, however, for a German, Hugo von Mohl, to discover what he called protoplasm, or the first formative material of plants, and another German, Von Baer, had already in his "History of the Development of Animals," laid the foundation of the science of embryology. Again, the cellular theory was of German origin, though it received important application at the hands of Dr. Dallinger, who, through its means, demonstrated in 1868 and onwards the impossibility of that "spontaneous generation" in which certain superficial speculators were inclined to place confidence. His microscopic observations showed, on the contrary, that there is a distinct parental origin to all living things, no matter how minute, and that no force in nature is sufficient to change the dead into the living except through organisms already living. The last twenty years of the period were peculiarly productive of distinguished biologists. Among them were Professor Rolleston, of Oxford, who died in 1881 at the early age of fifty-two; Francis Maitland Balfour, of Cambridge, who was cut off still more prematurely in the following year, when his school of "morphologists" promised to be most productive of results. Meanwhile, Mr. Romanes was delighting the public with popular expositions of the subject, and Professor W. K. Parker and Dr. Michael Foster were laboriously investigating the stages through which

the various species of the animal kingdom have arrived at their present forms.

Prior to Darwin's "Origin of Species," in order of time, and little inferior to it in importance, was Sir Charles Lyell's monumental work on the "Principles of Geology." It appeared in 1830, and at once destroyed those theories of recurrent catastrophes and cataclysms that had previously been in vogue, by teaching that the changes in the earth's surface have been caused by laws identical with those still in operation. Hence the antiquity of the earth obviously went much farther back than had hitherto been supposed, as the investigations of Sir Roderick Murchison and Professor Sedgwick into the earlier rock-formations were speedily to establish. Again, the Swiss naturalist, Agassiz, traced in 1840 the history of the Glacial Period, which immediately preceded our own; while the remote origin of man, which had hitherto been asserted only to meet scornful denial, was proved by flint instruments found among animals now extinct, and the discovery of the Swiss lake-dwellings of 1853. These and other facts were collected by Sir Charles Lyell in his memorable book on "The Antiquity of Man," published in 1863; while among the scholars he left behind him Professor Boyd Dawkins attained celebrity as the author of books on "Cave Hunting," and "Early Man in Britain." Meanwhile the investigations of Sir Richard Owen were reproducing, by means of fragments of skeletons, the lost races of immense reptiles, birds and mammals which formerly peopled the earth. His numerous writings, and especially the great work on "Fossil Reptiles," published in 1884, stamped him as the greatest palæontologist since Cuvier's time; and his doctrine of the "correlation of structure" proved most fruitful of results in pursuit of comparative anatomy. It remained for another of Lyell's distinguished pupils, Sir Archibald Geikie, to sum up the science of the earth's crust in his "Text Book of Geology," which was in itself a shining testimony to the advance that had been achieved in views of the uniformity of natural phenomena. We may add that Professor Croll and Mr. James Geikie worked out with marvellous ingenuity the various hot and cold spells of the Glacial Period, and its alternation in the northern and southern hemispheres.

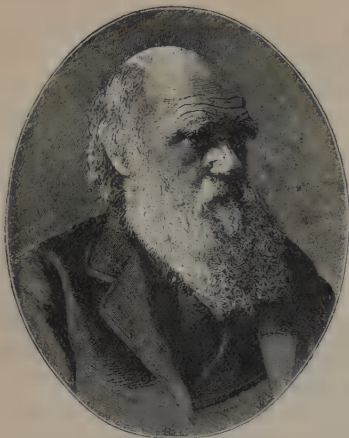
Thus Lyell and Owen were accumulating facts that tended to establish the evolutionary principle many years before the appearance of the "Origin of Species." Indeed, Lamarck had already hazarded the suggestion that the different kinds of animals

were descended from a few simple forms, but the idea fell upon barren soil, unsupported as it was by any very pertinent illustrations. Again, Robert Chambers's "Vestiges of Creation," published in 1844, undoubtedly hinted at the theory, though in phraseology rather devoid of precision. It remained for Darwin and Wallace to clothe the new departure in language which would take the reason captive, and carry conviction through the chief nations of Europe. The former published in 1839 his "Journal of Researches during a Voyage Round the World"—that famous voyage in the *Beagle* during which he observed facts which appeared to throw light upon the beginnings of plant and animal life. Twenty years were spent by him in the collection of evidence, and while he was working out his views, there came the extraordinary coincidence of the transmission of Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace's paper, independently stating the theory, from the Malay Archipelago. On July the 1st, 1858, his production and an essay of Darwin's were read together at the Linnæan Society, and in November, 1859, "The Origin of Species" burst upon Europe. To the next generation his views had become commonplaces; to his contemporaries they appeared revolutionary, if not blasphemous. In brief, Darwin's contentions come to this: that (1) no two animals and plants are identical in all respects; (2) that the children tend to inherit the peculiarities of their parents; (3) that only a small number of those which come into existence ever reach maturity; (4) that those are most likely to leave descendants which are best adapted to the circumstances in which they are placed. In other words, the struggle for existence, by resulting in the survival of the fittest, tended through natural selection to produce a race suited to its environment. Any account, however superficial, of the Darwinian controversy would require a small volume to itself, and it cannot therefore be attempted here. The most powerful scientific intellects in England at once rallied to its defence; notably Sir William Hooker, Lyell, and Professor Huxley, who became recognised as the most popular expositor of the new doctrine. Its assailants fastened upon the weak points in the theory: for instance, the absence of intermediate varieties between species, which he attributed to the imperfection of the geological record; and the more formidable stumbling-block, that no varieties of the same animal have been discovered so different that they do not pair, and therefore produce a mingling of the kinds. Here again Darwin could only answer that the animal and vegetable

kingdoms had only been for a short time under observation. Nevertheless, the hypothesis answered too many questions in natural history not to find acceptance. For example, men now understood why the oldest rocks only contained the most primitive forms of life; they could account also for the essential unity of plan in the formation of animals, and for the existence of organs wholly or partially disused.

Professor Wallace, meanwhile, strengthened the Darwinian cause by his "Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection," published in 1871, and later still, namely in 1889, he summed up the whole position in a most luminous work, entitled, "Darwinism, an exposition of the Theory of Natural Selection with some of its Applications." But already the disciples were pushing the theory far beyond their masters, notably Professor Haeckel in Germany, who attempted to trace the diversity of species to a primitive organism of simple and rudimentary construction. Mr. Darwin never quite approved of his illustrious pupil's conclusions, and in England they were attacked by Mr. St. George Mivart. The controversy, however, tended to leave the general aspects of natural selection and to concentrate upon man. We have said that the geological discoveries thrust back the origin of the human race to a far remoter epoch than had formerly been assigned to it. That conclusion was lucidly stated by Sir Charles Lyell in his important book, "The Antiquity of Man," published in 1863; and Sir John Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times" (1865), and "Origin of Civilisation" (1870) taught the same lesson from a different point of view. Again, McLennan's "Primitive Marriage," and Tylor's "Early History of Mankind" and "Primitive Culture," were further attempts to prove that man had started from a condition of savagery. Accordingly, the way had been prepared for Darwin's "Descent of Man," and its argument that human beings and the anthropoid apes have sprung from a common origin. Nevertheless, the book created a prodigious stir on its appearance in 1871, and was fiercely assailed by eminent men of science and illustrious teachers of religion. In its support, Darwin himself wrote "The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals;" Wallace "The Action of Natural Selection on Man;" and Professor Huxley did valiant battle in the magazines. Nevertheless, the theory remained a theory only, less valuable in itself than from the impulse it gave to the sciences dealing with man.

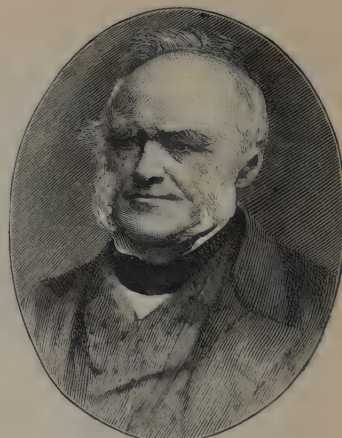
Thus the evolutionary idea profoundly affected



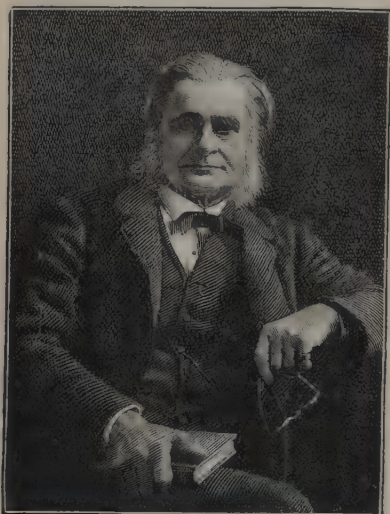
CHARLES DARWIN.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



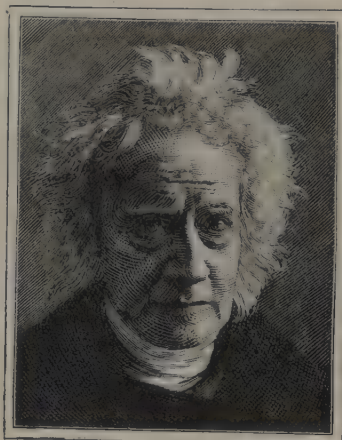
SIR RICHARD OWEN.
(From a Photograph by Done and Co.)



SIR CHARLES LYELL.
(From a Photo. by London Stereoscopic Co.)



THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



SIR JOHN HERSCHEL.
(From a Photograph by the late Mrs. Cameron.)



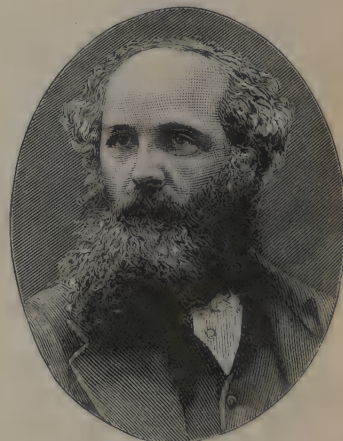
WILLIAM CROOKES.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



SIR JOSEPH DALTON HOOKER.



JAMES PRESCOTT JOULE.
(From a Photograph by A. Brothers and Co.)



JAMES CLERK MAXWELL.
(From a Photograph by Fergus and Son.)

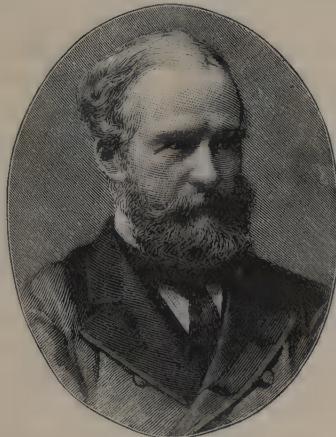
LEADERS IN SCIENCE.

the science of comparative philology, as taught by Professor Max Müller in his "Lectures on the Science of Language," and "Biographies of Words." It aided the science of anthropology, which Mr. Tylor continued to illustrate, notably in "Anthropology, an Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilisation." Of kindred purpose were Sir John Evans's "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," and "Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain and Ireland." Again, the history of institutions received a new development from Sir Henry Maine's "Ancient Law," published in 1861, his "Village Communities" (1871), "Early History of Institutions" (1875), and "Dissertations on Early Law and Custom." Again, comparative mythology was expounded by Mr. Lang in "Customs and Myth"; while Mr. Seebohm in 1883 threw fresh light upon a small portion of the subject already treated by Sir Henry Maine in "The Early Village Communities." The same industry was displayed by Professor Prichard and others in collecting evidence with regard to the existing races of mankind, both with reference to one another and their remote ancestors. But the evolutionary principle was, perhaps, even more directly visible in the writings of Mr. Herbert Spencer. In his hands it became a doctrine applicable to all phenomena, whether mental or physical, and, as applied to the human race, it formed for him the starting-point of a new study which he termed sociology, or the science of the development of society. As expounded in the "Principles of Sociology," and "Descriptive Sociology," it comprised an elaborate attempt to trace the evolution of human ideas, customs, ceremonial, political and ecclesiastical institutions. For example, he argued that early communities, being of a warlike character, were inevitably controlled by a strong centralised Government; whereas in the industrial communities of modern times the functions of the State are apt to be restricted to the negative duty of preventing one person from interfering with his neighbour's property.

Passing to the science of geography, we notice the achievement of important results, not only in the discovery of new countries, but also in tracing the configuration of the earth's surface and its causes. The foundation of the Royal

Geographical Society in 1830 had given considerable impetus to these pursuits, and the beginning of the Victorian era witnessed considerable activity in exploration, particularly in the Antarctic and Arctic Regions. Thus, in the year 1839 Sir James Ross started on his South Sea expedition, which established the continuity of the southern continent from 70° to 79° S., and which crossed the floe for over 1000 miles until stopped by an impenetrable wall of ice. Again, in 1845 came the ill-fated expedition of Sir John Franklin to the Arctic Regions, consisting of the *Erebus* and the *Terror*, neither of whose crews ever returned to civilisation. Nevertheless, it is now known that Sir John Franklin was within very little of accomplishing the North-West Passage, when he became blocked to the north of King William Island in 70° 5' N., and 98° 5' W., where he himself died, while his companions perished one by one in attempting to reach the Great Fish River. Thereupon followed numerous Franklin Search Expeditions, which added considerably to the knowledge of the Arctic Regions. Thus Sir James Ross's of 1848-49 discovered the western coast of North Somerset; while Sir Robert McClure, when relieved by Captain Meham from the Bay of God's Mercy, where he had been brought to a standstill, was able to accomplish the North-West Passage, partly by sea and partly by sledge, and to return home safe and sound in 1854. Finally,

Sir Leopold McClintock put an end to the uncertainty by discovering, during his voyage of 1857 to 1859, the pathetic document upon King William Island recording Franklin's death, while dead bodies and information from the Eskimo were the authorities for the rest of the tale. After this there was a lull in the exploration of the Arctic zone by Englishmen; and Americans, Swedes, and Austrians took up the race for the Pole in which so many succumbed. It was not until 1875 that another Polar Expedition started under the command of Sir George Nares, comprising the *Alert* and *Discovery*. Sir George brought the *Alert* farther north than ship had ever been brought before, namely to 82° 27' N.; that Commander Markham reached 83° 20' 26" with one sledge party; that Lieut. Aldrich discovered 200 miles of coast with another; and



SIR JOHN LUBBOCK.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

that Lieut. Beaumont surveyed much of North Greenland with a third.

Again, the map of Africa bore a very different appearance in 1887 from that of fifty years earlier. Thus Dr. Barth, the German survivor of an expedition fitted out in England, succeeded in visiting, between 1849 and 1855, the great Central African States of Bornou and Sokoto, in the neighbourhood of Lake Tchad, and even penetrated to Timbuctoo. The next Englishman to adventure to these regions, was Baikie, who, in his "Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Niger" (1856), described 250 miles of that river which were previously unknown, and gave valuable information about the Haussa communities. Again, from the east coast, Burton and Speke in 1857 discovered Lake Tanganyika, and Speke, going northward, hit upon the south end of Victoria Nyanza. In 1860 he returned in company with Captain Grant, and explored the western side of the lake until the outlet of the White Nile was reached. Having met Sir Samuel Baker, they informed him of another great sheet of water reported to lie to the west. This Baker discovered in 1864 and named Albert Nyanza.

Meanwhile, Livingstone in South Africa had discovered Lake Ngami, in 1842, had crossed the Kalahari Desert, and had crossed and recrossed the entire breadth of the continent, discovering on the way the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi. His second journey, undertaken in 1858, resulted in the exploration of the Zambesi, the ascent of the Shiré, and the discovery of Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa. In 1866 he set out on his last expedition, his principal object being the discovery of the true sources of the Nile. Instead, he hit upon the Lualaba or Upper Congo, and though rescued by Mr. H. M. Stanley at Ujiji, dysentery laid him low in 1873 with the mystery still unsolved. Commander Cameron, who had started to his relief, succeeded in surveying the southern part of Lake Tanganyika, in hitting upon its outlet, the Lukugu, and, after crossing the Lualaba at Nyangwé in traversing the continent, emerging in Portuguese territory. It was reserved for Mr. Stanley in 1878 to publish "Through the Dark Continent," containing a record of the circumnavigations of Victoria Nyanza, of Tanganyika, and the survey of some 780 miles of the Lualaba, whose identity with the Congo he demonstrated conclusively. His work was continued upon the various tributaries by the missionary, Mr. Grenfell, who established the existence of several important waterways, especially the Mobanghi. Finally, Mr. Stanley started

in 1887 on an expedition to relieve Emin Pasha, which resulted in the exploration of the uplands watered by the Aruwihimi, in the discovery of Lake Albert Edward Nyanza, and of Mount Ruwenzori, from whose slopes he believed the sources of the Nile to flow.

In Asia the work accomplished was hardly so marked; still, the additions to knowledge were by no means unsubstantial. Thus, the trigonometrical survey of India, begun by Colonel Lambton, and continued by Sir George Everest, caused the geography of Northern India to be ascertained with wonderful accuracy, while in the course of its progress Sir Andrew Waugh was able to fix the height of the highest peak in the Himalayas, which he named Mount Everest, at 29,002 above the sea. Again, Central Asia was penetrated in 1838 by Lieut. Ward, who discovered the source of the Oxus, and two years later Lieutenants Shakespeare, Conolly, and Abbott succeeded in reaching Khiva. Farther east, Dr. Hooker and Dr. Watson reached in 1848 the passes connecting India with Tibet and Yarkand, but the latter country was not thoroughly explored until 1869, when Messrs. Shaw and Haywood visited it and Kashgar, whither also Sir Douglas Forsyth directed his steps in 1870 and 1873. The credit for the exploration of the Pamir plateau belongs rather to Russians than to Englishmen, though Colonels Montgomerie and Walker and Captain Trotter boldly attacked that region from the side of India. Further, Mr. Ney Elias succeeded, in 1868 and onwards, in traversing many previously unknown parts of China and Mongolia, and Augustus Margary was murdered in 1875, while attempting to open a trade-route between India and the Celestial Empire. Messrs. Grosvenor and Baber traversed through districts of the interior previously unvisited by Europeans, on their mission to collect evidence as to his assassination. Finally Mr. A. R. Colquhoun and a small party penetrated, in 1881 and 1882, through the Shan country to the back of Upper Burma, emerging at Bhamo on the Irrawaddy.

Elsewhere equal courage was displayed; notably in Australasia, where the inhospitable nature of the interior did not prevent numerous brave Englishmen from risking their lives; from Sir George Grey, who explored West Australia, and found the sources of the Glenelg river between 1837 and 1840, to the numerous discoverers—for instance, Mr. T. F. Bevan, the Rev J. Chalmers, Messrs. Hartmann and Hunter—who were busily engaged in 1887 in making New Guinea yield its secrets.

Again, much excellent work was accomplished in the inhospitable parts of South America, notably by Sir Robert Schomburgk, who explored the delta of the Orinoco in 1841, and by Commander Musters who, in 1870, crossed Patagonia from south to north. In 1887 Mr. G. P. James succeeded in crossing the continent from Peru to the Atlantic, while far away to the north Lieut. Howard and Mr. Seton Karr were discovering rivers and mountain ranges in barren Alaska.

In respect of the earth's configuration, or the science of physical geography, as it is called, Sir Andrew Ramsay did much to explain the origin of lakes, through his theory that they are due either to irregular accumulations of drift, or to moraines, or that, as in the case of the great Swiss and Italian lakes, they have been scooped by glacier-ice out of the solid rock. His "Physical Geology and Geography of Great Britain," published in 1853, was an epoch-making book. Again, much light was thrown upon the action of glaciers by the discovery of Forbes and Agassiz in 1843, that the centre moved more rapidly than the sides; while Professor Tyndall, acting upon a suggestion of Faraday's, demonstrated that a glacial valley is a mould through which ice is forced, and to the shape of which it can accommodate itself. Again, with regard to volcanoes, Lyell, following the hints supplied by Poulett Scrope, conclusively proved in 1858 that they have been formed not by upheavals from below, but by gradual accumulations of lava and ashes. Several years previously, namely in 1842, Darwin published his monograph on "Coral Islands," which advanced the theory that the reefs and islands rest upon land which is gradually undergoing subsidence. In 1880, however, Dr. John Murray, of the *Challenger* expedition, advocated the old theory that the reefs have grown upon submerged mountains. He explained the difficulty comprised in the fact that the reef-making coral will not live below 25 fathoms by the hypothesis that some mountains may have reached the surface and then have been submerged by the waves, while others were raised by maritime deposits. These views were strenuously supported by Dr. Guppy in 1887 as the result of investigations in the Solomon Islands. The *Challenger* expedition, however, did much more than survey coral reefs, for it revolutionised the prevalent views as to the bed of the ocean. Animal life was discovered at depths where its existence had never been suspected before; and Sir Wyville Thomson, the party's scientific chief, maintained that not only calcareous and silicious rocks, but even clay

as well, are formed from material which once formed portions of living organisms. And what the *Challenger* accomplished in the way of soundings for the ocean as a whole was carried out by many famous hydrographers on various shores, notably by Sir Frederick Evans, who surveyed the coast of New Zealand so far back as 1847. Nor should we omit the ordnance survey of the United Kingdom, of which the part relating to Ireland was completed in 1842, chiefly through the exertions of Lieut. Thomas Drummond, R.E., afterwards well known as the country's Permanent Under-Secretary. The triangulation of the whole kingdom was finished in 1852 and subsequently connected with those of Belgium and France, after which the national standards of length were compared under the superintendence of Colonel Clarke. The cadastral survey began in 1854 under the direction of Lieut.-Col. Sir Henry James, and it was carried to a successful conclusion in 1887. The production of maps showing not only every road, canal, house, and piece of land, but—in the more elaborate editions—the slope of the ground and the slope of the hills, was a striking testimony to the engineers and cartographers concerned in it. The process was greatly assisted by the invention of photo-zincography by Captain A. de C. Scott in 1859.

The progress of medicine and surgery during the fifty years was conclusively proved by the decline of the death-rate from something over 22 per 1000 to about 19 per 1000 for England and Wales. Sanitary legislation had much to do with this excellent result; and the knowledge of the effects of disease upon large masses of mankind was advanced by many medical officers in Government employ, especially by Sir John Simon, who from 1857 to 1876 was attached to the Privy Council first, and then to the Local Government Board. He perceived that contagions must consist of definite particles, and that they must obviously differ from one another in character. Thus in 1849 Dr. Snow traced an epidemic of cholera to a single pump near Golden Square, and Dr. William Budd in 1857 was able to attribute typhoid fever to a definite contagion communicated by water-supply. The study of bacteriology on the Continent, first by Cohn, and afterwards by Pasteur and Koch, enabled further distinctions to be drawn in the origin of infectious diseases, and hence the proper corrective treatment could be adopted at far earlier periods than formerly. Much remained to be discovered about the sources of sicknesses like scarlet-fever and diphtheria.

Nevertheless, the researches of various specialists, such as Mr. W. H. Power of the Local Government Board, established the fact that both epidemics could be communicated by milk, and that the cows were frequently found to be suffering from ulceration. These conclusions were confirmed in the Jubilee year by the German bacteriologist, Dr. Klein; while three years previously

kidney was of purely English origin, and with it were connected the names of Dr. Bright and Dr. Golding Bird. Again, much progress was made in the knowledge of the nervous system, notably by Dr. Marshall Hall, who in 1837 discovered the reflex action of the spinal cord. He was succeeded by Dr. W. B. Carpenter, whose researches did much to diffuse a proper notion of physiology,



ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS, LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, LONDON.

another German, Dr. Koch, anticipated Dr. Timothy Lewis and Dr. Carter by discovering the germ of cholera.

When Dr. Parkes, a distinguished London physician, set himself, in a lecture delivered in 1873, to trace the progress of medicine during a forty years' experience, he declared that two discoveries "stood high above what followed." They were the application of the stethoscope to detect the condition of the heart and lungs, and the use of the test-tube and chemicals to discover irregularities in the kidney. The first, the invention of the Frenchman Laennec, was in fairly general use in England in the year 1837, thanks to Dr. John Forbes, and Dr. William Stokes, of Dublin; but the new treatment of diseases of the

though he shrank from substantiating his discoveries by the test of vivisection. That criterion was not neglected by Professor Ferrier, who, by experiments upon living animals, succeeded in effecting great improvement in the treatment of epilepsy and even in localising the various functions of the brain. Yet with localisation there came a more efficient separation of diseases, due to improvements of diagnosis. Thus serous apoplexy, which even so eminent a physician as Dr. Abercrombie, who died in 1844, placed among diseases of the brain, was ultimately traced by Sir Richard Quain and others to the failure of the kidney. Again, strong distinctions became established between the form of fevers. Thus, in 1840 Dr. A. P. Stewart insisted upon the difference between

typhus and typhoid, and nine years later Sir William Jenner placed the question beyond a doubt.

New instruments were invented which enabled operations to be performed that would have appeared incredible to the previous generation. Thus, the laryngoscope, introduced into London from France in 1862, permitted the removal of diseased growths in the throat, and prepared the way for the dangerous operation of tracheotomy, which, though chiefly practised in Germany, found in England a brilliant expositor in Sir Morell Mackenzie. Again, great improvements were effected in the instruments used in lithotomy and lithotrity, and by their aid Sir Henry Thompson performed operations, towards the close of the period, from which his predecessors would have recoiled. We may also notice the immense advances effected in the removal of ovarian tumours. That dangerous experiment was first performed successfully in England by Dr. Walne in 1842, but for years the percentage of deaths was enormous, and eminent authorities actually advised its abandonment. It remained for Sir Spencer Wells, by careful experiment, so to reduce the perils attending the excision that the disease was cured in nine cases out of ten. Various methods were employed, but the most successful was the antiseptic, or Listerian, which was first practised by Mr. Knowsley Thornton, at the Samaritan Free Hospital, in 1877. In the hands of Dr. Bantock and Dr. Lawson Tait it attained a high degree of scientific precision.

At the beginning of the period, three distinguished surgeons, Liston, Syme, and Sir William Fergusson, were performing operations which aroused the wonder of their contemporaries. Their chief innovation consisted in the excision of diseased joints, for instance that of the elbow, instead of amputating the limb as formerly. To this treatment Fergusson, who died in 1877, gave the name of "conservative surgery," and his additions to practical experience included also the excision of the knee-joint, and of the femur in the case of incurable hip-disease, besides some wonderful operations on the upper jaw. They were greatly aided by the introduction of anæsthetics, of which ether, first used in America, was employed by Liston in England at the close of 1846. In the following year Sir James Simpson first gave chloroform to

women in their confinement, and, in spite of much opposition, anæsthetics became universal. Thus, operations could be performed with comparative leisure, and by the use of improved systems of ligatures death from hæmorrhage was rendered far less frequent than formerly. In 1865 Sir Joseph Lister introduced the "antiseptic" system, which was based upon Pasteur's investigations into bacterial germs. It aimed at avoiding the putrefaction of wounds by working under a cloud of spray, either carbolic or, as was afterwards the case, of water. In many hospitals the antiseptic treatment was eventually discarded, but the lesson had been taught that cleanliness in surgery was indispensable against deaths from gangrene and other forms of blood-poisoning. Among the more specialised departments of surgery we may mention that dealing with the diseases of the eye, which received new developments through the use of the ophthalmoscope, which, though invented by Babbage in 1847, was first put to practical purposes in Germany. Thus, a better knowledge was gained of the eye's composition; and the removal of cataract and glaucoma and the cure of squint became matters of comparative ease. These operations were greatly assisted by the use of cocaine, instead of ether or chloroform, which began about 1884. Nevertheless, in ophthalmic surgery the English practitioners had a good deal to learn from the Germans.

On the whole, however, the medical profession had every reason to be proud of its fifty years' record. If in certain specialised departments of the art its leading men were excelled abroad, it could point to a high standard of professional excellence, and a lofty code of professional honour. In Scotland an illustrious school carried on the traditions of Christison, while in London Sir James Paget, Sir William Savory, Sir William Gull, and a host of others had raised the status of the physician and the surgeon hardly less by their personal characters than by their scientific attainments. Thanks to them, the medical student of the Bob Sawyer type had become a being of the past, and in no walk of life was there a greater devotion to duty. In conclusion, we may point out that, towards the end of the period, lady doctors appeared; the first being Mrs. Garrett-Anderson, who, in 1866, began her medical career as attendant to St Mary's Dispensary, London.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*continued*).

Victorian Literature—Philosophy and Psychology—Dr. Bain and the Scottish School—Herbert Spencer and Materialism—Carlyle and Macaulay—Minor Historians—Burton and Froude—The Later School—Ancient, Foreign, and Military History—Archæology—Biography—Autobiography and Memoirs—Historical Documents—Political Economy and Philosophy—Travel—Philology—Criticism—Matthew Arnold—Scholarship—Dickens—Thackeray—Charlotte Brontë and Mrs. Gaskell—Kingsley, Bulwer Lytton, and Disraeli—Minor Novelists—"George Eliot"—Wilkie Collins, Anthony Trollope, and Others—Meredith and Hardy—The later Writers of Fiction—Indian and Colonial Novelists—The Young Generation—Writers for Boys and Girls—Tennyson—Browning—Mrs. Browning and Matthew Arnold—Minor Poets—The Irish School—Coventry Patmore—Rossetti, Swinburne, and William Morris—W. B. Scott, "Owen Meredith," and Others—Later Verse—Mr. Buchanan and his Contemporaries—The Drama in 1837—Bulwer Lytton—Charles Reade and Tom Taylor—Boucicault and Byron—Gilbert, Wills, and Others—Periodical Literature—Journalism, Weekly and Daily.

THE Victorian era forms a distinctive epoch in literature no less than that of Elizabeth or Anne, though it would be difficult to establish a clear line of division between many of its most characteristic products and those of the later Georgian age. On the other hand, towards the end of the "fifties" a distinct change of feeling and form does separate earlier from later Victorian writings. The first were lucid and elevated in style, and dwelt for the most part on externalities; while the second aimed rather at scientific precision than at beauty of language, and were essentially philosophic and reflective. In fiction we pass from Dickens to George Eliot, and in history from Macaulay to Bishop Stubbs.

In philosophy and psychology, Dr. Whewell, the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, ably summarised and criticised the conclusions of the Kantian school in his "Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences," published in 1840. A still more remarkable book, the "Logic" of John Stuart Mill, which appeared in 1843, was written partly by way of counterblast, and aimed at applying the scientific principles of cause and effect, as exemplified in the physical world, to the parallel speculations in the moral world. Another important contribution to logic was Sir William Hamilton's; and Dean Mansel, his pupil, carried on his speculations in the "Prolegomena Logica," published in 1851, and in a contribution on "Metaphysics" to the eighth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." They introduced the device of the quantification of the predicate, and established the English school upon a firm basis, which W. S. Jevons, a brilliant writer who died young, stated with remarkable force in his "Elementary Treatise on Logic," published in 1870. Again, Sir William Hamilton's collected essays, published in 1852, and his edition of "The Works of Dr. Thomas Reid" (1846), formed expositions of his

general philosophy, which were handled by Mill in a spirit of appreciative criticism in the "Examination of Hamilton's Philosophy" (1865). In general he was a follower of Kant, denying the existence of any direct consciousness of self, and holding that all we can know of mind, as of matter, is phenomena. He refuted the doctrine of the relativity of thought, and argued that its faculty is based upon comparisons, upon which there is superinduced classification giving two kinds of notions, abstract and concrete. Another writer much influenced by German philosophy, particularly by Kant and Fichte, was Professor J. F. Ferrier, whose "Institutes of Metaphysics" (1854) built up an elaborate system from the minimum assumption of the inevitable self-consciousness of all intelligence.

Meanwhile the discoveries in the department of physics had caused pure metaphysics to fall into disrepute, and the doctrine of hereditary tendencies profoundly affected the course of thought. Dr. Alexander Bain, afterwards Professor of Logic at Aberdeen University, was the first to give expression to the new ideas in two epoch-making books, "The Senses and the Intellect," published in 1855, and "The Emotions and the Will," in 1859; while later came his "Compendium of Mental and Moral Science" (1868), and "Mind and Body" (1872). He grounded psychology on physiology, and regarded the human organism as capable of originating active impulses, not dependent upon the stimulation of the senses. Of the Scottish school thus originated Mr. Croom Robertson exercised great influence as Professor of Logic at University College, London; while Professor Balfour Stewart and Professor Tait, better known perhaps for their physical researches, published in conjunction two remarkable works of speculative philosophy, "The Unseen Universe" (1874), and "Paradoxical Philosophy" (1878).

The influence of the Darwinian theory is, however, most clearly discernible in Mr. Herbert Spencer, upon the leading features of whose teaching we have already touched. His "Principles of Psychology," published in 1855, was a direct attempt to adapt the doctrine of evolution to the relations between mind and matter. In it he argued that the universal law of intelligence flows directly, in the genesis of our ideas, from the operation of mind and nature. The "First Principles" followed in 1862, and they showed that he was strongly under the influence of George Henry Lewes, who was simultaneously producing the series of essays entitled "Problems of Life and Mind." Works even more materialistic in tendency were Dr. Maudsley's "Physiology of the Mind and Brain," and Professor Clifford's "Seeing and Thinking"; while Mr. Galton's books, for instance, "Inquiries into the Human Faculty and its Development," were equally calculated to alarm by their relentless exposition of the doctrine of heredity. Hence there occurred towards the end of the period a strong reaction towards metaphysics. Mr. Frederic Harrison and Professor Beesley set themselves to preach the gospel of Comte; Hegel found able disciples in Mr. J. H. Stirling, and in Professor T. H. Green, whose early death in 1882 was a distinct loss to English philosophy; and Mr. Sully expounded the pessimism of Schopenhauer. Again, Kant was the main inspirer of Miss F. P. Cobbe's Essays; and Dr. Martineau fearlessly taught moral responsibility in his luminous treatises "Religion as Affected by Modern Responsibility" (1874), and "Types of Ethical Theory" (1885).

In no department of literature was the intellectual activity of the reign more manifest than in that of historical research. Thomas Carlyle's literary career does not exactly coincide with the Victorian era, as "Sartor Resartus" had appeared in *Fraser's Magazine*. But the date on the title-page of the first edition of "The French Revolution" is 1837, and that splendid prose-poem at once made his reputation; it retained its place at the close of the period, though the critics made the world aware of many inaccuracies in fact, for instance, in the account of the flight to Varennes. The "Letters of Cromwell" appeared in 1845, and in spite of the odd jumble of text with commentary, they constituted a genuine contribution to the history of England, as the true Protector had previously been hidden under vast accumulations of prejudice. Between 1857 and 1865 the various instalments of Carlyle's last and

greatest work, "The Life of Frederick the Great," were published, and despite a tendency to extenuate its hero's shortcomings, the wonderful vitality and philosophic insight of the narrative caused it to become at once an English classic. With the appallingly sudden death of Mrs. Carlyle in 1866, the real source of his inspiration became dry, and though he lived until 1881 the acknowledged king of English literature, he wrote scarcely at all, except an occasional letter to *The Times*, and "Shooting Niagara" (1867), a pamphlet upon the tendencies of modern politics, a theme which he had previously treated with brilliant sarcasm in "Latter-day Pamphlets" (1850).

Carlyle's great rival, Lord Macaulay, returned from India in 1838, and the republication of his essays from the *Edinburgh Review* in 1843 secured for him a wide and enduring popularity with the public at large. They exhibited, at its best, his brilliant style and his multifarious learning, but they were marred by a strong tendency to dogmatism and a partisanship which led him, notably in the case of Warren Hastings, into the gravest errors of judgment. The same qualities and the same defects are to be seen in his "History of England from the Accession of James II.," which appeared between 1848 and 1860. As narrative it is unsurpassable, but the reflective side of history is almost entirely ignored. His only standards of comparison were those of material prosperity, and when he had to deal with a hateful individual, like Claverhouse or Marlborough, his prejudices led him to distort evidence in the most astounding manner.

By the side of these two great writers stood others less noteworthy in degree, but still meritorious. "The History of Civilisation," by Henry Thomas Buckle (1857), is a somewhat inadequate attempt to explain the philosophy of history by the theory that man is governed by fixed laws both natural and moral, consequently that great men are products of the age and of circumstance. On the other hand, Dean Milman's "History of Latin Christianity" (1854-56) was a most sober-going piece of impartial research, which, though defective in parts, formed a well-arranged and luminous whole. Miss Martineau's "History of the Thirty Years' Peace" was unfortunately written before the best documentary evidence was procurable, and can hardly be called a monument of impartiality. Lord Mahon (afterwards Lord Stanhope) wrote a "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles," which was conscientious but commonplace; it

appeared at intervals between 1836 and 1840. But the best work apart from Macaulay and Carlyle was accomplished in the department of ancient history. Grote's "History of Greece," published between 1846 and 1856, remained unsuperseded at the end of the period, its sound common-sense atoning for its lack of imagination, and its curious tendency to measure Athenian Democrats by the standards of Radical reformers. Again, Bishop Thirlwall's "History of Greece" (1835-47) was in many respects admirable; and so was Dr. Thomas Arnold's "History of Rome," (1838-43), though it was based for the most part on Niebuhr. Two deans, Dr. Liddell and Dr. Merivale, also dealt with the same fruitful theme. Among minor works connected with this subject Sir George Cornewall Lewis's "Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History" was a noteworthy demonstration of the arbitrariness of Niebuhr's then generally accepted theories.

The later school of historians was more painstaking than the old, but its works were less readable. The study, under German influences, became scientific and specialised; instead of boldly handling the annals of a race, men spent their lives in the investigation of a single period. Indeed, the mass of evidence resulting from the opening of the Record Office to the public, and the output of societies like the Camden, rendered some such division of labour absolutely necessary. Among those who adhered to older methods was Dr. J. H. Burton, whose "History of Scotland" (1853-1870), though a useful general authority, was very inferior in parts, especially those dealing with the earliest epochs, to the works of Dr. Skene and Dr. Robertson. Again, Mr. Froude was a distinct disciple of Carlyle, both in his picturesque treatment of events, and his tendency to worship the strong man. Triumphant successes as literature, but of little real historical merit, neither his "History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Defeat of the Spanish Armada" (1856-1869), nor his "English in Ireland" (1872-74), seemed destined to live, except for such brilliant feats of narration as the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, or the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Far different were the qualities of Bishop Stubbs, whose monumental work, "The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development," appeared between 1874 and 1878. It gave for the first time an adequate account of the growth of English institutions, and entirely superseded such imperfect surveys as that contained in Hallam's "Middle Ages." Again, Mr. Freeman,

though he worked in many fields of history, for instance the Sicilian and the Saracenic, concentrated his efforts upon the elucidation of an obscure and early period of English annals. His "History of the Norman Conquest," which appeared between 1867 and 1876, and the "Reign of William Rufus," which followed in 1882, were the results of sound scholarship, and were written in a powerful style. What Mr. Freeman accomplished for the Norman period Dr. Brewer did for the Tudor in his "Reign of Henry VIII.," which originally appeared as a series of introductions to his calendar of the State papers of that age. Meanwhile, Dr. S. R. Gardiner devoted himself to the Stuart period with a ripe judgment and untiring assiduity, though he appeared a little deficient in the power of condensing knowledge. His first instalment, beginning with the accession of James I., was published in 1863, and in December, 1886, he published his first volume of the "History of the Civil War." Mr. Lecky, who had already produced histories of "Rationalism" and of "European Morals," published the two first volumes of his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century" in 1878, and was still proceeding with his task in 1887. It consisted of a series of thoughtful essays, and though the space allotted to Irish affairs seemed rather excessive, the whole was a valuable repertory of political sagacity.

The discoveries of Assyriologists and Egyptologists, notably Sir Henry Rawlinson's deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions, furnished his brother, Professor George Rawlinson, with materials for his learned "History of the Seven Great Oriental Monarchies," his "Ancient Egypt," and his "Egypt and Babylon," which appeared at intervals between 1862 and 1885. Sir William Muir was the author of the "Annals of the Early Caliphate" (1883), and Sir Henry Howorth expounded the vicissitudes of the Moghul Empire. In the year 1864 Finlay accomplished a notable work in completing his "History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans," which, though occasionally diffuse, was full of sound disquisitions. Bishop Creighton made a valuable contribution to ecclesiastical history in his "History of the Papacy during the Reformation;" and Mr. Hodgkin ventured, with conspicuous success, to follow Gibbon in dealing with "Italy and her Invaders." Professor Bryce published a most suggestive essay on "The Holy Roman Empire;" and Professor Seeley, otherwise known as the author of two remarkable works, "Ecce Homo" and "Natural Religion," made a valuable contribution to German history in his

"Life and Times of Stein," and traced the development of the Empire in his "Expansion of England." Mr. Fyfe also furnished a most readable and spirited compendium of Continental annals in his "History of Modern Europe." Among the minor historians who helped in the rewriting of English history we may mention Sir Francis Palgrave, and Mr. Pearson; while Mr. J. R. Green, in his "Short History of the English People," and

military history, the age hardly produced an adequate successor to Sir William Napier. Sir John Kaye wrote a competent account of the first Afghan War, but he was less successful in unfolding the complex events of the Indian Mutiny. Mr. Kinglake's "History of the War in the Crimea" had many admirable qualities, and commanded a wide popularity. It was, however, too much of an apology for Lord Raglan to be



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his "Making of England," accomplished brilliant pieces of picturesque writing, which were but slightly marred by superficial inaccuracies and a disregard of chronology. Sir Erskine May's "Constitutional History" furnished an admirable summary of developments from the accession of George III., written in a spirit of judicious impartiality. Mr. Spencer Walpole, in his "History of England since 1815," compiled a useful and accurate book of reference which, however, tended to the commonplace both in style and thought; and Mr. Justin McCarthy in his "History of our Own Times," produced an agreeable, if somewhat slight, narrative of the Queen's reign. In

absolutely trustworthy, and his battle-scenes were encumbered by an excess of detail.

Among archæologists the names of Sir John Wilkinson, author of the "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians" (1837-41); Dennis, who wrote "Etruria" (1848); Mr. C. T. Newton, writer of "History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus" (1862), and "Travels and Discoveries in the Levant" (1865); Dr. Birch, who described "Ancient Potteries;" Dr. Bruce, who published accounts of "The Roman Wall;" and Mr. Murray, the historian of Greek art, stood conspicuous.

In biography the age produced much meritorious

achievement but few masterpieces. There was throughout a tendency to bury the story in documentary evidence, which helped no doubt to impart information, but destroyed the literary value of the works in question. Lockhart's "Life of Sir Walter Scott" (1837-1839) avoided that fault, and promptly established itself as one of the best biographies in the language; and so did Carlyle's "Life of John Sterling" (1851). In the way of general biography Agnes Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England" (1840-49) were, on the whole, trivial; and Lord Campbell's "Lives of the Chancellors" (1845) hopelessly careless and sometimes partial. The best achievement in this line was Dean Hook's "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury" (1860-76), though its merits were somewhat unequal. Dean Stanley's "Life of Dr. Arnold" (1844) suffered from the undue tendency to quote from documents to which we have alluded; and John Forster's Lives of Landor (1869) and of Dickens (1871-74) were but equivocal successes. On the other hand, biography was reunited to literature by Mark Pattison in his "Life of Isaac Casaubon" (1865); by Sir George Trevelyan in his admirable "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay" (1876), and his "Early Times of Charles James Fox" (1880), and by Mr. John Morley in his thoughtful monographs on Burke, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot, produced between 1867 and 1871. Sir Theodore Martin accomplished a delicate task in his "Life of the Prince Consort" (1874-1880) with discrimination and literary skill. The later portion of the period was peculiarly rich in political biography; indeed, there was hardly a statesman of eminence whose career was not set forth in the orthodox two volumes. Among the most successful pieces of composition may be mentioned Lord Dalling's "Life of Lord Palmerston," continued by Mr. Evelyn Ashley; Mr. John Morley's "Cobden"; Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's "Lord Shelburne"; Lord Stanhope's "Pitt"; Mr. Edwin Hodder's "Lord Shaftesbury"; nor can we omit Sir Wemyss Reid's Lives of Mr. W. E. Forster and Lord Houghton; and Mr. Spencer Walpole's of Lord John Russell, though, strictly speaking, they do not come within the period under review. Of the artists Sir Joshua Reynolds found worthy recorders in Tom Taylor and C. R. Leslie; Constable in Leslie, and Blake in Gilchrist. Professor Masson's "Life of Milton," and Professor Dowden's "Life of Shelley"; Mr. Cross's "George Eliot," and Mrs. Grote's "Personal Life of George Grote" were excellent of their kind; while the

"English Men of Letters" and similar series provided within a small space admirable studies of authors' lives and works. Of the numerous Lives of men of action it is sufficient to mention Marshman's "Havelock," and Bosworth-Smith's "Lord Lawrence"; while Mr. Samuel Smiles's Lives of engineers and of self-made men were widely popular. More deeply interesting from a personal point of view were such autobiographies as Mill's, Carlyle's, Mark Pattison's, and Cardinal Newman's "Apologia pro Vitâ Suâ"; while if Sir Henry Taylor did not aim so high, he at least afforded entertainment. Of the numerous publications of diaries, correspondence, and reminiscences, special praise appears due to Thomas Moore's diaries, edited by Lord John Russell; B. R. Haydon's by Tom Taylor, and Crabb Robinson's by Thomas Sadler. Towards the end of the period Mr. L. J. Jennings published a fund of political information in the "Croker Papers" (1884); while of immense value to the future historian were the Journals of Mr. Charles Greville, and Lord Malmesbury's "Memories of an Ex-Minister," though the former was very unjust towards individuals, and the latter perpetrated numerous mistakes in dates and facts.

In pure editorship the historical scholars of the time were to be seen to great advantage in the Rolls Series, or—to give it the official title—the collection of "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages," which was begun in 1857 on the suggestion of the Master of the Rolls, Lord Romilly. Its value was increased by the admirable introductions contributed by the editors, for example, those of Bishop Stubbs. More recent periods received considerable elucidation from such productions as Sir Harris Nicolas's edition of Nelson's despatches, Colonel Garraud's of the Duke of Wellington's, and the third Earl Grey's publication of the correspondence between his father and King William IV. An undertaking of the utmost merit was the "Dictionary of National Biography," which began in 1885 under the editorship of Mr. Leslie Stephen, and which was steadily proceeding at the rate of four volumes *per annum*.

In political economy no remarkable writer appeared until 1844, when Mill produced his "Essays on Unsettled Questions in Political Economy," which were followed four years later by his important treatise. Though scarcely original, it did much to define the science, and to develop its practical side by an acute examination of the various forms of Socialism. Jevons, on the other hand, applied

mathematics to political economy, and his "Theory" was followed by Professor Marshall and Professor Edgeworth. Mr. Fawcett, on the whole, may be classed as a follower of Mill, though his "Manual" effected modifications in some of that writer's theories; and Professor Cairnes, in some cogently-reasoned works, imposed further limitations on the practical application of economic teaching. In the kindred subject of finance the period produced several notable writers, especially Mr. (afterwards Lord) Goschen, Mr. A. J. Wilson, and Dr. Giffen, who was also an authority on comparative statistics. In political philosophy, taken in its widest sense, Carlyle stood forth as a somewhat despondent guide. More serene in tone was Mill's noteworthy treatise on "Liberty" and his essay on the "Subjection of Women." At the beginning of the period Albany de Fonblanque, Herman Merivale, and Gibbon Wakefield exercised considerable influence upon the public mind. Somewhat later Sir George Cornewall Lewis published his sober essays on "The Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion," and his treatise on the "Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics." Far more vivacious in style, if occasionally inclined to paradox, were such works of Walter Bagehot's as "Physics and Politics," and "Parliamentary Reform," not to mention the popular "Lombard Street." Sir James Stephen, chiefly known as a writer on jurisprudence, and the author of a remarkable exposure of Macaulay entitled "The Story of Nuncomar," published some suggestive essays, including "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Again, Sir Erskine May's "History of Democracy in Europe" was a remarkable book, whatever might be thought of its decidedly pessimistic conclusions. The immensity of the English empire was illustrated by Sir Charles Dilke in his "Greater Britain" (1868), and towards the end of 1889 he produced a most admirably informed sequel in "Problems of Greater Britain."

Books of travel abounded during the fifty years, and some of them, notably Borrow's "Bible in Spain" (1843), Kinglake's "Eothen" (1844), Lawrence Oliphant's "Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission to China" (1859), and Gifford Palgrave's "Personal Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia" (1863), attained high rank as literature. But their interest was for the most part geographical or zoological, and we have already dealt with the more important under those heads. Accordingly we can pass to

the history and criticism of literature, which had many devotees during the period under review. Our own language was most diligently studied by a resolute band of scholars, beginning with J. M. Kemble and proceeding with Dr. Furnivall, Professor Earle and Professor Skeat. Their labours were embodied in Dr. J. A. H. Murray's monumental "English Dictionary," which was begun in 1879. Celtic literature had its scholars in O'Curry and O'Donovan; while Halliwell Phillips devoted a lifetime to the study of Shakespeare and the collection of relics and manuscripts. The history of English literature was undertaken by numerous writers on a small scale, and by Professor Henry Morley in elaborate detail. Another work of similar scope was Mr. Leslie Stephen's "English Thought in the Eighteenth Century" (1876); while Mr. Addington Symonds, in his volumes on "The Renaissance in Italy" (1875-86), sketched both literature and political history with admirable results. In criticism Macaulay, at the beginning of the reign, exhibited his usual brilliancy, combined with his usual prejudice and defects of taste. It was not until Matthew Arnold appeared that the age produced a worthy successor to Lamb and Hazlitt, though Leigh Hunt was still writing much delightful work, having survived most of his contemporaries. Arnold, the distinguished son of a distinguished father, occupied a position that tended to change as he advanced in life. He began, after a period of poetical activity, by producing between 1861 and 1868 a series of lectures on "Translating Homer," "Essays in Criticism" and an essay on "The Study of Celtic Literature," all masterpieces of analysis. He next turned to social and political topics, and published in 1870 his famous essay on "Culture and Anarchy." It satirised with considerable effect the paltriness of party politics, and more especially the shortcomings of orthodox Liberalism, and it heaped much scorn upon middle class ideals, which failed to satisfy him on the score of "sweet reasonableness" or mental elasticity. He also wrote with some vigour, and not a little insight, upon purely political questions like the Irish. He next attempted to reconcile religion and science in productions such as "St. Paul and Protestantism" (1871), "Literature and Dogma" (1873), "God and the Bible" (1875), and "Last Essays on Church and State" (1877). From their pronounced rationalism these writings inflicted not a little pain upon thoughtful minds, and they were certainly marked by a tone of

unnecessary superciliousness, whatever may be thought of the arguments adduced. Nevertheless, Matthew Arnold's influence upon his generation may be pronounced stimulating on the whole, and at least he did much to correct current vulgarities. Mr. Addington Symonds was simultaneously publishing much criticism that never failed to please, though it was marked by a certain absence of restraint. Among his numerous writings we may mention "Studies in the Greek Poets" (1873-76), and "Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama" (1889). Mr. Walter Pater excelled as a stylist, in fact he was sometimes dominated by style. His studies on "The Renaissance" appeared in 1873, and "Imaginary Portraits" in 1887. Two years previously he published a remarkable romance illustrative of ancient thought and manners, entitled "Marius the Epicurean."

Homeric scholarship occupied the leisure hours of Mr. Gladstone and he produced various works, such as "Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age" (1858), "Juventus Mundi" (1869), and "Homeric Synchronism" (1876). His advocacy of the unity of the Homeric age found, however, but few adherents, and was deemed reactionary when compared with the analytical methods which Professor Mahaffy and Mr. Andrew Lang inherited from the Germans. The last was perhaps the most versatile of a set of brilliant critics which included Professor Minto, Mr. Dowden, Mr. George Saintsbury, and Mr. W. M. Rossetti. Nor should Mr. J. C. Shairp, the Professor of Poetry at Oxford, be forgotten, since his "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy" (1861), and "Aspects of Poetry" (1881) had a permanent value. He formed a connecting link with classical scholarship, notably by his translations of Theocritus and the Odyssey. Other labourers in the field were Professor Munro, who translated Lucretius; Professor Jebb, who translated Sophocles; Professor Conington, who translated Virgil; and Dr. Jowett, who accomplished the same task for Plato and Thucydides. The study of the Greek language received immense impetus from the invaluable Lexicon of Dean Liddell and Dr. Scott, of which the first edition was published in 1843. And what that great achievement accomplished for Hellenism as a whole was effected for various Latin and Greek authors by Professor Paley for the Greek dramatists in general; by Professor Conington in his edition of Virgil; by Professor Munro in that of Lucretius; Professor Campbell of Sophocles; and Mr. Robinson Ellis of Catullus.

Mr. H. J. Roby's Latin Grammar was also an effective tribute to Victorian scholarship, which, though it languished in some respects until Mr. Shilleto began about 1867 to annotate Demosthenes and Thucydides, showed an extraordinary activity towards the end of the period.

The harvest of fiction during the fifty years was enormous, and though much of it was of necessity ephemeral, several writers had already won their way to immortality. In 1837 Charles Dickens had already published "Sketches by Boz," and the immortal "Pickwick Papers" were being perused by a delighted public. "Oliver Twist" followed, and then came a long procession, which included "Nicholas Nickleby," "The Old Curiosity Shop," "Barnaby Rudge," and "Martin Chuzzlewit." It may safely be said that Dickens was not at home with the eighteenth century, but in his portraits of contemporary manners, especially of the lower classes, he was unsurpassed and unsurpassable, despite a strong tendency to caricature. "Martin Chuzzlewit" takes us to 1844, and it included those caustic attacks on the Americans which the New World did not readily forget. "Dombey and Son" was in some respects unsatisfactory, despite the admirable Captain Cuttle; but in "David Copperfield" (1849) and in "Bleak House" (1852) Dickens attained the full measure of his strength in humour and pathos, and his exposure of the Court of Chancery in the latter book went far to remedy a great public wrong. "Little Dorrit" was a less successful exposure of debtors' prisons, and the sentimental had gained the upper hand in "Hard Times" and the "Tale of Two Cities." "Our Mutual Friend" (1865), Dickens's last completed novel, was remarkable for its finished plot, which showed a great advance on the slipshod construction of some of his earlier stories, due no doubt to their publication in periodicals. His virtues were unique, and if he occasionally scattered his genius with too lavish a hand, the world, alternately moved to laughter and tears, readily forgave the excess of generosity.

Dickens's great rival Thackeray obtained public recognition with considerably greater difficulty. "The Luck of Barry Lyndon," an artistic masterpiece, passed almost unnoticed, and he was chiefly known as a contributor to *Punch* before 1848, in which paper "The Book of Snobs," "The Ballads of Policeman X," and the excellent burlesque, "Rebecca and Rowena," appeared. In the last year, however, he became the first novelist of his time through the publication of "Vanity Fair," which equalled Dickens in humour and went far



POETS' CORNER, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

deeper into life. "Pendennis" followed in 1850, and exhibited Thackeray at his best in ironical satire, though it showed, too, a growing tendency to indulge in somewhat superfluous moralising which, though it has been called cynical, is really sentimental. "Esmond" (1852) achieved undisputed success in the difficult field of historical fiction, but its sequel, "The Virginians," was, like

most sequels, a disappointment. "The Newcomes" (1854) was unduly prolix, while the story began in the middle, and then retrogressed; but Colonel Newcome was an incomparable portrait of the simple-minded and upright English soldier. In "Philip" and the unfinished "Denis Duval" signs of decadence are evident, but at least Thackeray's death in 1863 left the age the richer

for many ideals in manliness, and for the flagellation of much social pretence.

Two women of remarkable power flourished as contemporaries of Dickens and Thackeray. Charlotte Brontë in 1847 took the town by storm with "Jane Eyre," and she followed it up with "Shirley," published in 1849, and "Villette" in 1853. Their interest from the psychological point of view was intense; their faults were those of exuberance both in impassioned diction and in general conception of character. Their scheme was the warfare of the sexes, and though treated with the greatest power in "Jane Eyre," it exhibited the greatest subtlety in "Villette," a book published two years before her death from consumption. Her sister Emily's "Wuthering Heights" was almost as talented but far cruder. Charlotte Brontë's friend, Mrs. Gaskell, dealt less with the passions, but had considerably greater powers of observation, particularly where artisan life in Lancashire was concerned. "Mary Barton" (1848) told the simple annals of the poor with much moving pathos; the "Chronicles of Cranford" (1853) were most delicate sketches of a quiet country town; while "North and South" (1855) described with much insight the progress of unbelief in a clergyman's mind, the original being none other than her own father. "Wives and Daughters," which promised to be her greatest work, was left incomplete by death.

Charles Kingsley began by dealing with working-class problems in "Alton Locke" (1849), and "Yeast" (1851), both full of ardent sympathy with the poor, and showing an intimate acquaintance with their wants and aspirations. "Hypatia," his next novel, was a brilliant *tour de force*, but its characters were distinctly of a modern fashion. "Westward Ho" showed a far greater power of reproducing the past, and depicted with wonderful picturesqueness the adventurer of the Elizabethan period. The same measure of praise cannot be extended to "Hereward the Wake" (1866). Bulwer Lytton essayed many branches of literature and failed in none. Even in fiction he attempted several styles, and while "The Last Days of Pompeii" (1834), "Rienzi" (1835), "The Last of the Barons" (1843), and "Harold" (1848) undoubtedly suggested Scott, "The Caxtons" (1849), "My Novel" (1853), and "What Will he do With It?" (1858) were imitative, though not direct, copies of Sterne. In "Zanoni" he dealt with mysticism, and in "The Coming Race" he anticipated futurity with much intellectual cleverness. "Pelham," one of his earliest successes, was

a piece of self-portraiture, and Benjamin Disraeli, his friend, undoubtedly posed as his own hero in many a work of fiction. Disraeli had written "Vivian Grey," "Contarini Fleming" and "Henrietta Temple" before 1837, but "Coningsby," in which his aptitude for epigram and political satire attained their highest development, did not appear until 1844. Though overlaid with political reflection it contained some delightful portraits of political hangers-on in Mr. Rigby—a cruel likeness of John Wilson Croker—in Taper and Tadpole, while those who cared to look for it could discover pathos in the story of Lord Monmouth and his daughter. "Sybil" (1845) was written to expose the degradation of the artisan class, and to advocate their alliance with the aristocracy. "Tancred" followed in 1847, and it contained some fine though rather garish descriptions of Eastern scenery, together with a very mysterious exposition of the great Asian mystery. Then came a long interval before the appearance of "Lothair" in 1870, and in spite of such finished characters as Monsignor Catesby, Lord St. Aldegonde and Mr. Phœbus, it exhibited a certain decrepitude. "Endymion," published ten years later, was almost a failure, and its hero and the incidents which attended his career are pale copies of "Vivian Grey" and "Coningsby."

Of minor novelists the early Victorian period was less prolific than the later. Captain Marryat still lived to write many stirring tales of adventure, though none equal to "Midshipman Easy" and "Snarley-Yow." Borrow published one remarkable romance entitled "Lavengro" (1851), which, with "The Romany Rye" (1857), formed a fantastic autobiography. But Irish novelists were the most prolific, and the best of them, William Carleton, was probably the least popular. Samuel Lover's "Handy Andy" (1842) gave a rollicking but much exaggerated picture of Irish life; and Charles Lever was the copious and somewhat slipshod author of stirring novels descriptive of military vicissitudes which were extensively seasoned with daredevil Irishmen. Miss Muloch, afterwards Mrs. Craik, is best assigned to this generation, though "John Halifax, Gentleman" did not appear until 1856, and "Life for Life" in 1860.

Dickens and Thackeray were still writing when George Eliot gained reputation as a novelist by "Scenes of Clerical Life," published in 1856. "Adam Bede" appeared three years later, and its intense vigour of purpose at once stamped her as the age's best delineator, the admirable humours

of subordinate characters like Mrs. Poyser more than compensating for the somewhat wooden handling of Adam Bede and Dinah Morris. Then came in quick succession "The Mill on the Floss" (1860), "Silas Marner" (1861), and "Romola" (1863). In her later works George Eliot became dominated by her mission, and the scientific influences of the time caused her to weigh down her story with moralities and psychology. Nevertheless, "Middlemarch" (1871) gave life in English country towns with singular fidelity, and was relieved by the genial presence of Mr. Brooke. "Daniel Deronda" (1876) was, however, didactic to the verge of pedantry, and though isolated scenes had undoubted merits, its general effect was wearisome. Her last work, the "Essays of Theophrastus Such," appeared three years later, and was an attempt in somewhat uncongenial soil.

Of the lesser lights Wilkie Collins owed not a little to Dickens, and Anthony Trollope a good deal to Thackeray. The former excelled in complexity of plot, and his capacity for concealing the key of his mystery; but he was deficient in humour, and his characters rarely rose above lay figures, with the exception of the notable Count Fosco. However, at his best, as in "The Woman in White" (1859) and "The Moonstone" (1868), he ranked as a great though not a first-rate novelist. Anthony Trollope, on the other hand, reproduced with undeniable effect the scenes and characters of commonplace life. He was at his best in dealing with clergymen, country gentlemen, and their ladies; and the atmosphere of the long series beginning with "The Warden" in 1855, and ending with "The Duke's Children" in 1880, is excellent. Charles Reade wrote with great dramatic force, and ran atilt with more zeal than discretion against social grievances, but his effects were occasionally stagey. "The Cloister and the Hearth" (1861) and "Griffith Gaunt" (1866) were his best novels; "It's Never Too Late to Mend" (1856), and "Hard Cash" (1869), his most exciting. Sheridan Lefanu was a master of weird effects, especially in the grim stories of "Uncle Silas" and "Wylder's Hand," both published in 1864.

Two remarkable novelists amply redeemed the closing years of the period from the charge of intellectual barrenness. Mr. George Meredith appealed to a limited audience, owing to a style whose concentrated phraseology verged upon the obscure, and the peculiarly subtle vein of irony with which he dealt with social and moral perplexities. But though "The Ordeal of Richard

Feverel," published in 1859, did not gain recognition until many years later, it was impossible to ignore the merits of "Evan Harrington" (1861), "Emilia in England" (1864), subsequently renamed "Sandra Belloni," "Rhoda Fleming" (1865), and the "Adventures of Harry Richmond" (1871). "The Egoist," published in 1879, contained in Sir Willoughby Patterne one of Mr. Meredith's most finished characters, and no decline of power was visible in "Beauchamp's Career" (1876), or "Diana of the Crossways" (1885), with its charming heroine, obviously drawn from Mrs. Norton, and that admirable sketch of the unintellectual man of the world Colonel Lukyn. Mr. Thomas Hardy discovered the agricultural labourer of Dorsetshire, and rendered the mingled humour and pathos of his existence with telling effect, though with daring violation of the conventions. His masterpiece, "Far from the Madding Crowd," appeared in 1874; and "The Trumpet Major" (1880) and "The Mayor of Casterbridge" (1884) were hardly less noteworthy.

A group of gifted ladies comprised Mrs. Oliphant with her powers of cynical observation, as displayed, for instance, in "The Chronicles of Carlingford"; Mrs. Anne Thackeray Ritchie, whose "Old Kensington" exhibited much of her father's genius; Mrs. L. B. Walford, the author of "Mr. Smith"; and Mrs. Riddell, who made commercial life her study. Miss Braddon may perhaps be classified as akin to Wilkie Collins in the complexity of her plots, and she was a frank advocate of sensation. There was no gainsaying the popularity of "Lady Audley's Secret" and "Aurora Floyd," though they had a formidable rival in "East Lynne," by Mrs. Henry Wood. The lady called "Ouida" secured a wide circle of admirers by her lurid descriptions of aristocratic dissoluteness. Mr. W. E. Norris followed Thackeray's methods with excellent results, whereas Mr. R. D. Blackmore portrayed in "Lorna Doone" (1876) and his other works the heroic simplicity of the Devonshire rustic. Mr. Black reproduced the characteristics of Highland life and scenery with telling effect in "A Princess of Thule" (1873) and other popular romances; and Dr. George MacDonald also depicted the more domestic aspects of Scottish life with much quiet humour. Mr. Robert Buchanan was read at his best when he took primitive man for his subject; and Mr. Hall Caine displayed similar tendencies in his earlier works. On the other hand, Sir Walter Beasant, at first in conjunction with Mr. James

Rice and afterwards alone, was conspicuous for the creation of eccentric types of character; and the same remark may perhaps be applied to Mr. Justin McCarthy, at home alike in Bohemia and the world of politics; and Mr. James Payn, whose very considerable output never seemed to drain his invention dry. Mr. Christie Murray treated the Midlands and Fleet Street with equal power, though his work was somewhat various in quality. Among writers who dealt with religious introspection we may mention Mr. Shorthouse, the author of the fine romance "John Inglesant" (1881); Maxwell Gray, who wrote "The Silence of Dean Maitland;" while later Mrs. Humphry Ward won instantaneous recognition with "Robert Elsmere" (1888); Miss Edna Lyall treated similar themes with a certain degree of rather immature cleverness. Among the writers of adventure Captain Mayne Reid and Mr. R. M. Ballantyne thrilled several generations of boyhood with stories of trappers and Red Indians. Mr. Clark Russell revelled in the thrilling experiences of the sea; and Mr. Rider Haggard placed the scene of his stories in South Africa; while Mr. Grant Allen laid science and ethnology under contribution for the plots of his ingenious stories. Anglo-Indian fiction was well represented by Colonel Meadows Taylor and Sir Henry Cunningham, while the name of Mr. Rudyard Kipling was gradually becoming known in England in 1887. Australia had produced a writer of great power in Marcus Clarke, whose convict story "His Natural Life" was published in 1874; and it should not be forgotten that Henry Kingsley, the brother of Charles, had previously been inspired by the antipodes to write some of his best stories, notably "Geoffrey Hamlyn" (1859). The Cape Colony, too, produced a novelist of much promise in Miss Olive Schreiner, the author of "The Story of an African Farm."

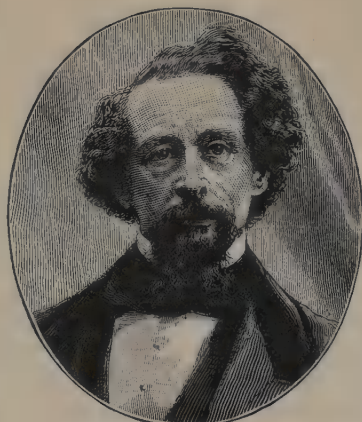
At the close of the period the young generation was represented by three typical names. Mr. F. Anstey, chiefly known as a contributor to *Punch*, published some capital tales of the imagination in "Vice Versâ" and "A Tinted Venus." Mr. J. M. Barrie had already exhibited his intuitive knowledge of Scottish character, which was shortly to find their ripe expression in "A Little Minister." Last but not least Mr. R. L. Stevenson added to a charm of style altogether his own, a command over incident and a knowledge of the adventurer which rendered the reading of his books a continual delight. The age would have been much the poorer for the loss of "Treasure Island" and "Kidnapped."

Among writers for the young, schoolboys' affections centre around Mr. G. A. Henty and Mr. W. H. G. Kingston. Mr. Thomas Hughes's "Tom Brown's School-Days" (1857) sought a higher aim than mere amusement, and its influence was entirely for good. What Mr. Hughes did for boys Miss Charlotte Yonge accomplished for girls during a long and honourable career, dating from the publication of "Abbey Church" in 1844, and including the well-known "Heir of Redclyffe" (1853). Mrs. Ewing and Mrs. Molesworth appealed to rather younger children, but the former's "Jackanapes" and "The Story of a Short Life" stamped her as a writer of talent. Miss Florence Montgomery was the author of many charming stories, among which were "Misunderstood" and "Thrown Together." Finally, Mr. "Lewis Carroll" executed in "Alice in Wonderland" and "Through the Looking-Glass" humorous fairy-stories which were unique of their kind.

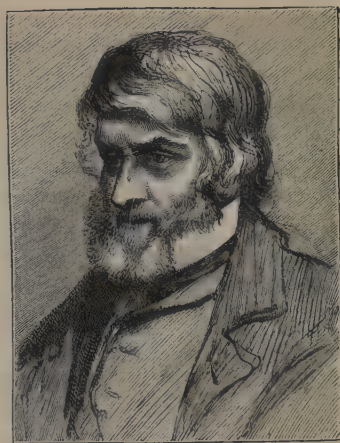
In poetry the fame of Tennyson was almost exactly synchronous with the fifty years. He had published much verse before 1837, including the volume entitled "Poems," which included such exquisite productions as "Ænone," "The Lady of Shalott," "The Dream of Fair Women," and "The Palace of Art." But many of these appeared in a maturer form in the two volumes again styled "Poems" published in 1842, which also included "Ulysses," "Locksley Hall," "The Gardener's Daughter" and "The Two Voices." In 1847 he published "The Princess," in which exquisite lyrics were set in sonorous blank verse, and three years later came the world-famous tribute to his dead friend, Arthur Hallam, "In Memoriam." "Maud" was dated 1855, and it breathed throughout of the Crimean War, though its genius consisted less in the subject than in the admirable lyrics with which it was begemmed. "The Idylls of the King" (1859) commanded at once a wide popularity. The next few years were marked by a various productiveness, which included "Tithonus," worthy in some respects to rank with "Ulysses" and the pathetic "Enoch Arden," together with various additions to the Arthurian cycle which hardly ranked with their predecessors. Nor can Tennyson's numerous experiments in historic drama (beginning with "Queen Mary" in 1875, and ending with "Becket" in 1884) be considered other than equivocal successes, for, despite the beauty of isolated passages, they lacked sustained dignity and consistency in portraying character. Nevertheless, his mastery over metre and



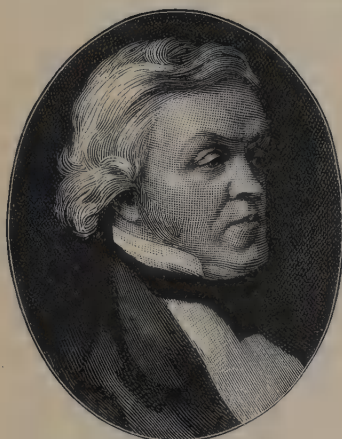
MATTHEW ARNOLD.
(From a Photograph by Sarony.)



CHARLES DICKENS.
(From a Photograph by Fradelle and Young.)



THOMAS CARLYLE.
(After a Drawing by G. Howard, M.P.)



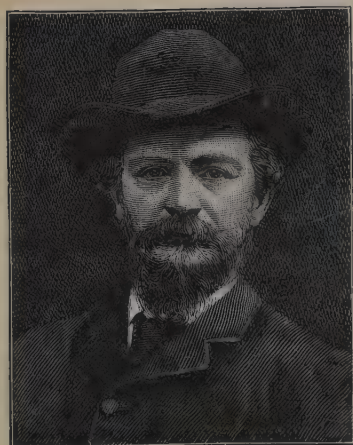
WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY.
(After the Painting by S. Lawrence.)



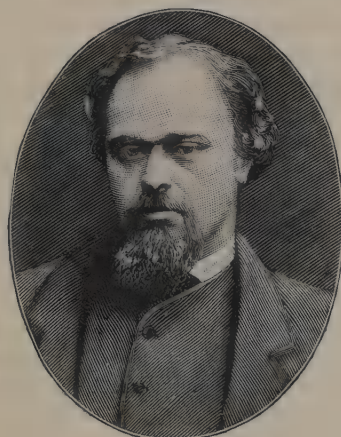
LORD TENNYSON.
(From a Photograph by Mayall, Ltd.)



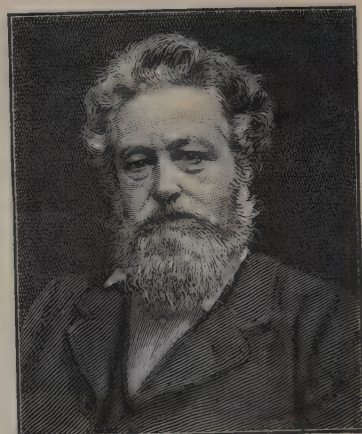
ROBERT BROWNING.
(From a Photo. by Cameron and Smith.)



ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.
(From a Photograph by Elliott & Fry.)



DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI.



WILLIAM MORRIS.
(From a Photograph by Walker and Bontu.)

GREAT WRITERS OF THE QUEEN'S REIGN.

expression continued as felicitous as ever, whether we take as examples the stirring ballad of "The Revenge," published in 1878, or the finely tragic "Rizpah," included in the volume of "Ballads and other Poems" which appeared in 1880, or "Tiresias and other Poems," dated 1886; or the remarkable poem "Darkness," which was one of the aged singer's last productions before his lamented death in 1892.

Tennyson sought to delight, but his contemporary, Robert Browning, strove to teach, and his hopeful manliness acted as a spiritual tonic to a generation perplexed by self-conscious doubts, although the involved character of his verse caused the general reader to stumble. His instincts were essentially dramatic, but he wrote for the closet not the stage, as the fate of "Strafford" (1837), and the "Blot on the Scutcheon" (1843) when produced on the boards by Macready conclusively proved. Yet for analysis of humanity he stood alone, and, if "Sordello" (1840) repelled by its complexity, some of the pieces in the series entitled "Bells and Pomegranates" (1841-46), particularly "Pippa Passes," were a revelation. The "Pied Piper of Hamelin" and "The Lost Leader" appealed to ordinary intellects and were the most widely popular of all his poems. His full strength was displayed in the remarkable series of imaginary portraits entitled "Men and Women" (1855), including "Andrea del Sarto" and "Karshish." "Dramatis Personæ," published in 1864, were somewhat unequal, though "Rabbi ben Ezra" and "Prospice" were amongst the most inspiring of the poet's themes. The "Ring and the Book" was given to the world in 1868-69, and it proved the longest and, perhaps, the most subtle of Browning's works, but it exacted a good deal from his readers. The imaginative "Fifine at the Fair" (1872) was followed by the gruesome "Red Cotton Nightcap Country" and by the weird "Inn Album." "Pacchiarotto" (1876) exhibited Browning as the poet of painting, and the "Dramatic Idylls" of three years later contained the remarkable study of maternal sentiment "Ivan Ivanovitch." The volume entitled "Jocoseria" (1883) contained the exquisite love-poem "Never the Time and the Place;" and towards the end of the half-century Browning's imagination was shown with undiminished vigour in "Ferishtah's Fancies" (1884), and his power of analysis in "Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day." Though his artistic qualities were conspicuous for the most part by their absence, Browning's grasp of human nature and his

hopefulness in immortality had finally won for him recognition throughout the English-speaking world. He died in 1889.

Browning's talented wife, Elizabeth Barrett, excelled as a writer of lyrics, and in 1838 the volume entitled "The Seraphim and Other Poems," including "Isobel's Child," stamped her as a mistress of pathos and emotion. It was followed in 1850 by the noble "Sonnets from the Portuguese" and in the following year by "Casa Guidi," which expressed her dominant sympathy, that for oppressed nationalities, in this instance the Italian. In 1856 she issued her most ambitious effort, "Aurora Leigh," a novel in verse, which, though full of insight, is too straggling and too full of indifferent attempts at humour for unqualified admiration. Her "Last Poems," published by her husband in 1862, were, however, instinct with that noble womanhood which invariably acted as her guiding impulse.

Matthew Arnold attained a perfection of form which few of his contemporaries save Tennyson could boast, though his genius was austere rather than abundant, and though he sometimes became an echo of Wordsworth and the Classics. Still he exhibited much poetic feeling in "The Strayed Reveller" (1849) and "Empedocles" (1852); and the volume of collected poems (1853) was received with considerable favour, though its sobriety of expression hardly suited the somewhat gushing style of the period. The tragedy "Merope" published in 1857, and "New Poems" published in 1869, concluded Matthew Arnold's poetic productiveness. Not only were all his writings models of manner, but the narratives, such as "Sohrab and Rustum" and "Balder Dead," reproduced much of the simple dignity of Homer, after whom they were formed. Even those who failed to appreciate the irony of "Mycerinus" were charmed by the admirable appearance of spontaneity, or rather, the consummate art of "Strew o'er her roses, roses," and his other shorter efforts.

Among the other poets Arthur Hugh Clough stood apart as a subtle and somewhat perplexing thinker, whose "Bothie of Tober-na-Vuolich" (1848) showed a gift of humour which was afterwards abandoned for more psychological themes in "Amours de Voyage," the grim "Dipsychus" and "Mari Magno." He was, however, too occupied with speculation to pay attention to the technical quality of his verse. "Festus," by Philip James Bailey (1839), was evidently suggested by Goethe, and though thoughtful, was a trifle confused.

Sydney Dobell wrote copiously, but his method, particularly in the ambitious "Balder" (1854), was somewhat chaotic; on the other hand, "Barry Cornwall" (Bryan Waller Procter) published some pathetic satires, and many short lyrics of considerable beauty. Another group of minor poets was largely influenced by Coleridge and Wordsworth, particularly Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), whose best known work, "Palm Leaves," dealing with the East, was published in 1844; Hartley Coleridge, the merits of whose sonnets, as published after his death by his brother in 1851, were widely recognised; and Archbishop Trench, whose two volumes appeared in 1837. Moultrie started by imitating Byron, but his long poem, "The Dream of Life" (1843), was obviously suggested by Wordsworth's "Prelude." Sir Henry Taylor had already published his poetic drama "Philip van Artevelde" (1834), and "Edwin the Fair" (1842) showed no conspicuous decline from that masterpiece. His miscellaneous poems contained some fine pieces amidst a good deal that was indifferent. R. H. Horne was too daring for his contemporaries, but he composed, nevertheless, a remarkable epic poem in "Orion" (1843), two fine tragedies in "Cosmo de Medici," and "The Death of Marlowe," and a weird miracle-play entitled "Judas Iscariot." At the beginning of the reign Praed was still charming by his lively wit; and Thomas Hood, who had previously affected humorous verse with excellent results, found his truer vocation as the author of "The Song of the Shirt," and "One More Unfortunate." Ireland produced a large school of poets, of whom Sir Samuel Ferguson and Mr. Aubrey de Vere were scholars, always happy in their treatment of Celtic lore. Thomas Davis translated the political aspirations of the Irish Catholics into fiery verse; and Denis Florence McCarthy was the author of some graceful ballads, among which the "Bell Founder" was the most popular. William Allingham was essentially the poet of Celtic fairyland, but his friendship with D. G. Rossetti found expression in the passionate themes of some of his songs. Finally, we may mention that the first Lord Lytton appeared as a poetical satirist in "The New Timon" (1845) and "St. Stephen's" (1860); and that R. H. Barham enlivened the earlier years of the reign by the inimitable drollery of the "Ingoldsby Legends."

Mr. Coventry Patmore formed, after the continued productiveness of Tennyson and Browning, the most powerful link between the creative influences of the first and the second generation.

The first instalment of the "Angel of the House" appeared in 1854, the last in 1863, and the whole was subsequently submitted to numerous revisions. The "Unknown Eros and other Odes" appeared in 1877. The most fastidious of workers, he differed in that respect from his model, Wordsworth, and few writers succeeded in treating the theme of love from the purely domestic point of view with an equal intensity of passion and with an equal absence of eroticism. The "Angel of the House," alike from its technical merits and its power of extracting the sublime from the commonplace, had secured for itself a distinct place in English literature. Very remote from Mr. Patmore's restraint was the abundance of the group of poets comprising Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Mr. Swinburne, and Mr. William Morris. The first carried the spirit of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood into verse, and aimed at exquisiteness of form combined with luxuriance of sentiment. An Italian both by extraction and thought, he composed the "Blessed Damozel" and "My Sisters Sleep" before he was nineteen years of age. Some of his most remarkable work was included in the volume entitled "Poems," which appeared in 1870, for instance, "Sister Helen," "A Last Confession," and the sonnets of "The House of Life." Some of his ballads stand absolutely alone, particularly "The King's Tragedy," contained in the definite edition of his "Poems" which was published in 1881. As a poetical translator he had exceptional gifts, which were seen at their best in the revised edition entitled "Dante and his Circle." Mr. Swinburne repelled many readers by the republican fervour and general exuberance of his early "Poems and Ballads" (1866), and "Songs before Sunrise" (1871), though his mastery over metre and the swing of his musical diction were subsequently exhibited in a more chastened form in the second series of "Poems and Ballads" published in 1878, in "Studies in Song" (1880), and "A Century of Roundels" (1883). His two tragedies on the Greek model, "Atlanta in Calydon" (1865) and "Erechtheus" (1876), were marked by the highest creative power and by lyrical merits peculiarly his own. Of "Chastelard" (1865), "Bothwell" (1874), and "Mary Stuart" (1881), it may be said that they approached as near success as the changed conditions of the times permitted, in the revival of some of the most splendid characteristics of the Elizabethan drama. "Marino Faliero" (1884), however, and "Loerine" (1887) exhibited a perceptible decline from the high level sustained in the Scottish trilogy. Mr.

William Morris was doubtless inspired by the "Canterbury Tales" to compose the series of poems dealing with classical and romantic legends and entitled "The Earthly Paradise" (1868-70), by which he was best known. It was a noteworthy achievement, even though the earlier "Life and Death of Jason" (1867) gave promise of great things. Later, the Icelandic sagas attracted him, and in the "Story of Sigurd the Volsung" (1878) he treated with a master's hand the adventures and psychical problems of primitive mankind, though his style was disfigured by that superabundance of archaisms, which had previously marked his prose translations from the same themes, such as "The Story of Grettir the Strong" (1869), and "The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs" (1874). Afterwards he embodied his Socialistic views in a poem of contemporary life, entitled "The Pilgrims of Hope."

Of little vogue in his day, but exercising nevertheless considerable influence upon the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, was William Bell Scott, poet, painter, etcher, and man of letters, whose "Poems by a Painter" appeared in 1854, and his "Poet's Harvest Home" in 1882. Miss Christina Rossetti published the remarkable "Goblin Market" in 1862, and much devotional poetry of finished beauty followed, sometimes included in volumes like "The Prince's Progress" (1866), dealing also with secular themes, and sometimes varied by prose, as in "Time Flies" (1885). Two poetesses of wider popularity were Miss Procter and Miss Jean Ingelow, of whom the former's "Legends and Lyrics" (1858-61) and "Chaplet of Verses" (1862) were familiar to most cultivated households, while the latter exhibited a tender feeling and pleasant didacticism in her numerous works, beginning with "A Rhyming Chronicle of Incidents and Feelings" (1850), and including "A Sister's Bye-Hours" (1868). George Eliot produced two wise, if occasionally ponderous poems, in the "Spanish Gypsy" (1868), and "The Legend of Jubal" (1874). The Earl of Lytton, under the pseudonym of "Owen Meredith," wrote verse which was always graceful, though he was frequently indebted to other minds both for form and theme. His first volume, published in 1859, included the well-known "Earl's Return," and it was followed by "The Wanderer" in 1858. "Tannhäuser" (1861), written in conjunction with Mr. Julian Fane, had many merits, though some of its passages were pedestrian, and "The Ring of Amasis" (1863), of which he was the sole author, exhibited a far greater directness of method.

"Chronicles and Characters" (1868) was obviously inspired by Victor Hugo, and "Orval" (1869) was avowedly founded on the Polish drama of Count Krasinski. "Fables in Song" (1874), however, may fairly be called original, and the romance of "Glenaveril" (1885) was a singularly ambitious effort which narrowly missed a striking triumph. Remote as the poles from Lord Lytton's easy epicureanism, was the bitter revolt against established social and religious forms which James Thomson displayed. His tone was vehemently personal, and his verse sometimes became a mere feeble echo of Shelley. Nevertheless, there were passages of weird impressiveness in "The City of Dreadful Night" (1874) and some of its successors, for instance, the lurid "Insomnia" (1882). His pessimism, which was chiefly the outcome of circumstances, was shared by another poet who died young, namely, Philip Bourke Marston, the author of "All in All" and "Wind Voices."

The volume of verse which dated towards the close of the fifty years was remarkably full, but it had to contend against a good deal of public indifference. Perhaps the absence of humour was in a measure the cause, for Calverley, upon whom the mantle of Barham had descended, left but two little volumes, "Verses and Translations" (1862), and "Fly Leaves" (1872), and no successor after his death in 1884. There were numerous writers of *vers de société*, among whom may be mentioned Mr. Austin Dobson, Mr. Locker-Lampson, and Mr. Andrew Lang. They largely affected elaborate French models, for instance, the rondeau. Mr. W. E. Henley exhibited an equal mastery over metre, and while deep pathos was the distinguishing note of his "Hospital Poems," the glory of Empire was his inspiring motive in "The Song of the Sword." Mr. Rudyard Kipling, too, was never happier than when celebrating British prowess abroad, and his "Barrack-Room Ballads" exemplified the rough virtues of the British soldier, who also found a sympathetic bard in Sir Alfred Lyall as in Sir Francis Doyle before him. Local patriotism had its exponent in Mr. T. E. Brown, the author of "Fo'c'sle Yarns," who found in the Isle of Man subject for verses sometimes humorous and more frequently tear-compelling. Dr. George Macdonald wrote much characteristic poetry, chiefly upon spiritual themes, for instance, "Violin Songs" and "Roadside Poems," while Dr. Bridges was rapidly winning recognition as the exponent of scholarly reflection. Miss Mary Robinson showed much graceful fancy and not a little feeling in various collections, such as "A



ADELAIDE ANNE PROCTER.
(After the Engraving by Jeens.)



CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING.
(After a Drawing by Rudolph Lehmann.)



MRS. CARLYLE.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



GEORGE ELIOT.
(After the Drawing by Sir Frederick Burton.)



HARRIET MARTINEAU.
(From a Photo. by M. Bowness, Ambleside.)



MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



MRS. OLIPHANT.
(From a Photograph by H. S. Mendelssohn.)



CHARLOTTE BRONTË.
(After the Drawing by G. Richmond, R.A.)

WOMEN WRITERS OF THE QUEEN'S REIGN.

Handful of Honeysuckles," and "The New Arcadia, and other Poems."

Among those who worked upon a somewhat larger scale four names stood prominent, and with them our sketch must conclude. Mr. Robert Buchanan had latterly deserted verse for fiction and the drama, accordingly the vigorously democratic "London Poems" of 1866 remained his most conspicuous achievement. Mr. Alfred Austin devoted himself mainly to social satire after the manner of Byron, notably in "The Season" (1861), "The Human Tragedy" (1862), and "The Golden Age" (1871). He was deservedly popular as a versatile if somewhat rugged writer, and published besides two noteworthy dramas in "The Tower of Babel" (1874), and "Savonarola" (1881), together with several pleasing collections of poems, such as "Interludes" (1862), "Soliloquies in Song" (1882), and "At the Gate of the Convent" (1885). Sir Edwin Arnold hit the general taste in a remarkable manner by the "Light of Asia" (1879), and though there was considerable diversity of opinion as to his precise merits, he at least did much to make known the treasures of Eastern literature. Equally striking was the reception given to Mr. Lewis Morris's "Epic of Hades" (1877), which was manifestly inspired by Dante, much as "The Songs of Two Worlds" (1872-75) had borne traces of Tennyson's influence. Again, "Gwen: a Drama in Monologue" (1879) gave the story of two hearts something after the fashion of "Maud." Mr. Morris hardly added to his reputation by "Gycia," a tragedy published in 1886, but there were fine qualities, though scarcely first-rate excellence, in his "Songs of Britain" published in 1887, and the "Song of Empire" stood conspicuous among the many effusions which the Jubilee evoked.

It could not be said that the acting drama exhibited any remarkable qualities during the Victorian era from the literary point of view. At the beginning of the period, poetical plays, like those of Browning, Sir Henry Taylor and Horne, were either complete failures when produced, or never saw the footlights at all. Sheridan Knowles was greatly in vogue, and his turgid rhetoric lost nothing from the mouth of Macready, the leading actor of the period. Of his numerous productions, however, "The Hunchback" was the only one that had any vitality, thanks to a few telling situations. Talfourd had produced a tragedy of some merit in "Ion," but neither the "Athenian Captive" nor "Glencoe" was an improvement upon that dignified but somewhat ineffective

production. By far the most competent dramatist of the time was Bulwer Lytton, whose three plays, "The Lady of Lyons," "Richelieu," and "Money," produced between 1838 and 1840, continued to hold the stage during the fifty years. In point of construction they were excellent, but he unfortunately mistook effusiveness for passion, and sentimentality for sentiment. Douglas Jerrold wrote one admirable melodrama in "Black-eyed Susan" before the Queen's accession, and he followed it up by many witty comedies, among which may be mentioned "The Prisoner of War," "Bubbles of the Day," and "St. Cupid." Again, Planché purveyed extravaganzas that were full of graceful fancy. Maddison Morton turned out farces with great rapidity, including the excellent "Box and Cox." Dr. Westland Marston aimed higher, and if "The Patrician's Daughter" (1841) had the bombastic style common to the period, there were good qualities in his later work, for example "Strathmore" (1847), "Madame de Meranie" (1856), and "Life for Life" (1868). For the rest, a numerous band of adapters were busily engaged in conveying plays from the French, and Shakespeare was carefully and elaborately revived by Macready, and after him by Phelps and Charles Kean.

"Masks and Faces" (1852) by Charles Reade and Tom Taylor, though a sound piece of work, hardly constituted the beginning of a new era. They were both careful craftsmen and neither was above borrowing hints from the French. Among Tom Taylor's many successes may be mentioned "Our American Cousin" (1858), which, however, owed quite as much to Sothorn, the creator of Lord Dundreary, as to the author; "The Ticket-of-Leave Man" (1873), and "Lady Clancarty" (1873), while of his numerous collaborations the best perhaps was "New Men and Old Acres," written in conjunction with A. W. Dubourg. Dion Boucicault began with one excellent comedy in "London Assurance" (1841), and many melodramas followed, full of racy Irish dialogue, among which the "Colleen Bawn," "Arrah-na-Pogue," and "The Shaughraun" stood conspicuous. Among the many sterling actors of the period, Robson was remarkable for his power of combining real tragedy with burlesque, in such productions as Planché's "Yellow Dwarf" and Robert Brough's "Medea." These pieces were slight enough, and H. J. Byron, who also began by writing burlesque, was well advised in turning to comedy. "Our Boys," produced at the Vaudeville Theatre in London in 1876, owed not a little of its three years' popularity to the impersonation of the leading characters

by David James and Thomas Thorne, but it contained some most amusing dialogue as well. Byron also wrote some capital comedies for Mr. Toole, for instance, "A Fool and his Money," and "The Upper Crust." His friend T. W. Robertson was chiefly associated with the Prince of Wales's Theatre, where, under the management of Mr. and Mrs. Bancroft, were produced between 1866 and 1870 the series of bright comedies including "Ours," "Caste," "Play," "School," and "M.P." James Albery wrote in the last year a clever piece in the same style, entitled "The Two Roses," but he afterwards declined into an adapter from the French. Mr. W. S. Gilbert, who began by writing comedies, for example "Pygmalion and Galatea" (1871), "Sweethearts" (1874), and "Engaged" (1877), finally took to writing the books of comic operas, to which Sir Arthur Sullivan supplied some delightful music. The most popular of the long series were, perhaps, "Trial by Jury" (1876), "H.M.S. Pinafore," (1878), "Patience," (1882), and "The Mikado" (1885). Mr. Burnand's most original work was in burlesque, his happiest efforts in that line being "Ixion," "Black-eyed Susan," and "Paw Clawdian." Of the few poetical dramatists of the period, Mr. W. G. Wills was in most request, and his knowledge of the stage atoned in some measure for the execrable character of his blank verse. Most of his successes were gained at the Lyceum, a theatre which, with Henry Irving as its leading actor and subsequently as its manager, became conspicuous in 1874 and onwards, for elaborately-staged Shakespearian revivals. Mr. Wills's most important pieces were "Charles I." and "Eugene Aram" (1872), "Jane Shore" (1876), "Olivia" (1878), and "Claudian," written in conjunction with Mr. H. Hermann (1883). Among the younger dramatists, the most conspicuous were Mr. A. W. Pinero and Mr. H. A. Jones, of whom the former wrote farcical comedies like the "Magistrate" and the "Schoolmistress," and afterwards a serious play or two; while the latter exhibited considerable ingenuity in resetting old themes in melodramas like the "Silver King" and "Middleman," as preparations for more ambitious efforts. But, despite the prodigious increase of theatres in London, and a fair sprinkling of competent actors, the British drama depended rather upon the accessories of scenery than on its own merits for success, and its so-called revival existed in faith rather than in fact.

A few words, in conclusion, on periodical literature and the newspapers, though the subject to be

adequately treated would require a volume. The *Quarterly* and the *Edinburgh* reviews continued to exist, though their influence rapidly declined, and the *Westminster*, after Mill's retirement in 1846, went steadily downhill. Quarterlies, in fact, were out of date, though the *English Historical Review* was founded in 1886 to supply a definite but limited want. Their place was eventually taken by publications like the *Fortnightly Review* (1865) and its fellows, the *Contemporary* (1866); and the *Nineteenth Century* (1877); which were more actual though appearing at shorter intervals, and which, by means of the contrivance of signed articles, admitted the most divergent views. Of the magazines *Blackwood's* exhibited a healthy vitality, and among other ventures of the sort, *Macmillan's*, established in 1859, purveyed both sound criticism and good literature. *Fraser's*, after a brilliant career, expired in 1882, partly through the superior attractiveness of periodicals like the *Cornhill*, which, begun in 1859, depended mainly on fiction; and partly through the increased demand for cheaper periodicals. Indeed, the output of wholesome literature at remarkably low prices rose enormously towards the end of the period, particularly after the repeal of the paper duties. Charles Knight's *Penny Magazine* was discontinued in 1845, but the next twenty years witnessed the birth of numerous worthy successors which were duly appreciated by the tradesman and artisan classes; and religious journals were also in great demand. On the other hand there was also a marked increase of the "penny dreadful" style of literature, and of various productions which depended mainly upon the frivolity of prize competitions.

Illustrated magazines never reached the level of excellence in Great Britain that they attained in America; the "Keepsake" vanished altogether, and the "Annual" underwent the process of conversion into the Christmas supplement. But the illustrated weekly newspaper took root with the foundation of the *Illustrated London News* in 1843; and a vigorous crop of comic journals followed the foundation of *Punch* in 1841. Of the weekly papers devoted to literature, either alone or with an addition of politics, the *Athenæum* and *Spectator* continued to enjoy prosperity throughout the half century, and though the *Examiner* succumbed, the *Saturday Review* (1856) and other rivals worthily supplied its place. Science was somewhat inadequately represented among the English weekly journals as compared with the German; but various professions,

as that of engineering, had well-printed and well-edited organs. Society journalism of the reputable sort began with the establishment of the *World* by Mr. Edmund Yates in 1874, and of *Truth* by Mr. Labouchere three years later. As for the daily press, its expansion was prodigious, and increased circulations and advertisements enabled proprietors to improve their papers in every respect. Several of the London dailies were in existence in 1837, but the *Times* received a new lease of life when Delane succeeded to the editorial chair in 1841, and it would have been difficult to recognise the *Standard* and *Morning Post* of 1837 in the same papers fifty years later. In some instances their size had been doubled, and their foreign intelligence and reporting, particularly of Parliamentary debates, had improved out of knowledge. It was not until 1848 that the leading article dealt with the Parliamentary discussion of the previous night. The *Daily News* first appeared in 1846, and after a period of struggle it became the recognised representative of Metropolitan Liberalism. A great opportunity was seized in 1870, when Mr. Archibald Forbes enabled the paper to wrest from the *Times* the monopoly of war intelligence which Dr. W. H. Russell had established during the Crimea. The *Daily Telegraph* was the first daily paper published at a penny, while the others still sold at 4d. (1856), and it invented a new form of English together with the special correspondent, like Mr. H. M. Stanley, ready to go at a moment's notice to the North Pole or the sources of the Nile. Of the evening journals, the old established *Globe* found a formidable rival in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, established in 1865, under the editorship of Mr. Frederick Greenwood. At first independently Conservative in tone, the paper became Radical under Mr. John Morley's editorship (1880-83), and Mr. Greenwood transferred his services to the *St. James's Gazette*. The evening papers at first depended mostly on their literary merits, but after Mr. W. T. Stead succeeded to the editorship of the *Pall Mall*, they added thereto the interview, imported from America, the signed article, illustrations, and a dash of sensationalism. During the first fifty years of the Queen's reign London's halfpenny evening paper was the *Echo*, started in 1868. Yet marked as was the advance achieved by the London press, both in the amount of its information and the fairness of its criticism, provincial journalism proved a most

formidable rival. In fact, it could be said with justice at the end of the period that few capitals had less political influence than that of England, owing to the vigour of printed opinion in the manufacturing and shipping centres. It was true that railways and the newspaper train brought London journals into direct competition with local broadsheets. But the latter promptly availed themselves of the telegraph, the special wire, and the newspaper agencies to obtain news of equal value to that of the metropolis. The London Letter became a source of knowledge from which London papers were glad to quote; and in some instances fiction of a high class was made a special feature. The history of the provincial press has yet to be written, and the task cannot be undertaken too soon, since the data are necessarily of an evanescent character. Meanwhile, we may mention that the *Manchester Guardian*, a bi-weekly publication in 1837, had become in 1887 a paper little, if at all, inferior to the *Daily News* and the *Standard*. Nor did it by any means stand alone; for enterprise and literary skill were exhibited in a high degree by the *Leeds Mercury*, the *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*, the *Newcastle Chronicle*, the *Birmingham Daily Post*, the *Manchester Courier*, the *Western Morning News*, the *Scotsman*, the *Glasgow Herald*, and many others. In 1839 London possessed ninety-four papers (seven published in the morning, five in the evening, and eighty-two weekly and miscellaneous); fifty-nine papers were published in Scotland; and seventy in Ireland. In 1887 the number of newspapers published in London was 435; in the provinces 1,351; in Scotland 191; and in Ireland 158. It should be added that newspaper enterprise was no less conspicuous in India and the colonies than at home. India had no cause to feel ashamed of the *Pioneer* of Allahabad, or the *Englishman* of Calcutta. In Australia no colony was without its able vehicle of public opinion; for example, the *Melbourne Argus* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Canada could show journals comparable in their general character to the *Manchester Guardian*, or the *Leeds Mercury*; and the Cape had its *Argus*, conducted with marked intelligence. But the number of colonial papers was nearly as noteworthy as their talent and circulation. Within twelve months of the foundation of Johannesburg, the town, though in Dutch territory, had started six English newspapers.



COVENT GARDEN THEATRE, LONDON.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PROGRESS OF THE NATION—1837-1887 (*concluded*).

English Music—The Composers Bennett, Bishop, Balfe, and Wallace—Sims Reeves, Jenny Lind, and their Successors—Musical Training—Church Music—Choirs and Concerts—The Royal College of Music—Stainer, Sullivan, and their Contemporaries—The Painters of '37—Water-Colour Painters, Caricaturists, and Engravers—Mr. Ruskin—The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood—Millais, Watts, and Leighton—The Modern English School—Water-Colours, Engraving, and Illustration—The Newlyn School and Whistler—The Sculptors of '37—Foley and Stevens—Woolner, Boehm, and their Contemporaries—Barry and the Houses of Parliament—The Gothic Revival—Pugin—Scott and Street—Blomfield and Pearson—Waterhouse and Norman Shaw—Male Costume—Black Cloth and Tall Hats—The Working Class Dress—Female Fashion—The Crinoline and the Chignon—Later Changes—Dress in the Provinces—Duelling and the Prize Ring—The Turf—Hunting and Shooting—Cricket—Football—Rowing and Athletic Sports—Cycling—Lawn Tennis—Dancing—Indoor Amusements—The Social Position of Women.

WE described the achievements of the British drama during the fifty years as indifferent, and it is to be feared that those of music cannot be called more than respectable. Britons remained an unmusical race, and while the various countries of Europe were producing a succession of composers from Mendelssohn to Dvorák, and of singers from Grisi to Jean de Reszké, London had to depend on the Continent both for musical creation and execution. Not altogether, of course, for even in 1837 William Sterndale Bennett had

begun to obtain some slight recognition from a public which long persisted, however, in regarding him as a mere imitator of Mendelssohn. It was small wonder, therefore, that he hesitated between Germany and England; indeed it was not until 1856 that he became established in the latter country as professor of music at Cambridge, and conductor of the Philharmonic Society. From that date until his death in 1875, he exercised a refined influence upon musical taste, in spite of the comparatively small quantity of excellent work

which followed the high promise of his youth. His chief productions, the overture of "Paradise and the Peri," the cantata of "The May Queen," and that of the "Woman of Samaria," were composed between 1858 and 1867, and he also left behind him some admirable songs, such as "May Dew," and "Chloe in Sickness." A greater writer of songs than Sterndale Bennett, namely, Sir Henry Bishop, had already given to the world his most famous glees and songs, such as "Bid Me Discourse," "Should He Upbraid," and "My Pretty Jane," when Queen Victoria ascended the throne. He lived to make some more or less unsuccessful attempts at dramatic compositions, and to hold the professorship of music at Oxford from 1848 until his death in 1855. Opera was represented by the facile and wandering Irishman, Michael William Balfe, whose works, particularly the "Bohemian Girl" (1844), were performed with much success both in England and on the Continent. Several of his earlier pieces produced in London between 1835 and 1840, for example, the "Maid of Artois" and "Falstaff," were somewhat undeservedly neglected by the next generation. Another Irishman, William Vincent Wallace, produced his first opera, "Maritana," in 1846 with much applause both in London and Vienna, and it continued to be given on occasions even forty years later. His other productions never attained the same popularity, though from the technical point of view "Lurline" (1860) showed a considerable advance.

These were the chief composers during the first period of the reign, but they were overshadowed by Mendelssohn much as English singers were dwarfed by the famous four—Grisi, Rubini, Lablache, and Tamburini. Braham still appeared, though long past his prime. Mr. Sims Reeves first caught the ear of the public in 1841, and, as one of the few tenors of the century, he continued to delight both in oratorio and more especially as a ballad singer until the Jubilee year was close at hand. English by adoption, though a Swede by birth, Jenny Lind created a furore on her first appearance before a London audience on the 4th of May, 1847, and the "Jenny Lind fever," barely checked by her retirement from the stage in 1849, continued until she abandoned public life altogether, some four years after her marriage in 1852. Later, the empire produced three cultured vocalists in Madame Albani, a French-Canadian by birth, who made her first appearance in London in 1872; her contemporary, Madame Patey, and Mr. Charles Santley, a conscientious artist, who in 1860 and onwards was recognised as the first English

baritone. But on the whole, England could not be congratulated on the number of really great singers which it produced during the half century, though music being the most cosmopolitan of arts, English audiences were, in all probability, not greatly distressed by the Italian extraction of Madame Patti, or the Swedish of Madame Christine Nilsson.

The great want of the time was undoubtedly an adequate musical training. In 1837 the girls of the upper classes were taught to strum the piano with inharmonious results; the boys never condescended to learn that instrument at all. The State gave no assistance whatever to the musical education of the lower and middle classes. A few musical societies, like the Philharmonic, gave excellent performances, and there were local festivals, notably at Birmingham. Church music was executed in the most slovenly fashion imaginable, though signs of a revival were perceptible here and there under the influence of Samuel Sebastian Wesley, organist of Winchester and Gloucester cathedrals successively, and author of the well-known service in E; of Sir John Goss, organist of St. Paul's from 1838 to 1872, and composer of numerous anthems; and of Sir Gore Ouseley, an energetic trainer of choirs. With the growth of the High Church party, improvement was visible, and among the landmarks of advance we may note the institution of services in naves, begun at Westminster Abbey in 1858; the first meeting of the Associated Church Choirs held two years previously; and the great increase of musical festivals, of which that held triennially in Leeds was inaugurated in 1858, and the triennial Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace in 1859. Of similar influence was the foundation of societies like the Bach Society and the Bach Choir, founded in 1849 and 1875 respectively; of more general institutions like the choirs of Mr. Henry Leslie (1855), and of Mr., afterwards Sir Joseph, Barnby (1862). The taste in secular music was improved by the Monday Popular Concerts, established in 1859, the Crystal Palace Saturday Concerts, which date from 1860, and the Richter Concerts, begun in 1879. Sir Charles Hallé's labours to make good music known in the provinces were indefatigable, and in 1857 he inaugurated the orchestral concerts at Manchester, whence originated his famous band, with himself and Mme. Norman-Neruda, the violinist, as its principal executants. The want of a good training school for the higher education was not adequately supplied, in spite of the respectable efforts of the Royal Academy of Music,

with Sir George Macfarren as its Principal, until the Royal College of Music was established in 1882, through the energetic advocacy of the Prince of Wales. In 1887 it seemed to have a most brilliant future before it, and so did the Guildhall School, which had been founded in 1880. The musical education of the people received an immense incitement through Dr. Hullah, who in 1840 introduced Wilhelm's *Orphéon* system, taught countless classes, and acted as an energetic inspector of training colleges from 1874 to 1882, when he was succeeded by Sir John Stainer. To the untiring advocacy of the Rev. John Curwen, an Independent minister, was due the introduction of the Tonic Sol-fa system, which he first promulgated in the *Independent Magazine* in 1842. Two adopted Englishmen, Sir Michael Costa and Sir Julius Benedict, did great things as conductors during the period under review.

It remains to notice the leading composers at the end of the period. In sacred music the names of Sir John Stainer, the organist of St. Paul's, and of Dr. Bridge, who filled the same position at Westminster, stood conspicuous. The former produced in 1872 an impressive oratorio, "Gideon," and in 1878 a cantata, entitled "The Daughter of Jairus." Dr. Bridge's musical scholarship was conspicuous in numerous works on counterpoint and double-counterpoint, an oratorio, "Mount Moriah," and a cantata, "Boadicea." Sir Arthur Sullivan, associated in the mind of the frivolous with comic opera, was capable of serious work of much sweetness, for instance, oratorios, as "The Light of the World" (1873), and the "Martyr of Antioch" (1880); and cantatas, as "On Shore and Sea" (1871), and the "Golden Legend" (1886). Dr. A. C. Mackenzie, Principal of the Royal Academy of Music, wrote numerous songs, part-songs, anthems, pieces for the piano, besides two meritorious operas, "Columba" (1884); and "The Troubadour" (1886); and a cantata, "The Story of Seyyid" (1886). Mr. Goring Thomas made brilliant successes by two or three works of much promise; a cantata, the "Sun-Worshippers" (1881); a remarkable opera "Esmeralda" (1883), and another styled "Nadeshda" (1885); but his career was cut short by death in 1892. The most versatile composer of all was Dr. Villiers Stanford, who wrote two operas, "The Veiled Prophet" (1881), and "Savonarola" (1883); a service in B flat (1879); an elegiac symphony (1882); not to mention several beautiful sonatas, and popular songs like "Father O'Flynn."

British art went through several distinct phases

during the period, and they were on the whole animated with distinctive aims. In 1837 a mannerism, which was due, to some extent, to respect for tradition, was the predominant feature of painting. Sir David Wilkie survived until 1841, but the historical subjects to which he latterly devoted himself did not suit his style like the Scottish subjects in which he made his fame. J. M. W. Turner was still engaged at his easel, but his oil-painting, despite the beauty of isolated passages in "Zug," and the morning and evening visions of Lucerne, had developed an eccentricity which sorely puzzled the public. Sir Edwin Landseer was at the height of his fame, for he exhibited the "Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner" in 1837; while "Dignity and Impudence" (1839), "The Challenge" (1843), and the "Random Shot" (1848) were to increase his popularity still further as a faithful, if somewhat ultra-dramatic, interpreter of animal life. William Etty, after years of poverty, had attained a somewhat exaggerated reputation as a colourist and flesh-painter in productions like "Youth at the Prow and Pleasure at the Helm." He died in 1849, and three years previously the grandiose and untrained talents of B. R. Haydon had sought refuge in suicide from a popular neglect which was not altogether undeserved. On the other hand, Daniel Maclise was enjoying a reputation as a figure-painter which posterity did not endorse. The "Banquet Scene in *Macbeth*" was exhibited in 1840; "The Play Scene in *Macbeth*," his best known work, in 1842; "Moses and the Spectacles," from the "Vicar of Wakefield," in 1850; and he continued to exhibit regularly until his death in 1870. His two greatest works, however, were the frescoes of the "Death of Nelson" and the "Meeting of Wellington and Blücher at Waterloo" in Westminster Palace. Mulready was carrying on Wilkie's traditions in conscientious but uninspired productions like "The Sonnet" (1839), and "Choosing the Wedding Gown" (1845); and C. R. Leslie pleased as the interpreter of Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Sterne. The chief landscape painters after Turner were Sir Augustus Callcott, and Clarkson Stanfield, both cultivated but somewhat facile workers; Linnell was devoting himself to portraiture, and it was not until 1848 that he returned to the Surrey scenery as a more congenial subject; and Henry Dawson, whose works were better known in the provinces than in London, where he conceived he had been unfairly treated by the Royal Academy, maintained the high repute of the British landscape school. Sir Charles Eastlake,

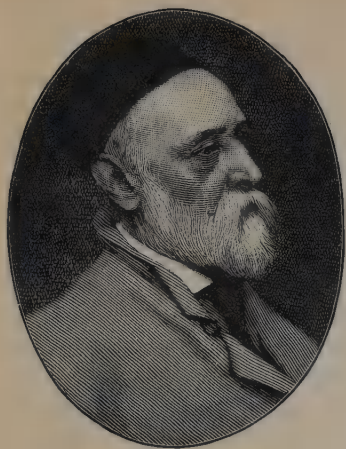
an indifferent painter of sacred themes, became in 1843 a most judicious director of the National Gallery. Edward Matthew Ward, the historical painter, first attracted notice by his "Johnson Reading the MS. of the 'Vicar of Wakefield'" exhibited in 1843, and his eight pictures designed for the corridor of the House of Commons, including the "Acquittal of the Seven Bishops," were works of genuine if academic merit.

It was, however, for achievements in water-colours rather than in oils that the first period of the reign was really conspicuous. The exaggerated features which marked some of Turner's later productions in the latter medium were wholly absent from his water-colour paintings, and to the last he accomplished feats in the representation of broken hues and atmospheric effects which were unsurpassable of their kind. Many of them were prepared for his great serial works, "The Southern Coast" and "England and Wales," and were elaborately engraved in line after his directions. Next to Turner the best known water-colour painters were David Cox, who excelled in depicting the scenery of his native land, more particularly that of the Thames Valley and the Welsh mountains; William Hunt, whose favourite subjects were taken from still life, such as fruit, flowers, and birds' nests; and Copley Fielding, who delighted in seas and moors. Peter de Wint painted charming scenes in the neighbourhood of Lincoln; and the Varleys, uncle and nephew, affected the former Welsh scenery, and the latter classical subjects. Able as they were, the Varleys and Peter de Wint were eclipsed in the opinion of the next generation by John Sell Cotman, whose landscapes displayed the Norwich School at its best. Again, William Müller was cut off by early death, after his sketches of the Lycian Hills, exhibited in 1844, had astonished and delighted his contemporaries. Among caricaturists a group of three stood conspicuous, namely, Hablot K. Browne, better known to his contemporaries as "Phiz," George Cruikshank, and John Leech. The first is irrevocably associated with Dickens; the second, during a long career which ended only in 1878, was an untiring social satirist and illustrator of books. Leech's connection with *Punch* began in 1841, and lasted until his death in 1864, during which period he exhibited a keen and innocent sense of humour, and a high purpose which, except in his attacks on Puseyism, never led him into exaggeration. A school of engravers accompanied Turner, among whom were Charles Turner, William Miller and John Pye. Landseer owed much

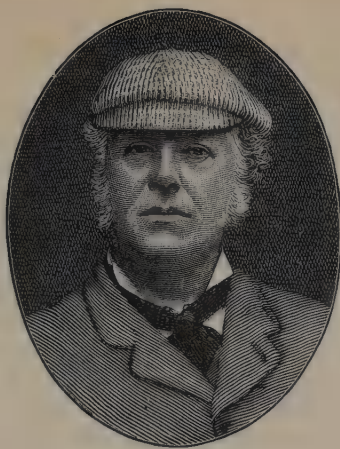
of his popularity to his elder brother Thomas; and R. J. Lane and Samuel Cousins were celebrated the one in line and the other in mezzotint.

In 1843 there appeared the first volume of "Modern Painters, by a Graduate of Oxford," who was soon identified with Mr. John Ruskin. Undertaken at the beginning as a defence of Turner, the book developed into an analysis of art and its principles, the remaining four volumes being written to drive home the theses laid down in the first. Mr. Ruskin's views were expounded in the most excellent English, and, partly for that reason, attracted at once. Besides, they taught that truth should be the main object of painting, and that Nature should be studied in a reverential spirit, without the neglect of a single detail. These moralities, in part adopted from Carlyle, took the attention of an age which was in sore want of some antidote to Utilitarianism and the Manchester School, and for awhile there was entire acquiescence in Mr. Ruskin's dictum that "Painting, or art generally, as such, with all its technicalities, difficulties, and particular ends, is nothing but a noble and expressive language, invaluable as the vehicle of thought, but by itself nothing." How the doctrine was to be applied seemed a somewhat difficult question; nevertheless, there could be no denial that Mr. Ruskin's writings—though art in them frequently served as a mere peg upon which to hang discourses on the cardinal virtues—were educational influences of real value to thousands of readers. Of kindred purpose to the "Modern Painters" were his "Seven Lamps of Architecture," and "Stones of Venice," while even his singular pronouncements on political economy had the merit of inculcating a holy hatred of vulgarity.

In the world of art his teaching was carried into practical effect by the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, which sought refuge from the conventionalities of the time in a laboriously studious mediævalism. Their ideas found literary expressions in an esoteric periodical styled *The Germ*, which first appeared in 1850, but had only a brief existence. As for their paintings, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the leading spirit of the sect, remained throughout constant to its creed, from the "Girlhood of the Virgin," exhibited in 1849, to the creations of his maturer powers like "Dante's Dream" and "The Annunciation," acquired by the National Gallery in 1886. Owing to his dislike of publicity, no opportunity of gaining an adequate idea of his merits was given to the public until after his death, when, despite the monotony of his feminine



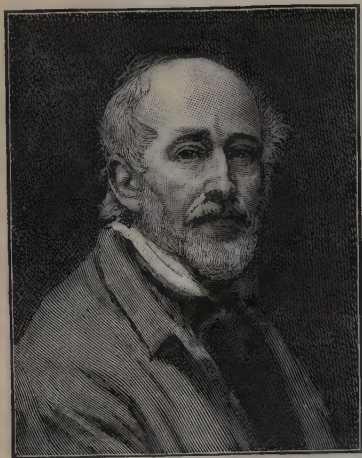
GEORGE FREDERICK WATTS, R.A.
(From a Photograph by Frederick Hollyer.)



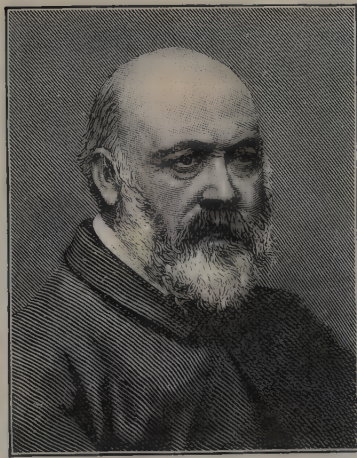
SIR JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS, R.A.
(From a Photograph by A. F. Mackenzie, Birnam, N.B.)



SIR F. (AFTERWARDS LORD) LEIGHTON, P.R.A.
(From a Photograph by W. & D. Downey.)



JOHN LINNELL.
(After a Painting by Himself.)



JOHN PHILLIP, R.A.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)



SIR JOHN GILBERT, R.A.
(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons.)



WILLIAM ETTY, R.A.
(From a Daguerreotype taken in 1849.)



DAVID COX.



SIR EDWIN LANDSEER, R.A.
(By Permission of Messrs. Graves and Co.)

heads, and a certain lack of technical skill, the intensity of his purpose, and the splendour of his colouring, gained universal recognition. On the other hand, Mr. Holman Hunt fearlessly met criticism throughout his career, and laboured on strenuously, undeterred by somewhat captious comments on the harshness of his colouring, and the realism of his treatment of sacred themes. His "Hireling Shepherd," exhibited in 1851, was the first of his pictures to attract attention, and it was followed two years later by "The Light of the World," which gained a home at Keble College, Oxford, and then by "The Finding of the Saviour in the Temple," "The Scape Goat," and "The Shadow of Death," of which the first and last were fiercely assailed because of their daring departure from tradition. "The Shadow of Death" was exhibited in 1874, and ten years later came "The Holy Innocents," Mr. Holman Hunt's last important production. By that time Mr. Hunt's single-minded devotion to his art had gained its reward, and he convinced even where he did not please. Intimately connected with the group was Mr. Ford Madox Brown, who admitted Rossetti to his studio, and whom Rossetti, in turn, greatly influenced. The vigour and originality of his brush were appreciated in the provinces before London perceived the merits of his "King Lear," exhibited in 1842. Manchester was especially awake to his fine qualities, and he was latterly occupied in decorating her Town Hall with scenes illustrative of her history. Mr. (afterwards Sir E.) Burne-Jones had similar aims to the Pre-Raphaelites, and his mediævalism was directly inspired by Rossetti. Hence he affected symbolical and mythological subjects, and elaborated details somewhat to the disadvantage of the general effect. A curious sameness of treatment also prevented him from attaining a wide popularity, though the numbers of his devout following showed a steady tendency to increase.

Pre-Raphaelitism was conspicuous in the early works of a great painter who subsequently abandoned the school. Sir John Millais began as a member of the Brotherhood, and his earliest pictures were steeped in antiquarianism. A development was observed in the "Huguenot" and "Ophelia," both exhibited in 1852, and in the remarkable "Order of Release" (1854), "Autumn Leaves" (1856), and "The Vale of Rest" (1860). All these paintings bore traces of the Pre-Raphaelite manner, but its virtues found exposition rather than its severities, and they were generally considered to mark the maturity of Millais' powers.

His second period was distinguished by popular subjects like "My First Sermon" (1863), and several beautiful landscapes, for instance, the well-known "Chill October" (1873). Latterly, he became a portrait painter of great distinction, a departure that actually dates from the "North-West Passage" exhibited in 1874, in which the foremost figure was Shelley's friend Trelawny. His portraits of Mr. Bright (1880), Cardinal Newman (1882), and Lord Salisbury (1883), were especially noteworthy. Of narrower range than Millais, Mr. G. F. Watts excelled as a painter of ideal subjects, whether on canvas or on walls. His long career began with a cartoon, "Caractacus," exhibited in 1842, and forty years later he was exhibiting masterpieces like "Watchman, What of the Night?" and "The Happy Warrior." Sir F. Leighton (afterwards Lord Leighton), who became President of the R.A. in 1878, showed a partiality for classical themes, and if his colouring was occasionally weak, his paintings were decorative in the best sense of the word. Among his most important pictures were "Hercules Wrestling with Death," and "The Daphnephoria. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Alma Tadema also sought inspiration from Greece in pictures like "Phidias and the Elgin Marbles" (1868), and "Hadrian in Britain." John Phillip, a native of Aberdeen—"Spanish" Phillip, as he was called, from his frequent choice of subject—displayed great breadth of treatment and splendid colour in his many beautiful Spanish compositions, of which "La Gloria" and "The Braserio" were amongst the most admired. Sir John Gilbert was, perhaps, the best all-round artist of the reign. Beginning as a black-and-white draughtsman, he was for many years the right-hand man of the *Illustrated London News*, but his illustrations of Shakespeare and other masterpieces of English literature were even more famous. Then his work in water-colours became equally celebrated, while later in life he qualified for membership of the Royal Academy by many masterly canvases in oils.

We must dismiss other representative artists of the modern English school with more brevity than they deserve. Portraiture had its gifted exponents in Mr. Frank Holl, whose early death in 1888 was a great loss to English painting; in Mr. Oules, in the Hon. John Collier, and Mr. W. B. Richmond, who followed the steps of his father, Mr. George Richmond, a contemporary of Linnell's. Landscape and rustic life had an admirable but somewhat obvious exponent in Frederick Walker, cut off in his prime in 1875,

and a similar fate was Cecil Lawson's, who died in 1882, after exhibiting the remarkable picture "Twixt Sun and Moon." Mr. Vicat Cole, however, did excellent work, while Mr. Leader was appreciated, in spite of the cheapness of his effects. Mr. Brett and Mr. Hook painted the sea, the one with minute detail, the other as a background to groups of sailors; nor were Mr. Henry Moore and Mr. Colin Hunter behind them. Among animal painters Mr. Briton Riviere was conspicuous for the power of his feline creations, while Mr. R. Ansdell and Mr. Sidney Cooper restricted themselves for the most part to cattle. Mr. Albert Moore depicted the female figure with unerring grace, and Mr. Orchardson was a brilliant painter of domestic scenes like "Mariage de Convenance," exhibited in 1886. Mr. Herkomer did varied work, and was distinguished both as portrait painter and exponent of incident, his "Last Muster" and "Missing" being fine pictures. Mr. (afterwards Sir) E. J. Poynter was also various, but his most characteristic productions were inspired by the ancient world, such as "Israel in Egypt," "Atalanta's Race," and "A Visit to Æsculapius." Mr. Edwin Long dealt with ancient Egypt with conscientious archæology, but with little imagination. Sir Noel Paton turned, as a rule, to religious and allegorical themes, or else to the realms of legend and fairyland. So far back as 1850 he exhibited the "Quarrel" and "Reconciliation of Oberon and Titania," afterwards placed in the National Gallery at Edinburgh; in 1883 his "Puck" graced the Grosvenor Gallery. Mr. Frith, on the other hand, devoted himself to the actualities of "The Derby Day" (1858), "The Railway Station" (1862), "The Road to Ruin" (1878), and so forth. Among historical painters the names of Mr. Armitage, Mr. Calderon, Mr. Gow, and Mr. Ernest Crofts were perhaps the best known, while Mr. Frank Dicksee was equally at home with the ages of the Vikings and of Elizabeth. Of the lady artists, Miss Clara Montalba painted Venetian scenes with much artistic insight, while Lady Butler (Miss Elizabeth Thompson) executed with rare *verve* military subjects like "The Roll Call" (1874) and "Inkerman" (1877), which became celebrated through the engraver's skill.

In water-colours Mrs. Allingham, Sir James Linton, Mr. Albert Goodwin, Mr. Alfred Hunt, and Mr. Carl Haag, reclaimed the later part of the reign from the charge of barrenness in a characteristically English branch of art, which had suffered a loss in the death of George Pinwell

in 1875. The first confined herself to rural life and *genre*, the second went for his subjects to Scott or to the Middle Ages. Mr. (afterwards Sir Francis) Seymour Haden and Mr. Whistler succeeded in reviving the art of etching in England, and Mr. R. W. Macbeth reproduced paintings with much fidelity. Engraving was being revolutionised by the invention of new processes towards the end of the period, and Doo, who died in 1886, together with Lumb Stocks, who lived a few years longer, were nearly the last of the old school. With regard to illustrators of books and papers, "Dicky" Doyle, who belonged, properly speaking, to the previous generation, excelled as a kindly satirist and a charming illustrator of fairyland, while Gustave Doré, a Frenchman without honour in his own country, turned his somewhat irregular powers to far better account in his illustrations of Dante, "Paradise Lost," and the Bible, than in his huge pictures on sacred subjects which were exhibited in the Doré Gallery in Bond Street. In *Punch* Mr. Charles Keene, Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Tenniel, Mr. Du Maurier, and Linley Sambourne carried on the traditions of John Leech, and the first combined humour and draughtsmanship in a most happy manner. Randolph Caldecott, who died prematurely in 1886, represented with unrivalled skill the humours of old-fashioned country life; his influence was to be traced in Miss Kate Greenaway, who, like Caldecott, worked in colours. Mr. William Small, trained in Edinburgh, gained great distinction in black-and-white before taking, more exclusively, to water-colours and oils. Mr. Edwin Abbey, an American by birth, was another fine illustrator; and among those of the younger generation who had already made their mark, we may also mention Mr. Walter Crane, Mr. Caton Woodville, Mr. William Ralston, Mr. Fred Barnard, Mr. Charles Green, and Mr. Robert Barnes.

Towards the end of the period a change seemed imminent in British art, and it took the form of a strong reaction against Mr. Ruskin's doctrine. The advocates of "pure paint" rebelled against the teaching that pictures were valuable less for their *technique* than as a vehicle for words, and the "anecdote on canvas" was vigorously denounced. Thus the Newlyn School, with Mr. Stanhope Forbes as its leading spirit, delighted in the unpoetic realities of everyday life, while Impressionists like Mr. Walter Sickert and, to a certain extent, Mr. Sargent, maintained that detail was nothing, and the instantaneous effect everything. They were much influenced by French

models and much also by Mr. Whistler, an artist of American parentage, who was trained in France and lived chiefly in England. In 1877 he was awarded a farthing damages in a libel action which he brought against Mr. Ruskin; but time brought its revenges, and of the two Mr. Whistler was, ten years later, distinctly the greater prophet. Even those to whom his "nocturnes" and "symphonies" were still stumbling-blocks, acknowledged the exquisite work of his etchings, and the dignity of his portraits of his mother, Carlyle, and Signor Sarasate. How far his influence was likely to be permanent was of necessity an open question; we are content to chronicle its establishment, in antagonism to the Royal Academy, at the Society of British Artists and the New English Art Club.

In the year 1837 sculpture was in a condition bordering upon extinction. Sir Francis Chantrey survived to execute a few statues, like that of the Duke of Wellington, now in front of the Royal Exchange, London; but his talents were fast declining. John Gibson, for thirty years, created various graceful but imitative groups and figures of which the "Hylas and the Nymphs" was not unworthily placed in the National Gallery; while his portrait of Sir Robert Peel in Westminster Abbey by no means added to his reputation. The younger Westmacott was scholarly but commonplace; the Wyatts were altogether indifferent, and E. H. Bailey, the sculptor of Fox and Lord Mansfield at Westminster, had studied under Flaxman without catching his classical spirit. In 1840 John Henry Foley achieved a distinct advance in his "Juno and the Infant Bacchus," which was fully maintained by his "Youth at the Stream." He was seen, however, at his best in the fine equestrian statues of Lord Hardinge and Sir James Outram, which went to India, and that of Daniel O'Connell, which found a home in Dublin. Foley was worried to death by designing the model of the Prince Consort for the Albert Memorial in 1874, and a more gifted artist, Alfred Stevens, was driven to his grave in the following year by the anxieties connected with the monument to the Duke of Wellington in St. Paul's, which he undertook to execute in 1857. He may have been somewhat impracticable; still the story of the official pedantry and parsimony that thwarted him at every turn is discreditable to his country, and not until 1893 was this magnificent piece of architectural sculpture moved into the nave from the obscure corner into which it had been huddled.

Somewhat later came Mr. Woolner, a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, who throughout

his career exhibited a refined and poetic feeling, whether in ideal subjects like the "Cupid and Euphrosyne" of 1848, or the recumbent figure of Lord Frederick Cavendish of 1885. Sir Edgar Boehm, a Viennese by birth, was the sculptor the most sought after of his time, and his statue of Carlyle on the Chelsea Embankment may be considered worthy of his subject. Commissioned, however, to execute the new equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington for Hyde Park Corner, he had and lost a great opportunity. Mr. Armstead excelled in relief, and his best achievement was the groups of painters, sculptors, and poets on the podium of the Albert Memorial. Of the younger generation Mr. Brock and Mr. Birch were pupils of Foley's, and reproduced the solid impressiveness of his work. Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, on the other hand, showed himself an imitator of Greek models in his early works, "A Youth Putting the Stone" (1880), "Teucer" (1882), "The Mower" (1885), and "The Sower" (1886); he was entirely himself in his fine statue of General Gordon (page 57), which was placed in Trafalgar Square in 1888. Mr. Onslow Ford studied in Paris, and the influence of Rodin was to be discovered in his admirable statuettes, no less than in more ambitious efforts like the life-size figure of General Gordon on a camel. Mr. Alfred Gilbert was essentially inspired by the Renaissance, and its traditions, after finding expression in many a learned bas-relief, were embodied by him in the fountain raised to Lord Shaftesbury's memory in Piccadilly Circus in 1893.

Among architects the leading figure in 1837 was Sir Charles Barry who, in the Travellers' Club and Bridgewater House, exhibited a fine feeling for the Italian style, which gave place to a Late Gothic—or rather a compromise between Gothic and Tudor—in the work of his life, the new Houses of Parliament (1837-1852). Despite a certain propensity to waste himself in finikin details and monotonous ornament, Barry accomplished at St. Stephen's a task worthy of his fame, however incongruous its most dignified portions—for instance, the entrance to the House of Lords—may appear with the simple grandeur of Westminster Hall. Besides Barry the most successful architects at the beginning of the reign were C. R. Cockerell, whose devotion to the Classic style found expression in the Taylorian Museum at Oxford, though he adopted Gothic in St. David's College, Lampeter; and Sir William Tite, whose tolerable abilities were best exemplified in the Royal Exchange, which he completed in

1844. Also Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt may be mentioned as one who, devoid of originality himself, was seen to advantage when working with others, notably Sir Gilbert Scott, one of their joint productions being the India Office, Whitehall. But already the movement known as the Gothic revival had begun, which for thirty years and more was to be the predominant influence over British architects. Thomas Rickman, who died in 1841, had

best exemplified in his churches built for the Roman Catholic community, such as St. George's Cathedral at Southwark, and his best achievement, the church and conventual buildings of St. Augustine, near Ramsgate.

The Gothic revival was destined to find its most extensive exponent in Sir Gilbert Scott, who was entrusted with the restoration of most of the English cathedrals, and who on occasions



THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON.

classified the different periods of Gothic with much intelligence; and the younger Pugin had published his famous pamphlet "Contrasts between such churches as St. Mary Redcliffe and All Souls', Langham Place." His ideas immediately took root in the Oxford and Cambridge architectural societies founded in 1838, and in the more important Ecclesiological Society established in 1843. Pugin threw himself passionately into every branch of the movement. Thus he laboured with Hardman of Birmingham to revive glass-painting, and found an apt disciple in Mr. William Morris, who has been already mentioned as a poet. So far as sacred fabrics are concerned, Pugin's strength, which lay chiefly in elaborate ornamentation, was

executed his task more zealously than wisely. Knowledge he undoubtedly possessed in abundance, and in some of his earliest work, for instance, the Martyrs' Memorial, erected at Oxford in 1841, he came very near to originality. Latterly, however, he showed a disposition to become a copyist; and though he built many admirable churches, little is to be said of his public buildings like the Foreign and Home Offices, and the Albert Memorial may be passed over in respectful silence. St. Pancras Station, however, originally designed for a Government Office, was admired for an ingenious, though rather cramped, façade. Mr. George Edmund Street was a pupil of Scott's, but he excelled his master in originality. His earliest

churches were in Italian Gothic, but he soon adopted the English style, as in the buildings of Cuddesdon College, Oxford. As for his numerous restorations, that of Carlisle Cathedral was ruthless, but he renovated without harming Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, and the south transept of York Minster. His name was more particularly remembered in connection with the Royal Courts of Justice in the Strand (page 325), generally recognised as a fine piece of work, its confused and incongruous details notwithstanding, more especially when the alterations of his plan, to which Government forced him to submit are borne in mind. Worthy to be mentioned with Scott and Street is William Burges, who was a most fertile designer of Gothic churches, though he was happily prevented by the public outcry from working his will as finisher and restorer upon the classic interior of St. Paul's. Woodward and Sir Thomas Deane were well represented by the Oxford Museum, a happy adaptation of Italian Gothic to English necessities.

The influence of the Gothic revival was to be seen among many of the architects whose invention was busy in the Jubilee Year. Mr. Butterfield's scholarship, which certainly had its pedantic side, was illustrated at Oxford by Keble College and the new Chapel at Balliol, and in London by All Saints' Church, Margaret Street. Winchester had reason to regret his "restoring" hand, both in the College Chapel, and in the old Church of St. Cross. Sir Arthur Blomfield was a pupil of Street's, and he reproduced that architect's best manner in numerous churches and school-buildings, for instance, the Chapel at Haileybury College and the new edifices for Shrewsbury School. Mr. J. L. Pearson was an architect of undoubted learning, which found expression no less in Truro Cathedral than in the very appropriate additions to Westminster Hall, necessitated by the removal of Sir John Soane's atrocious Law Courts. Oxford found a designer exactly suited to her necessities in Mr. T. G. Jackson, whose new Examination Schools were obviously inspired by the late Jacobean style. Mr. Alfred Waterhouse made his name at Manchester by the Town Hall and Owens College. Cambridge owed to him the reconstruction of Caius and Pembroke Colleges, and, his reputation having become thoroughly established, he was selected to design the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, and the National Liberal Club. The disadvantages of the site considered, the last displayed an ingenuity little short of genius. Mr. Waterhouse also filled

a gap in domestic architecture by erecting the mansions of Eaton Hall, Cheshire, for the Duke of Westminster, and Iwerne Minster, Dorset, for Lord Wolverton. He thus set bounds to the eccentricities in house-building which, owing to the misapplication of Pugin's principles, seemed the only alternative to orthodox dullness. Towards the end of the period a group of young architects, of whom the most popular was Mr. Norman Shaw, succeeded in evolving a style which, though absurdly called "Queen Anne," was, when employed in moderation, pleasing, but which was apt in the hands of imitators to degenerate into affectation. It was noticed that the Gothic revival distinctly waned about 1880 and onwards, and that there were even signs of reversion to classical models. On the whole, however, the rising generation seemed more influenced by the Renaissance than by any other school.

The evolution of costume during the Victorian era was, on the whole, in the direction of simplicity. Gentlemen's Court dress retained the cocked-hat and knee-breeches of the eighteenth century, but the lace cravats and diamond shoe-buckles disappeared, and for variously-coloured silk coats was substituted, about 1845, a dark brown cloth or black velvet. With regard to morning wear the traditions of the Regency were preserved, at the beginning of the reign, in the dark blue or green frock-coat, the high and voluminous neck-cloth, the gorgeous waistcoat, and the Hessian boots. Another style of dress was a military coat, frogged with braid and velvet. Of an evening, coloured coats and trousers, the former with velvet collars and the tails faced with silk, though going out of fashion, were still worn. This magnificence was, however, a survival; and before the "fifties" had waned black cloth became the rule both by night and by day. An essential feature of modern costume appeared about 1840, when the tall silk hat invaded England from France, and promptly replaced the beaver. This head-gear, though its shape varied from time to time, continued to be the prevailing fashion among the richer classes. In most respects the business man of 1847 looked much like his successor of forty years later; though the more elderly clung to the stock instead of the silk tie, worn first in a bow and afterwards in a sailor's-knot, and gloves were invariably black, not tan-coloured. The details of the orthodox suit underwent, of course, numerous modifications: the coat was worn now double and now single-breasted, waistcoats were cut now high and now low, trousers

varied from loose to tight. The unofficial dress became altered in the direction of comfort. The Prince Consort popularised the ugly but useful felt hat or "billycock"; coloured cloth suits were to be seen in country towns, even on market days, though the City and Bond Street knew them not, and the round tailless coat was no longer confined to boyhood. The dark-blue pea-jacket, an adaptation from the merchant service, came in about 1870, and endured for some five or six years, but latterly the tendency was towards whole suits in one pattern of checks or stripes. Also a hideous *quasi*-military stripe at the side of the trouser was happily abandoned about 1875. As for overcoats, they were worn with a cape at the beginning of the reign, and the colour remained dark-blue or black until the middle of the "seventies," when the parti-coloured ulster appeared, though its use was at first restricted to the country. That excellent invention the macintosh was patented some twelve years before the Queen's accession. *Per contra*, the tradesmen and working classes abandoned articles of wear that had their undoubted uses. The butcher, indeed, stuck to his blue apron; but the smock-frock in which fifty years previously the well-to-do yeoman was not ashamed to appear, had been given up for corduroy, even by the agricultural labourer, and artisans seemed averse from any material that would wash. Again, the Irish farmer was fast abandoning his picturesque tall hat, frieze coat, and knee-breeches, and the Highlander his kilt. Provincialisms of dress, which had formerly lent distinction to a locality, were disappearing; the railway had brought a dull uniformity and not a little pretence.

The vagaries of female fashion must be indicated very briefly. With ladies as with gentlemen the Court dress remained practically unaltered during the fifty years, its characteristics being the head-dress of ostrich feathers, the veil and the train twelve yards long attached to the shoulders or the waist. But the other departments of millinery witnessed revolution after revolution. In 1837 ladies wore large bonnets plentifully be-decked with feathers, and feathers were also worn in the hair at evening parties. By day caps, tied under the chin with ribbons, and covering the back of the head, were worn even by quite young women. The hair was, as a rule, arranged in ringlets or curls at the side, and worn in a stiff knot at the back. The sleeve of the dress was a survival of the enormous "leg of mutton" of the "thirties," but it was very much reduced. The skirt grew longer each year and was adorned with deep

flounces and numerous bows, and the waist lengthened with the skirt. Out of doors the favourite mantle was the pelerine, which assumed various shapes and was fastened at the throat by an enormous brooch. Startling contrasts of colours could be risked with impunity; plaids were introduced in 1840, and four years later the Queen, by her approval of alpaca, created a rage for that fabric. Lace was plentiful, and mittens were *de rigueur* both at home and abroad. So matters continued until the "fifties," when the pagoda-sleeve, shaped like an extinguisher, appeared with the under-sleeve as its accompaniment. In 1854 the crinoline conquered England and held its own, with tenacity, until about 1868. It was a terrible period, and the historian of taste would fain pass it over in silence. The alternative was an arrangement of from twelve to fourteen petticoats, which, the crinoline being unsuitable for dancing, was worn at balls. The bonnets were still large and open in the front with rows of artificial flowers inside, and a bunch or two on the exterior. Later, the bonnets became high and peaked in front, while to the flowers were added insects, ladybirds for instance. Artificial flowers were copiously worn of an evening. Long and heavy ear-rings were also in fashion, and there was a lavish display of jewellery. As for the hair, it was, as a rule, combed down on each side, looped over the ears, and confined in a net at the back. In 1865 the Princess of Wales introduced the graceful Alexandra curl, but it soon gave place to the chignon, the dimensions of which were enormous. A silk dress was indispensable to respectability, and out of doors it was surmounted by a black silk jacket, a heavily trimmed mantle, or a richly-patterned shawl, Cashmere if possible, otherwise Paisley. In 1860 the Empress of the French introduced a taste for white muslin; plaids were also popular; and in 1864 Garibaldi unwittingly created the scarlet bodice called by his name.

The obscuration of Paris from 1870 to 1872, owing to the war with Germany, was a lost opportunity for English dressmakers. The French capital soon won back its ascendancy, and with the rise of the great man-milliner, M. Worth, its empire became more confirmed than ever. The Dolly Varden costume, which had a brief reign in 1872 and onwards, borrowed its flowered patterns from the French Pompadour. Gradually the bunchy skirts, and rows of frills—the relics of the crinoline epoch—gave place about 1875 to the Princess, vulgarly known as the "eel-skin" dress,

very tight in front and heavily draped behind. It remained popular for quite five or six years, and the wearing of the hair in a fringe—becoming enough for the young but not for the elderly—came in during its reign. After 1880 all kinds of movements were started; that in favour of the divided skirt, proved no more successful than Bloomerism before it. The *Æsthetic* phase produced much extravagance in the way of towzled

dress, which was due to the taste for outdoor pursuits, and, for the same reason, flannel garments were a good deal worn. Finery was reserved for the afternoon, and magnificence for the evening.

The empire of fashion widened year by year, and it was, no longer possible to draw distinctions between Mayfair and the suburbs, or even between the capital and the provinces. Especially, the change of the dinner-hour among the upper-middle

*Princess (1880).**Court Dress (1887)**Dolly Varden (1872).**Of the Period (1837).**Crinoline (1854).*

WOMEN'S COSTUMES IN THE QUEEN'S REIGN.

Æsthetic (1881).

hair and washed-out terra-cotta tints, but some of its effects were not displeasing, particularly its plain trailing gowns and quaintly curved straw hats. Among its later developments was the arrangement of the hair in a knot on the crown of the head, and, with the exception of the atrocious crinoline or dress-improver, which was dying hard in 1887, the innovations of the seven years were fairly sane. The attempt of high-born dames, in 1880, to get the public to clothe itself in British fabrics was attended by very qualified success. It was a period of revivals, now Elizabethan, and now of the Directorate. The chief feature of the time was the growing popularity of plain tailor-made

class from two to seven, led to the habitual wearing of evening dress by families which had formerly reserved that attire for parties. Shop-girls, even in small country towns, were clothed in the prevailing mode, and though domestic discipline was strong enough to make servants adhere to the cap and apron when on duty, out of doors they dressed pretty much as their mistresses. In fact, the masses imitated the classes without much regard for the consideration that the robes of the drawing-room are unsuited to manual labour. In the "forties" and "fifties" every farmer's wife drove to market in a brilliant Paisley shawl; but that useful article of attire was banished to the Welsh

mountains by 1887, or confined to the factory hands in the large towns. Even the Irish peasant girl deserted the rain-resisting frieze for cheap cottons and satins. There was also a good deal of sham jewellery and imitation fur worn by the women of the working classes, and the aspect of a London crowd on a bank holiday was calculated to make the judicious grieve.

Lastly, we will bring our review of the reign to a close by some brief remarks on manners and

law, was pursued in the west of England for many years after the Queen's accession, and badger-baiting also had its votaries. Another institution of a very questionable character which showed a disposition to die hard, and which, in fact, managed to keep alive throughout the reign, was the prize-ring. The admiration professed for pugilism by George IV. and William IV. had made the cult thoroughly fashionable in the "thirties," and the reaction which eventually took place was slow to



LORD'S CRICKET GROUND: HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE M.C.C.

customs. On the whole the age witnessed an increase of refinement without a corresponding decrease of vigour. A notable departure was effected at the beginning of the reign, when the death of Colonel Fawcett at the hands of his brother-in-law, in 1843, led to an unmistakable expression of public feeling against the custom of duelling. Through the influence of the Prince Consort, the practice received its death-blow in the following year, when it was forbidden in the army under heavy penalties. It should be remembered, too, that bull-baiting and cock-fighting had only become illegal in 1834, and there is evidence that the latter brutal amusement, though forbidden by

set in. Thus in 1850 was fought the celebrated battle between Paddock and Perry, the "Tipton Slasher," and ten years later the sporting world flocked to see the grand encounter between Tom Sayers and Heenan at Farnborough; but, from that moment, the fortunes of the prize-ring rapidly declined. Public opprobrium had its effect, and no person of respectability dared attend prize-fights, except under professional protection, because of the dangerous ruffianism of the company. Still the pugilists continued to evade the police, and held their gatherings with considerable impunity, though a forced adjournment was sometimes made to the Continent. Besides, a remarkably close

imitation was tolerated by the law in the shape of glove-fights waged under rules drawn up by the Marquis of Queensberry. These affairs obtained a spurious popularity towards the end of the period, and huge entrance-fees were paid for the satisfaction of seeing two professionals pommel one another for a brief five minutes. But a demoralising influence of far wider range was that of the turf. Next to drinking, betting was undoubtedly the besetting sin of the working classes, and many a man of good position was ruined by the same malign agency. Occasionally there was prodigious outcry, for instance, in 1868, when the Marquis of Hastings committed suicide, owing to the irreparable character of his losses. But royal and aristocratic patronage was sufficient to shield an institution which seemed capable of little logical defence, since the claim that racing improved the breed of English horses was contradicted by the fact that short distances were rapidly being substituted for long, while two-year old stakes rendered many an unfortunate beast useless long before it reached maturity.

On the other hand, manly sports and games helped to build up an athletic race. Whatever arguments the moralist might allege against hunting and shooting, at least they demanded pluck and skill; except when the royal buckhounds provided a somewhat cruel Cockney carnival, or some plutocrat invited his friends to the butchery of a *battue*. Cricket developed enormously during the fifty years; indeed in 1837, though the third wicket had been added, round-arm bowling was still struggling for recognition, its pioneers being Willsher and Lillywhite. It was not finally sanctioned until 1845, and a high delivery above the shoulder did not become general until 1860. Lillywhite's familiar definition of the game as "Me bowling, Pilch batting, and Box keeping wicket" gives an epitome of the most celebrated players of his day. Pilch's reign closed about 1850, and George Parr was the premier batsman until 1868, when Dr. W. G. Grace appeared and established an ascendancy which showed little signs of waning twenty years later. Without going at any length into the technicalities of the noble game, we may mention that single wicket matches practically expired with Pilch; and that the first English team was taken out to Australia by H. H. Stephenson in 1862. It was not until 1878, however, that the English public really took Australian cricket seriously, when the bowling of Mr. F. R. Spofforth and the wicket-keeping of Mr. Blackham were a revelation, notably on the 27th

of May, when Mr. Gregory's team beat a powerful eleven of M.C.C. by nine wickets in the short space of four hours and a half. From that date Australian teams paid biennial visits, and on a memorable occasion (the 28th of August, 1882) Mr. Murdoch's eleven beat All England by 7 runs; while two years later they compiled the huge score of 551 against the mother country. We should also mention that the improved character of cricket pitches had altered the nature of bowling, and that a terrific pace became of less consequence than accuracy and "break." Alfred Shaw was perhaps the most remarkable of the slow overhand bowlers who flourished towards the end of the "seventies," and at the close of the period the most remarkable exponents of the game were Dr. W. G. Grace, Gunn, and Shrewsbury with the bat, Briggs, Attewell and Lohmann with the ball, and Sherwin and Pilling at the wicket. Their stimulating examples had spread through the length and breadth of the land, and, except among the Scots mountains, and the hillier parts of Wales, there was hardly a village without its cricket club. The spread of football was equally remarkable, though the essence of the game being combination, it was productive of fewer individual reputations. At the beginning of the reign football was confined to the public schools, and between 1850 and 1860 it became the standing game for the winter months in most educational establishments. The Rugby style of play was first exemplified in the neighbourhood of London by the Blackheath Club, which was founded in 1858, and the Rugby Union was formed in 1871. Meanwhile, a "dribbling" game had taken root in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, and after various efforts to effect a combination of the two methods, the Football Association was founded, as its directorate, in 1873. From that time football became a national pastime, as witness the institution of International matches, the first, that between England and Scotland under the Rugby rules, being played in 1871. The Association game supplanted its rival, particularly in the Midlands and in Scotland, and towards the end of the period the growth of professionalism formed a problem with which the executive had some difficulty in dealing. But such clubs as the Preston North End, the Blackburn Rovers, and the Corinthians in England, and the Queen's Park, Celtic, and Rangers, in Scotland, gave an almost perfect exhibition of this game.

Among other athletic pursuits, amateur rowing maintained a vigorous existence, thanks to the

Universities, the more favoured of the public schools, and associations like the London Rowing Club. The Oxford and Cambridge boat-race, first rowed between Hambledon and Henley in 1829, became a popular holiday after the crews had finally chosen the course from Putney to Mortlake, in 1856, as the scene of their contest. Henley Regatta, instituted in 1839, became a social fixture hardly less important than the Ascot race meeting, or the Eton and Harrow match at Lord's. Professional oarsmanship, however, which was in its prime in the "sixties," when Kelly represented the Thames and Chambers the Tyne, declined after 1880, so far as England was concerned, owing to suspicions of foul play, though the colonies produced remarkable exponents of the art of sculling on sliding seats (first introduced in 1871) in the Canadian Edward Hanlan, and William Beach, the Australian. Amateur athletic sports may be considered to date from 1849, when the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, instituted its first regular meeting, and Exeter College, Oxford, followed suit in the following year. Thence the movement spread through the Universities and public schools, and the first meeting between Oxford and Cambridge was held in 1864. The first London Amateur Athletic Club was formed in 1863, and took its title from Mincing Lane, the amateur championships dating from 1866, when the series of meetings began which, on the extinction of the Amateur Athletic Club, were continued under the management of the Amateur Athletic Association. The last body was formed in 1880 to check professionalism and to act as a court of arbitration. At the end of six years it consisted of 154 clubs, including about 20,000 athletes. It was to be feared, however, that many real professionals continued to invade the amateur ranks, and the avowedly professional gatherings were little more than an excuse for betting. We need say little about them, therefore, beyond an allusion to the extraordinary craze for six days' "go-as-you-please," or endurance competitions, which, thanks to Sir John Astley, obtained a brief vogue towards the end of the "seventies." *Per contra*, the extinction of wrestling competitions in Cumberland, Cornwall, and Devonshire was to be regretted.

A more recent, and even more directly useful sport than any of those above mentioned, was that of cycling, which, though a primitive anticipation of the bicycle called the hobby-horse was introduced from France in 1819, cannot be said to have existed before 1869, when a fully developed

machine came over from Paris. The manufacture soon took root in Coventry, and the vehicle, at first extremely heavy and clumsy, became a model of lightness and compactness. To the bicycle were speedily added the tricycle and various developments, among which may be mentioned the low or "safety" bicycle, and "sociables" or "tandems," suited for two riders and even more. The popularity of the pastime was evinced by the fact, that inquiries set on foot by Lord Bury, in 1885, led to the conclusion that persons who came within the designation of cyclists numbered not far from 400,000. Their interests were vigilantly protected by the National Cyclists' Union, established as the Bicycle Union in 1878, and the Cyclists' Touring Club, a birth of the same year—bodies that had officers in every large town and minor officials in nearly every considerable village in England. For awhile, maltreated by roughs, and involved in difficulties as to rights of way, they soon gained toleration, however, more especially when horses became accustomed to the at first alarming phenomenon. The first long-distance ride on record was accomplished in 1873, when four adventurers travelled from London to John o' Groat's House in 15 days, but the rapidity with which records were "cut" was remarkable. In 1886 Mr. G. P. Mills accomplished the distance from the Land's End to John o' Groat's in 5 days 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ hour, and whereas the first journey from London to Brighton (Mr. Mayall's in 1879) took 12 hours, the distance was covered by Mr. H. C. White in 1887 in a little over 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ hours. As a branch of athletics, cycling was supervised by the Amateur Athletic Club from 1871 until 1879, when the Union took over the management. A list of remarkable performances would be illusory on account of the improvements constantly effected in machines. We may mention, however, that in 1875 John Keen, the professional, rode 50 miles in 3 hrs. 6 mins. 45 secs., and that in a remarkable 2 miles' race between amateurs and professionals in 1879 the winner, the Hon. Ion Keith Falconer, won in 5 mins. 36 $\frac{2}{3}$ secs., beating Keen, Cooper, and Mr. H. L. Cortis, amateur champion, for nearly every distance. In 1887 the record for a mile was 2 mins. 30 secs., for 50 miles 3 hrs. 9 mins. 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ secs., for 100 miles 5 hrs. 50 mins. 5 $\frac{2}{5}$ secs.

Cycling was a recreation in which ladies could partake, but their essential outdoor amusements during the fifty years were first croquet and afterwards lawn tennis. The former staid amusement held its own until about 1878, when it rapidly

succumbed to a game, patented by Major Wingfield four years earlier, and known first as Sphairistike. At first played in an hour-glass-shaped court, the game suffered from lack of rules, despite a code formulated by the Marylebone Cricket Club, until, in 1877, a triumvirate, consisting of Mr. Julian Marshall, Mr. Henry Jones, and Mr. C. G. Heathcote, decreed that the court should be rectangular, and the scoring according to the rules of tennis, not of racquets. As revised in the following year, when the height of the net was lowered, these regulations, which were sanctioned by the M.C.C. and All England Club, continued in vogue with but little alteration. The first championship was won by Mr. S. Gore in 1877, but he soon gave way to Mr. Hartley and Mr. Lawford, until the brothers Renshaw appeared, and Mr. William Renshaw established an ascendancy comparable to that of Dr. W. G. Grace in cricket. He was champion, without a break, from 1881 to 1887. Among ladies the struggle was more equal, until in 1887 Miss Dod asserted her superiority by defeating Miss M. Watson. By this time annual tournaments had been established at nearly all the fashionable watering-places, and the game, which at one time threatened to be confined to specialists, had apparently secured a firm hold on popular favour. Suitable to both sexes, and to the elderly as well as the young, it had also the important advantages of taking up comparatively little time, and of requiring a space that could be contrived out of most gardens.

The participation of women in the pursuits of men was to be equally marked when, a few years later golf, the ancient Scottish game, began to take root in England. That innovation, however, hardly comes within the period under review, and we may pass to in-door amusements with the remark that rinking, or skating on rollers, had a brief popularity for some six or seven years subsequent to 1875, when it suddenly became extinct. Caprice was partly the cause of its downfall, but also there was the practical impossibility of keeping the rinks clear of disreputable characters. Dancing was, of course, the indoor amusement *par excellence*, and during the fifty years it underwent not a little change. The waltz, which had been introduced at the beginning of the century, rapidly supplanted the old-fashioned square-dances, like the Lancers and the Quadrille, though, for the sake of appearances, they were retained in the programme. About the year 1875 the *trois-temps* waltz superseded the *deux-temps*,

and the romping polka came in a year or two later. The stately cotillon was revived in the year 1881. It would be unnecessary to dwell upon ephemeral styles, like the "Spring waltz" or the "Bayswater crawl," or even the much-discussed question of reversing. Enough that Terpsichore continued to have her votaries in England, nor were Scotland and Ireland neglectful of their time-honoured reels and jigs.

Dancing is essentially a feminine amusement, and it must either be banished *in toto*, or the superior sex must be allowed to dominate the ball-room. The same generalisation hardly holds good of cards and billiards, in which, nevertheless, women were beginning to participate. Yet though severe moralists were beginning by the year 1880 to exclaim against the go-ahead tendencies of the "girl of the period," the closer intercourse of men and women was, on the whole, a refining influence. It reduced to reasonable limits the custom of sitting over wine at dinner after the ladies had withdrawn. To ladies it gave less dreary occupations than those of the fancy needlework and the piano to which their grandmothers had been condemned. Besides, the emancipation of women extended to matters more serious than the mere diversions of life. Matrimony was not the only way of escape from the traditional old maid's lot, since the unmarried were able to play their part in several professions beyond those of the governess and the hospital nurse. The ladies' colleges had produced a supply of trained lecturers, and journalism, in which Harriet Martineau stood absolutely alone in the "fifties," was thirty years later the vocation of many competent lady-writers. They also held their own in authorship and the arts, and though female lawyers were as yet confined to the United States, England, as we have already mentioned, had her female doctors; and women also found employment as clerks and private secretaries. Though the "lady help" movement hardly fulfilled the expectations of its originators, at least the sex could claim to have vindicated its right to earn a livelihood. Women's suffrage was still a theory rather than a fact, but its advocates were rapidly on the increase, and they were by no means confined to one political party. When the arrival of the twentieth century will allow the historian of manners to take a more comprehensive view than that which is possible in dealing with almost contemporary events, he will probably place the increase of woman's influence among the most remarkable features of the Victorian era.

CHAPTER XX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Socialism and the Unemployed—The Trafalgar Square Debate—The Irish Landlords—Approach of the Session—Lord Salisbury at Derby—The Queen's Speech—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell—The Debate on Mr. Parnell's Amendment—Mr. Gilhooly's Arrest—The Sweating Committee—The Procedure Resolutions—The Oaths Bill and Bills dealing with the Peers—National Debt Conversion—The Budget—The Wheel Tax and the Death Duties—Lord Wolseley on the Army—The Defences Bills—The Local Government Bill—Its Financial Provisions—Its Reception—The Second Reading—The Licensing Clauses—Alterations in Committee—Irish Debates—The Papal Rescript—Mr. Balfour on his Administration—Cumulative Sentences and Mr. Morley's Vote of Censure—*O'Donnell v. Walter*—Mr. Parnell's Statement—A Committee refused—The Charges and Allegations Bill—Lord R. Churchill's Protest—Mr. Gladstone's Writings on the Irish Question—Welsh and Irish Problems—"Jack the Ripper"—The Autumn Session—The Education Estimates—The Land Purchase Bill—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Morley—Mr. Gladstone at Limehouse—Political Prospects—Obituary of the Year.

EARLY in the somewhat uneventful year of 1888 came, as we have already mentioned, the sentence of Mr. John Burns and Mr. Cunninghame Graham, M.P., for unlawful assembly. This check to the Trafalgar Square meetings was intensified by the summing up of Mr. Justice Charles, which contained a declaration that, to his knowledge, the law of England contained no right to hold public meetings in places dedicated to the public for use as thoroughfares; and, further, that the Chief Commissioner of Police had not only the right to prevent disorder within his jurisdiction, but was liable to criminal proceedings for failure to do so. This downright opinion acted as a wet blanket to the Socialist agitation, though its authors for several months continued to hold meetings, and suffer the penalties of arrest and imprisonment. Meanwhile, an influential deputation, organised by Earl Compton and including Cardinal Manning, Lord Herschell, and the Bishop of Bedford, waited upon Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office on February 1st to discuss the means of meeting the distress in London and elsewhere. The remedies urged by the speakers were various and somewhat conflicting: thus, the Cardinal thought that the poor-law should be relaxed to find labour for the honest man who was out of work, while others advocated State-aided emigration, and the prohibition of pauper immigrants. The Prime Minister's reply was chiefly composed of destructive criticism: he could hold out no hope of a general inquiry, because workmen invariably withheld information as to their real circumstances, and, secondly, because such an inquiry would attract notice from all parts of the country, and would bring to London to share in the anticipated benefits and results of the Government interference a large amount of that very population from whose undue influx the capital was already suffering. As to the Cardinal's remedies he

characterised them as "nothing in effect but rate-supported workshops," and though His Eminence strenuously denied that his words pointed to any such conclusion, Lord Salisbury pressed the point home. State-aided emigration, again, would be enormously expensive, and there was a strong working-class feeling against it. As to the third remedy, he said:—"I have no doubt whatever of the right of this country to stop pauper immigration if it thinks fit. It is a right which must be inherent to the country, but it would be exceedingly difficult to enforce. These people do not come with any of those notes on them which enable the Americans to reject a certain number of foreign immigrants. They are not physically incapable of supporting themselves, nor are they sent out by any domestic authority or poor-law authority in another country. They come here, as it has been expressed, to get out of persecution, that is to say, they come like other passengers, and, under those circumstances, you will find it hard to put into an Act of Parliament the test which should enable you to exclude the class you wish to exclude without excluding a great many others too. And then it is for your consideration whether really, when you come to number them up, they bear any large proportion to the addition which is constantly taking place to the population of London, either from natural causes or from the migration from other parts of the country."

At the risk of anticipation, we may as well mention here that there was an instructive debate on the Trafalgar Square meetings in the Commons on March 1st. The question was raised, during the discussion of the Address, by Sir Charles Russell, who, in a moderate speech, contended that meetings had been held in the square ever since it was a square; that the assemblage on "bloody Sunday" might have been illegal, but that Sir Charles Warren had exceeded his powers by

issuing his "ukase." The square might be the Queen's private property, but he denied that access thereto was on sufferance of the Queen, still less that processions could be prohibited. Finally, he contended that the square could be safely used, under regulations, for purposes of public meeting. Mr. Bradlaugh widened the discussion by advocating an inquiry into the conduct of the police, whose illegal action, said he, had produced the illegal threats of Mr. Burns. The defenders of the Government, namely the Home Secretary, the Attorney-General, and Sir Henry James, based their replies upon the Act of 1844, maintaining that there was no right of public meeting in public thoroughfares, though it was admitted that meetings had previously been winked at when harmless. Now they had grown dangerous it had become the duty of the Executive to suppress them. In fact, as Sir Henry James remarked, the legal side of the question was insignificant compared with that of public safety. These arguments convinced the House, which rejected Sir Charles Russell's motion by 316 to 224, and Mr. Bradlaugh's amendment by 322 to 207. Indeed, when mob-oratory could air itself Sunday after Sunday upon the spacious grass of Hyde Park, the principle at stake seemed small.

Two days after his declarations with regard to the unemployed, the Prime Minister received a deputation of Irish landlords, who were introduced by the Duke of Abercorn. They formulated the results of the recent Convention in Dublin, namely, demands for compensation for the invasion of private rights, and for losses sustained—a resolution ably supported by The O'Connor Don; they suggested that the form that compensation should take was Government advances upon the estates, and the whole or partial remission of the tithe rent-charge, the reduction of the Board of Works charges and other public burdens; and they urged the necessity of registration of title as opposed to registration of insurances. Lord Salisbury assured the deputation of his sympathy with the sufferings that the landlords in Ireland had undergone, which, however, he traced to economic causes quite as much as the mischievous legislation of Parliament. He promised that their recommendations should have careful consideration, but pointed out that some of the evils of which they complained, for instance, the unfair incidence of local taxation, were not peculiar to Ireland, "But when," he continued, "you come to raise the question of compensation, and come to think the

question out, you will see at once that it is not an ordinary case of compensation for sufferings caused by the direct action of the Legislature. It is caused by the action of the Legislature through the judicial tribunals, and that makes it necessarily more difficult to apply the rules by which the Legislature has been guided." And with this cold comfort the deputation withdrew.

Otherwise the approach of the Session provoked but languid interest. The Opposition naturally found scope for oratory in Mr. Balfour's steady application of the Crimes Act, which resulted, by the meeting of Parliament, in the committal of more Irish Members, of whom the arrest of Mr. Cox caused some excitement, because it was effected in London for an offence which existed in law only on the other side of the Channel. As a counterstroke, Lord Ripon and Mr. John Morley paid a visit to Dublin early in February, where the freedom of the city was conferred upon them, and they were received with great enthusiasm. Meanwhile the Liberal Unionists were feverishly active, and continued to place their arguments before the country in speeches of weight, though hardly of novelty. Trenchant epistles continued to emanate from One Ash, Birmingham, denouncing the Parnellite party. How was it possible, urged Mr. Bright, that the Queen should select Ministers from such people? "Look over the names of some of these men. Begin with Mr. Parnell, and then go on to O'Brien, and Dillon, and Healy, and O'Connor, and Harrington, and Biggar, and possibly we might add to them some of the Irish patriots who collect funds for the Irish revolution, but who now prudently keep the Atlantic between them and the Irish courts of law." Sir Henry James went a step farther, and speaking of the authors of the Plan of Campaign, remarked—"These are the men who are in one sense responsible for the passing of the Crimes Act; but there are greater offenders than they, the men who, having been responsible Ministers of the Crown, know that their duty is to administer the law; the men who now give their moral sanction to crime." Two resignations attracted some notice, that of Lord Charles Beresford of the Junior Lordship of the Admiralty, because that department would not move fast enough for his reforming zeal; and Sir M. Hicks-Beach's of his seat in the Cabinet, professedly on the ground of continued ill-health. It was noticed that the ex-Chief Secretary used his liberty to criticise Government's Irish policy with some freedom, saying that more attention ought to be paid to the opinions of representatives

of that country, while as to the forthcoming Local Government Bill, he uttered the warning note that if "too much was sacrificed to give the rural bodies what they did not want, the measure would not be popular with the country." In which remark Sir Michael was but echoing the undisguised hostility to the proposed measure of several Conservative organs, notably the *Standard* and *St. James's Gazette*, and Mr. Parnell pointed the moral by the cynical counsel that the Irish Members should not obstruct the English measures of the forthcoming session, since they must result in the dissolution of the alliance between the Liberal Unionists and the Conservatives.

Some such fear appeared to be present in Lord Salisbury's mind on the occasion of his speech at Derby on January 14th. He warned his hearers that the Government had no preponderant majority of its own, that it existed for the purpose of maintaining the Union, and that its measures must inevitably bear to a certain extent the colour that the support of the Unionist party lent to them. "If," he continued, "for the sake of a great public object—an object transcending other objects—you are maintaining the Government on the support of that which is not a coalition but an alliance, you must not wonder, you must not blame us, if to a certain extent, as I have expressed it, the colour of the convictions of the Unionist Liberals joins with the colour of the convictions of the Conservative party in determining the hue of the measures to be submitted to Parliament." These remarks were significant of the character of the Local Government Bill, and the Prime Minister continued in still more momentous language. Governments, he said, were bound to resign on votes of want of confidence, but it was for them to consider whether the vote was or was not one of confidence, and that must "depend very much on whether they regarded it as a matter of public interest that they should appeal to the electors or not. I do not venture to prophesy, but from all I can see my impression is that as matters stand, we would rather exercise our discretion in the sense of deferring an appeal to the electors, until the result of our recent measure in Ireland can be more permanently displayed to the minds of the people."

Parliament met on the 9th of February, when the Queen's Speech, besides the customary allusions to foreign politics, was found to promise a Local Government Bill for England; measures tending to develop the resources of Ireland and to facilitate an increase in the number of the proprietors of

the soil; a Land Transfer Bill, a Tithe Rent-Charge Bill, a Technical Education Bill, a Railway Rates Bill, and another for remedying the abuses in the formation of companies under limited liability. The Australian Defences Bill would have to be sanctioned, and the Commons would "be asked to make provision for the improvements in the defence of the ports and coaling stations of the empire, which had been rendered urgently necessary by the advance of military science." Such was the programme of a business session, and it was submitted to a very tame discussion in the Upper House, where the Address was accepted without a division, after Lord Salisbury had made the popular announcement that the Government had received categorical assurances of a peaceful nature from Russia.

In the House of Commons Mr. Gladstone made a conciliatory speech, which though denunciatory of the administration of the Crimes Act, expressed cordial approval of Lord Salisbury's foreign policy, and in words of which the generosity was at once acknowledged by Mr. Smith, urged the prompt production of the Local Government Bill and other promised measures. "As far as this House is concerned," said the veteran statesman, "I think I may venture to say, not indeed as the result of positive communications at this early date, but still from communications with my friends near me, and from a general knowledge of the sentiments that prevail, that there is no disposition on this side of the House to renew the general agitations and combats of last Session." "But with regard to Ireland," said Mr. Gladstone, "while the administration of the criminal law in general is extremely easy, easier than in England or Scotland, less in proportion to the population, and seldom presenting those horrible cases of human depravity which, I am sorry to say, too frequently occur on this side of the Channel—while that easy proportion of the criminal law remains, and very properly remains, where it was, in the hands of judges and juries, there is, on the other hand, one department of the criminal law in Ireland that is delicate, morbid and susceptible, and that is kept alive with almost all that is most painful in the last three centuries of Irish history, and that is the agrarian criminal law, which, of all others, demands in Ireland the application of the ablest and firmest hand. That agrarian criminal law, so far as we are able to discern, has been, as an ordinary rule, transferred from judges and juries, taken away from the superior courts, hardly finding its place there at all, and carried over to

men of a lower stamp—in the great majority of instances to men dependent on the Executive Government for their appointment to their places, for their retention in those places, and for promotion from their places, so that the Executive Government with regard to this most delicate, this the only delicate and difficult portion of Irish administration, the Irish Government, though representing a particular party in this House, has become, more perhaps than at any other period, the *primum mobile*, the mainspring of the action of the criminal law.”

Though Mr. Balfour delivered a well-considered defence of his administration, of which the upshot was that crime and boycotting had everywhere decreased, the debate as a whole was flat until Mr. Parnell interposed with an amendment condemning the Act as “harsh, partial, and mischievous,” and asserting that while the ameliorative legislation of the previous session had tended to diminish crime, the repressive legislation had done much to alienate the sympathy and respect of Her Majesty’s Irish subjects for the law. The speech of the leader of the Irish party was somewhat discursive; he dealt at great length with the controversy between Lord Carnarvon and himself, and then traversed with considerable vigour Mr. Balfour’s examples of boycotting. He entered at some length into the moral character of a certain Mrs. Connell, who, according to the Chief Secretary, was a model of virtue, but who, according to Mr. Parnell, was a beggar, and addicted to the bottle. The most telling part of his speech was a passage in which he described how the Irish people had been converted from unconstitutional to constitutional methods, and how they would continue to laugh at Mr. Balfour’s puny attempts at coercion, and suffer what he gave them with a thankful heart and assured knowledge that their country was on the eve of prosperity. Sir George Trevelyan’s attempts to draw fine distinctions between the coercion of 1882 and the coercion of 1888 were handled in very caustic fashion by Colonel Saunderson, who raked up an old speech of Mr. Healy’s in which Cromwell was described as a lion, Sir George and Lord Spencer as rats. But the most important speech during the earlier nights was that of Mr. William O’Brien, who emerged from his prison to deliver an eloquent defence of the Plan of Campaign. It had, he declared, been a triumphant success; forty landlords out of forty-three had, after fighting the matter, surrendered entirely. [As a matter of fact, however, the statement seems to have been slightly exaggerated,

as the number of estates on which the plan was enforced throughout the year was only thirty-seven.] Mr. O’Brien also declared that the National League, far from having collapsed, was never in a more prosperous condition. He also stigmatised the operations of the Crimes Act as harsh and unfair, particularly in the treatment of political prisoners. Mr. Morley took up the last point in an argument that the Crimes Act was used against political opponents, maintaining that a large portion of the Irish nation was disfranchised by the imprisonment of its Members. Mr. Balfour delivered in reply an elaborate defence of his administration, in which, by quotations from the Crimes Act of 1882, he riddled the contention that the present measure created new offences and was harshly administered. Some amusement was caused by his statistics as to Mr. O’Brien’s health, who, he maintained, had increased in weight by two pounds since his residence in prison, though Mr. O’Brien maintained that, in point of fact, he had gone down five. Mr. Gladstone, in a fervent speech of some two hours, pronounced the Plan of Campaign and the National League free entirely from complicity with crime, though he evaded an opinion as to their legality. In a splendid peroration he dwelt upon the charge of delaying until too late the settlement of the Home Rule question, because thereby institutions which would vanish in a rational solution of the difficulty would take deep root in the soil. “Will the Government ever continue to deal with signs and never look at the substance; will it for ever deal with external symptoms, and never search out the source and seat of the malady; to tear from a diseased and luxuriant vegetation, here a twig and there a leaf, but never to ask itself whether the proper course is to bring it out by the roots?” Mr. Goschen replied with unusual fire, and after further speech, including a benignant eulogy of Mr. O’Brien by Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Parnell’s amendment was rejected by 317 to 229. After some haphazard discussion of agricultural topics, the address was agreed to on February 21st, and the report on the 23rd, after Mr. Shaw-Lefevre had expatiated on his personal experiences at the Woodford and Loughrea evictions, and his attempt to introduce an expression of regret that no legislation had been promised dealing with arrears had been defeated by 190 votes to 77.

Meanwhile some excitement out of doors had given an agreeable variety to a somewhat prosaic debate. Mr. T. D. Sullivan, on his way from prison to Parliament, received a series of

demonstrations at the chief towns on the railway line, and was escorted by his admirers from Euston Station in triumph. Even more sensational was the arrest of Mr. P. O'Brien by mistake for Mr. Gilhooly. The blunder was not discovered until Whitehall had been reached, when Mr. O'Brien was released with every apology. When Mr. Gilhooly left the House that night he was surrounded by a hundred or so of Liberal M.P.'s

down to business. In the Lords a motion of Lord Dunraven's for an inquiry into the "sweating system," introduced in a speech of which the argument was overlaid by quotations, resulted in the appointment of a strong committee, upon which were the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Derby, Lord Rothschild, and Lord Thring, to inquire into the tailoring trade in the East End of London. Meanwhile, in the Commons the



OLD SCOTLAND YARD.

in a dense mass. They were promptly scattered by the detectives, though a small bodyguard still accompanied the victim of the Crimes Act to Scotland Yard. The matter was brought before the House by Mr. Picton, who moved that the arrest of Mr. P. O'Brien was a breach of privilege. The Attorney-General moved an amendment expressing regret for the indignity placed on the Member for North Monaghan; and this, on the advice of Mr. John Morley, was adopted as a substantive motion and carried. At the same time, Mr. Morley's amendment that the subject should be referred to the Committee of Privileges was rejected by 246 votes to 151.

With commendable zeal the Houses settled

Procedure resolutions were being discussed, the somewhat dreary debates being discounted by the fact that some exciting bye-elections were in progress. Several of these were due to the changes of opinion on the Home Rule question. Mr. Lacaita, Member for Dundee, had abandoned the principle; while Mr. Evelyn, Member for Deptford, though a Conservative, and Mr. Buchanan, M.P. for West Edinburgh, had embraced it. At Dundee the Gladstonians held their own with ease, their candidate being Mr. Firth, but Mr. Buchanan was only returned by a narrow majority of 43; while at Deptford the Conservative, Mr. Darling, defeated a somewhat nondescript candidate in Mr. Wilfrid Blunt. The striking success

of Mr. Causton in West Southwark was balanced by the victory of Mr. Fitzwilliam, a Liberal Unionist, at Doncaster, where a seat was wrested from the Home Rulers, and by the return of Mr. Brodie Hoare for Hampstead, on the elevation of Sir Henry Holland to the peerage, without opposition. In fact the bye-elections up to Easter resulted in a gain to neither side.

As for the Procedure resolutions, they were, as had been expected, of a stringent character. By Rule I. the hours for debate on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays were fixed at from 3 p.m. to midnight, when the debate must be adjourned, and 12.30, when the House would disperse. Originally there was to have been a suspension of the sitting from 8 to 9, but this proposal was withdrawn at the suggestion of Mr. Smith, and as on former occasions, Ways and Means were excluded from the operation of the rule. The rule for the closure of debate was passed by 256 votes to 134, the chief opposition to its principle—namely, closure by a bare majority—coming from Conservatives like Mr. Chaplin and Sir Walter Barttelot. It was framed as follows:—"That questions for the closure of debate shall be decided in the affirmative if, when a division is taken, it appears by the numbers declared from the Chair that not less than 100 Members voted in the majority in support of the motion." Disorderly conduct and irrelevance and obstructive motions of adjournment were dealt with satisfactorily. The Speaker or Chairman could order a Member to withdraw for the first offence, could make him resume his seat for the second, while the Chair could decline to put purely dilatory motions. On the question of useless divisions, Mr. Smith consented that the rule empowering the Speaker to take the division by making Members stand up should be limited to cases in which he suspected obstruction, and that the names of the minority should be taken down. Other rules affected the economy of time in debate. Thus, on Government days the House was to have greater facilities for the arrangement of business. When the Order-of-the-Day was read for the House to go into Committee other than Committees on a message from the Crown, or of Supply, or of Ways and Means, the Speaker was to leave the Chair without putting the question, except when notice of an Instruction had been given. No amendment could be moved on Report, which could not be moved in Committee without instruction from the House. The Committee and Report stages of the Address were abolished, and priority given at

Whitsuntide to the Bills which were farthest advanced. Also the obsolete requirement that Bills on religion and trade must originate with Committees of the whole House was swept away. When Standing Committees came under consideration, Viscount Lymington effected the abolition of the provision limiting their number, and on the proposal of Mr. Heneage the Committee on Trade was enlarged to include fisheries and agriculture. Proposals, however, for Scottish, Welsh, and Foreign Affairs Committees were rejected, though the representatives of the Principality threatened a Home Rule movement if their aspirations were disregarded.

Of these effective instruments for maintaining the dignity of the House the closure was early employed on the occasion of Mr. Bradlaugh's Bill for amending the law as to oaths. The Member for Northampton, whose sterling qualities were rapidly winning recognition on both sides of the House, explained that his object was to enable men to make an affirmation in all cases where the oath had previously been necessary. His speech was accepted with approval, and when, on the suggestion of the Attorney-General, a provision was inserted that persons refusing to be sworn must state either that they had no religious belief, or that the taking of an oath was contrary to their religious belief, the success of the measure was ensured. Political justice was not, however, accomplished for Mr. Bradlaugh's long efforts to remove religious restrictions until the autumn session, and meanwhile many things had happened. For instance, Mr. Labouchere's proposal to "end" the House of Lords had been rejected by 223 votes to 162; Lord Rosebery's to "mend" the Upper House—by restricting its numbers to peers elected by the County Councils, the larger municipalities, the House of Commons, or a combination of the three; while the Agents-General of the Colonies and life-peers were to be admitted—was defeated by 97 votes to 60. Subsequently Lord Salisbury introduced a Bill for the creation of life-peerages to the number of fifty—of whom not more than five were to be created in one year—and for the expulsion of disreputable Members, but it did not pass beyond its second reading. Hence the debates were somewhat academic.

Of infinitely more practical value were the financial proposals of Mr. Goschen, which with one exception did much to advance the credit of the Government. His National Debt Conversion Bill was expounded on March the 9th in a luminous speech, which, after dealing with precedents

for the reduction of the interest on the National Debt, explained that the stock to be dealt with comprised "New Threes" to the amount of £166,000,000, redeemable without notice, and to any amount, £69,000,000 "Reduced," and £323,000,000 "Consols" redeemable at a year's notice, and in sums of not less than £500,000. Instead, he proposed to create a Two-and-Three-quarters stock for fifteen years, descending to Two-and-a-Half per cent. for twenty years. As an inducement to holders of stock he offered "New Threes" 3 per cent. interest for the first year, and to "Reduced" and "Consols" a premium of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. if they abandoned the year's notice to which they were entitled. Further, on the two last stocks a commission of 1s. 6d. per £100 would be given to authorised agents. As to the saving, he anticipated that in "New Threes" alone from 1889 £410,000, and from 1893 £820,000 a year would be gained, and by the whole scheme from 1889 £1,400,000, and from 1893 £2,800,000 a year. Mr. Gladstone at once recognised the sterling merits of the proposal, and so did Mr. Childers, of whose previous efforts, four years earlier, it was a more successful development. Mr. H. H. Fowler, indeed, took exception to the commissions to agents, which he stigmatised as immoral, and to the treatment of the Local Loans Stock, which was irredeemable for twenty-five years. Sir John Lubbock, however, gave the weight of his practical authority to the Bill, and after its scope had been enlarged by Mr. Cozens-Hardy's clause empowering trustees to invest in the stock, notwithstanding provisions to the contrary in their trust deeds, it received the royal assent on March the 27th, and soon received the assent of the stock-holding public to the amount of £450,000,000.

Mr. Goschen's Budget was introduced on March 26th, when, owing to economy in the spending departments and various windfalls, he was able to show a surplus of over £2,000,000 instead of the estimated surplus of £289,000. Two items of extraordinary outlay had to be provided for, namely, the Imperial Defence scheme, and the requirements of the new County Councils. As to the first, the Chancellor said that it would be charged, in the case of the navy, as an annuity against the Naval Estimates; while as to the army expenditure for the defence of the coaling stations, the Suez Canal Shares would be used as security for the loan, which would be cleared within four and a half years after 1894. The President of the Local Government Board would

make alarming inroads upon a surplus first estimated at £2,377,000, inasmuch as under the County Councils Bill an income of £5,500,000 would be at the disposal of the local authorities, which deducting the £2,600,000 of local subventions, was a net gain of £2,900,000 to local taxation. Mr. Goschen then proceeded to explain his new duties, namely, $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the succession duty, a tax of £1 on every vehicle over 10 cwt., and a wheel tax of 2s. 6d. per wheel on every vehicle over 2 cwt., also a duty of £1 on pleasure-horses, and £5 on race-horses. The income-tax was to be reduced to sixpence, and other minor remissions were to be made. His revised surplus he placed at £1,302,000.

The Budget was favourably received, though Mr. Gladstone remarked that a surplus of £2,225,000 had been disposed of without any relief to the general consumer, and Mr. Chaplin criticised the horse and wheel taxes in a very adverse spirit. His objections were strongly supported in the country districts, and the opposition gathered volume in the course of the summer. The Government defeated Mr. Anderson's attempt to remove the duty on two-wheel and hackney carriages, but the wheel and van tax was finally withdrawn on November the 28th, during the autumn session. The agitation seems to have been perfectly genuine, and the impost was a blot upon an otherwise sound scheme of finance. Again, on the second reading of the Budget Bill, Mr. Gladstone moved that the death duties should be so fixed as to equalise the charges upon real and personal property. He maintained that the landed interest would receive the whole benefit of the contributions that were to be made to rural rates. "Let me take the illustration of a farm rented at £300 a year with the rate at £60. On the day before the Budget the tenant applies to me, as landlord, for a reduction of the rent and makes an offer of £200. On hearing the following day of the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I find that the rates on the farm will be very considerably reduced, from £60 to £40. I say to the tenant 'This is very hard on me. However, you calculate the rates at £60, they will now be £40. That being so your offer is evidently of £220 a year.'" Mr. Gladstone maintained that the duties on visible personalty were three times as much as those on landed property, and he appealed to the Liberal Unionists to help him to remove the anomaly. Lord Hartington, however, declined to endanger measures of practical utility for the assertion of an important

principle, and Mr. Gladstone's amendment was rejected by 312 votes to 219.

The Army and Naval Estimates did not differ much from their predecessors, except that official optimism stood in even more curious contrast than in former years to the opinions of experts. We have already alluded to the resignation of Lord Charles Beresford, and a politician of the opposite party, Lord Brassey, in a speech to the London Chamber of Commerce, was equally outspoken on the necessity of further outlay. Later, Lord Wolseley took up the cry, and in a dinner given to Sir John Pender on April the 23rd, remarked, *inter alia* :—“Those who, like myself, have to study matters connected with the defences of this empire, not only at home but abroad, put this question to ourselves, ‘Is the army, and is the navy, as strong as it ought to be?’ I think very few who have studied this question will deny that they are not as strong as they ought to be. But why? Assuredly, as Lord Derby has said, the people of this country have never refused to the Ministry for the time being any money they have asked for, either for the army or the navy; assuredly the taxpayers of this country never grudge any money which they are asked to pay for the efficiency of those services. No, the answer is to be found in the system of our government by party—the curse of modern England, which is sapping and undermining the foundations of our country, and which is depriving our statesmen of the manly honour which was once their characteristic. What do we see when any new Administration comes into office? What directly takes place? It is the same with all parties. The first thing is the endeavour of the Minister in office to obtain some clap-trap reputation by cutting down the expenses of the army and navy.” For these trenchant criticisms Lord Wolseley was severely taken to task by the Prime Minister, during a debate raised on a statement in the *Daily Telegraph*, on “the highest military authority,” that the defences were in an “alarming condition.” If made at all, said he, the remarks should have been uttered, not at a public dinner, but in the House of Lords. Lord Wolseley, however, stuck to his guns, and in a downright reply on May the 14th, said that, though he was no politician and he hoped never would be, he appreciated the services of the present War Minister, and had not intended to attack a party, but all parties. He did not intervene in the House of Lords for two reasons: first, that he did not care to take part in party debates; and secondly, that it was the business of

the Commander-in-Chief, not of the Adjutant-General, to make remarks on the army. He adhered, however, to his facts, which were to be found in his evidence before the Royal Commission eighteen months previously. He asserted that if a force of 100,000 men were landed in England, it could take possession of London, and he quoted his former statement—“I believe that our defences at home and abroad are at the present moment in an unsatisfactory condition, and our military forces are not organised or equipped as they should be, to guarantee even the safety of the capital in which we are at the present moment.”

In the circumstances there appeared no way out of additional expenditure. Mr. Stanhope accordingly produced a National Defences Bill, of which the object was to secure arrangements for rapid mobilisation, and to organise a Volunteer Artillery with 250 light and 80 heavy guns. He hoped that the Volunteers would defend the ports, while a third Army Corps—but where, asked his critics, was the second?—would be formed partly from the militia, partly from regulars. On May the 18th Mr. Smith brought forward the Imperial Defences Bill, in the form of a series of resolutions. It was proposed to issue out of the Consolidated Fund a sum not exceeding £850,000 for building and arming vessels for the Australian Squadron, while £2,600,000 would be devoted to the defence of certain ports and coaling-stations, of which £1,000,000 would be spent upon the Channel ports, Gibraltar, and Malta. The Opposition wisely directed its attack, less against the principle of these provisions than against the dubious propriety of spreading financial proposals over future years. After these measures had become law, the scare abated somewhat, more especially when Lord Salisbury pointed out that it was a practical impossibility for France to get 100,000 men to one of her ports, without due warning being transmitted to England.

The Local Government Bill, the *pièce de résistance* of the Ministerial programme, was introduced by Mr. Ritchie on March the 19th in a lucid and logical speech. The President of the Local Government Board allowed that there was little demand outside Parliament for such a “frankly democratic” measure as he was about to introduce, nevertheless, successive Governments had recognised that some scheme of decentralisation was necessary to the community. Then he enlarged upon the powers of the new County Councils. They were not to administer justice—those functions were to remain, as before, with the

magistrates—but they were to control the police in conjunction with quarter-sessions, though the appointment of chief constable was to remain with the latter body. Their principal duties were to be administrative: the levying of county rates, the maintenance of roads and bridges, lunatic asylums,

Mr. Ritchie remarked that Government did not wish to overload their machine at starting, but the Privy Council could from time to time enlarge the authority of the County Councils; and he said that District Councils were to be created at a subsequent date, to take the places of the local



LORD WOLSELEY.

(From a Photograph by Fradelle and Young.)

industrial and reformatory schools, the testing of weights and measures, of adulteration of food and liquids. The Rivers Pollution Act would be enforced by the Councils in conjunction with the sanitary authorities; and the Local Government Board would surrender its powers with regard to harbours, gas and water, electric lighting, tramways, boundaries, and market tolls. Further, the Councils would have power to enlarge the incidence of the contributions towards the maintenance of indoor paupers, and could make advances to emigrants on adequate guarantee of repayment.

boards, and rural and urban sanitary districts. He did not touch the vestries. As to the area and constitution of the County Councils, they were to follow the present divisions of counties, though where a municipal or sanitary district overlapped the boundary, it was to remain attached to the county in which was the bulk of its population. The counties were to be divided into equal electoral divisions, returning a Member apiece, who was to be chosen by the rate-payers. Three-fourths of the Councils were to be elected directly, and one-fourth—to which was

subsequently given the title of Aldermen—was to be chosen by the Councils from within or from without. These members would hold office for six years, half retiring at the end of three years; the ordinary members were to be elected triennially. The large cities and towns of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Sheffield, Bristol, Nottingham, Hull, and Newcastle were to be erected into counties; the other boroughs were to be merged in the counties, but those containing more than 10,000 inhabitants were to retain the management of their own police. As for London, it would be separated from Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent, and form a distinct county with a Lord-Lieutenant and Commission of the Peace of its own. Its Council would be elected as elsewhere, and would supersede the Board of Works, which was to be abolished (Mr. Ritchie did *not* say in consequence of the revelations that Lord Randolph Churchill's Select Committee was bringing to light). The control of the police was to remain under the Home Office, and the City would retain most of its present functions, though its administrative powers would be transferred to the County Council.

Finally, Mr. Ritchie dealt with Ways and Means. Beer and spirit licences would be issued by committees of the Councils, which would be able to refuse renewals, subject to an appeal to the magistrates and the County Councils as a whole, and enforce Sunday closing. Compensation was to be given for non-renewal, subject to arbitration, and to provide payment for such compensation the Councils could raise the licence duties 20 per cent. His other financial proposals have been anticipated in the account of the Budget. The net result of his observations was that the Councils would obtain a sum of £5,600,000 from liquor and other licences and contributions from personalty. In 1888-89 £1,700,000 would be available for the relief of local taxation, which in 1889-90 would be increased to £3,000,000.

This comprehensive measure was received with general favour, though the *Standard* and other Conservative papers raised a belated lament over the disappearance of the *régime* of the country gentleman, which, though possibly somewhat sluggish, had been incorrupt and inexpensive. In many quarters the Bill was hailed as sounding the death-knell of the old Tory party, and as proving that Conservatism was by no means incompatible with substantial progress. A speech of Lord Hartington's at Carlisle (March 21st), in which he declared that he had no objections to the

extension of the principles of the Bill to Ireland, naturally aroused some comment, and Mr. Gladstone, about a month afterwards, denounced Mr. Smith's promise that Ireland should have local government when it was made clear "that the people were prepared to receive and work it in a spirit of loyalty to the Crown and Constitution," as a breach of election pledges, another stamp and seal upon the principle of inequality among the three countries.

The second reading was moved on April the 12th, when it appeared that though the divided control over the police, the principle upon which the selected members, or aldermen, were to be chosen, and, as Mr. Stansfeld urged, the absence of any provision for Parish Councils, were not altogether palatable to the Opposition, their main objection was directed towards the licensing clauses, in particular to the recognition of a vested interest implied in the principle of compensation. This aroused the full vigour of the temperance champions, who paid little attention to the Solicitor-General's arguments, taken from the Licensing Acts of 1873-74. The Bill was, nevertheless, read a second time, without a division, and the first part of the scheme, the County Electors Bill, had equally smooth sailing. Mr. Stansfeld's instruction for the abolition of the plural vote in the election of guardians was defeated by 216 votes to 130, and the attempt of Mr. Ambrose, Q.C., to give the County Council franchise to owners as well as occupiers of houses, was lost by 259 votes to 152. But, meanwhile, a strong agitation had begun against the Licensing, or "Public House Endowment," clauses. The movement, which was simultaneous with the demonstrations against the wheel and van tax, took the usual form of Hyde Park meetings and much platform oratory. It was ably directed by Mr. W. S. Caine, who calculated that the cost of suppressing each public-house would be £3,000, and that some £200,000,000 would be handed over under the Bill to the owners of such establishments. Sir Wilfrid Lawson also pointed out that by creating a vested interest in licences, the Government was trying to anticipate the decision of the Court of Appeal in the case of *Sharp v. Wakefield*, which raised the question if magistrates could refuse to renew as well as to grant permission to sell intoxicants. Unfortunately for the Ministry two bye-elections occurred at this time, and at both the "Public House Endowment" proposals proved fatal to their champions. Mr. Bousfield was defeated for Mid-Lanark by a

largely increased majority, in spite of the appearance in the field of Mr. Keir Hardie in the interests of labour. Even more serious was the loss of Southampton, where Mr. F. W. Evans won a seat from the Conservatives, though absent at the time of the election in the United States. Finally, the out-of-doors denunciations became so numerous that the Liberal Unionist Members, at a meeting of the party, determined to ask Government to abandon the clauses. This was accordingly done on June the 12th, but at the same time the Opposition had to part with the clause giving powers as to Sunday closing.

Otherwise, the alterations effected in Committee were, with one or two exceptions, unimportant. Mr. Stansfeld failed to secure the direct election of all the councillors by 250 votes to 214; but Sir Henry James made a change of some moment when he induced Mr. Ritchie to agree to the constitution of boroughs with populations over 50,000 as separate counties. Mr. Hobhouse also carried a property qualification, whereby persons could become candidates who were owners of property in a division. Further, clergymen and other ministers of religion were made eligible to the Councils. The question of the police was argued at some length; Mr. Heneage attempted to abolish the mixed control of Councils and quarter-sessions, but without success; and Sir Walter Barttelot was defeated when he moved that the police should continue, as formerly, under the magistrates. Mr. Morley, on the other hand, obtained the transfer of the appointment of chief constable to the joint committee. There were long discussions as to the allocation of taxation, and in the beginning of July the House was occupied in considering the case of London. Mr. Ritchie stood to his text by refusing to abolish the aldermen, or to give, at the request of Professor Stuart, the control of the metropolitan police to the Council, or, on the demand of Mr. Firth, the nomination of the sheriffs. He fixed the number of members at twice that of the Parliamentary representation of the existing electoral divisions. Finally, the clauses relating to District Councils were struck out of the Bill, and of the remaining amendments the most important was that fixing the borrowing powers of the Councils at one-tenth of the annual value of the rateable property in each county. After Sir William Harcourt had effusively complimented Mr. Ritchie, the Bill passed to the House of Lords, where it was briefly discussed and triflingly amended. On August the 28th Parliament adjourned to November the 6th,

and six days afterwards Mr. John Morley, at Nocton Park, delivered a somewhat acrimonious attack on the Act, which he declared to have accomplished little, nor would anything be done until power was in the hands of bolder people, with a true faith in popular principles.

Mr. Balfour's administration of the Crimes Act naturally created a deal of criticism both inside of Parliament and outside, and a brief summary of events and commentaries must therefore be given. But first in order came Mr. Parnell's Land Law (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill, moved on March the 21st, of which the object was to empower the courts to postpone the execution of ejectment decrees, if cause was shown, within the limits of the £50 valuation, and to spread payments by instalments over an indefinite period of years. The Government, however, supported a resolution, moved by Mr. Carvell Williams, that no Bill would adequately relieve tenants which did not deal with other creditors besides the landlords, and the second reading was negatived by 330 votes to 245. The amendment, it will be observed, was on the lines of the bankruptcy clauses of the Act of 1887, and the distinction drawn by Mr. T. W. Russell and others between the claims of landlords and the claims of shopkeepers, seemed somewhat fine. Nevertheless, the Plan of Campaign appeared to receive a certain amount of justification from the refusal of Parliament to deal with arrears, when suddenly, on April 26th, the hopes of the Unionists were excited by the publication of a Papal Rescript, based on the information of Monsignor Persico, in which the Plan of Campaign was condemned—(1) because it was unlawful to break voluntary contracts between landlord and tenant; (2) because in cases of unfair rent the law-courts were available; (3) because the funds collected under the Plan had been extorted from the peasantry. Moreover, boycotting was censured—(1) on the ground that it was against the principles of justice and charity; (2) because it had been used as an instrument of persecution against people willing to pay their rent, and against persons exercising their right to take vacant farms. The Archbishops and clergy were therefore exhorted prudently but effectively to admonish the clergy and people in this matter. There was first an embarrassed silence; then Mr. Dillon at Herbertstown categorically denied the correctness of each and all of these imputations. Similarly, at the Eighty Club Mr. Parnell declared that in the opinion of his Catholic friends, the circular was a

failure and that Leo XIII. had outstepped his functions as spiritual sovereign. The truth of this assertion appeared when the Catholic Members assembled at Dublin, and deliberately condemned the Rescript on the grounds that free contract between landlord and tenant was non-existent, that the land courts were packed with landowners' partisans and took no account of arrears or of the failure of crops, and that no money was ever extorted under the Plan. The Irish Hierarchy issued a somewhat piteous appeal to the Irish Members not to break openly with the Holy See; and towards the end of the year, there appeared a letter from the Pope lamenting the hostility and misrepresentation with which the Rescript had been received, and repeating the injunctions against the Plan and boycotting. Its effect, however, was *nil*, except that the body of the priesthood ceased for the time being to take prominent parts in the Nationalist agitation.

Mr. Balfour's constant and not ineffective argument when the Crimes Act was brought under discussion was that Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt had acted in a manner precisely similar. Thus, speaking at the National Union of Conservative Associations on April the 11th, he said: "These people accuse us of crime for doing what they did two years ago. Then let them confess that they were guilty of crime when they did the things that we are doing now. It is not sufficient that they should confess error; I want them to confess sin as well. And it is not until Mr. Gladstone gets up and admits that he has for fifty years of a great public career held certain opinions with regard to Ireland, and to law and order in Ireland; that he has held those opinions with 'Justice to Ireland' constantly on his lips, and that he has held them not only erroneously, but that he has held them wickedly—it is not until he does that, that I, for my part, shall cease to call attention to his present words and his former actions. I, of course, may be asking too much, but if he and Sir William Harcourt divided the task between them—if Sir William Harcourt would describe Mr. Gladstone as unchristian and unprincipled, and Mr. Gladstone would describe Sir William Harcourt as brutal and tyrannical, I should then be content to ask the various persons who talk so, and especially the Nonconformist divines who constantly send me highly moral lectures, how it came about that they discovered that our present policy was inconsistent with Christianity and with morality, exactly on a fixed day, at the end of the year 1885, at the

very exact moment when it became clear that if the Liberal party did not make terms with the Parnellite party, they would be in a great minority in the House of Commons."

The same argument was used when Mr. Justin McCarthy, on April 24th, moved the adjournment of the House in order to consider the system of increasing sentences on appeal. There were four such cases, as we shall see presently, and they were denounced by Mr. Gladstone as a "wanton and cruel use of what was intended by Parliament to be a gift to the prisoner, a trick that almost every honest man would condemn." The Attorney-General promptly declared that similar cases had occurred in Sir George Trevelyan's administration, and thereupon Mr. Gladstone admitted that he was personally put out of court. Subsequently Mr. Balfour, on the demand of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, produced a return, proving that instances had occurred in every year of Mr. Gladstone's two Administrations, and sometimes three or four per annum. The case of Mr. O'Donnell in 1882 was a striking one, because it was a press prosecution, of which, said Mr. Balfour, Lord Spencer must have been aware, if not Sir George Trevelyan. In answer to a correspondent, Mr. Gladstone sent the following reply, "We are now informed that this shameful practice has been done in former years, when with my political friends I was in power. It was without our knowledge, and it is with knowledge in matters of executive action that responsibility begins."

Mr. Justin McCarthy, in calling attention to the new custom of increasing sentences on appeal, instanced the cases of Father McFadden, Mr. Blaine M.P., a Mr. O'Flanagan and another. The Attorney-General for Ireland quoted, in reply, the words of the Act, whereby County Court judges could "confirm, vary, or reverse sentences on appeal," and Mr. Balfour hinted that the superior court was more likely to administer justice in proportion to the offence than the Resident Magistrates or "Removables," whose conduct was subjected to violent attacks both from the Irish and the English press. On the other hand, Sir William Harcourt argued that this new device might possibly be in keeping with the letter of the law, but most certainly violated its spirit, as the only result would be to make people afraid to appeal. Mr. Gladstone characterised the new practice as a development of the idea of evading the power of appeal, by the passing of cumulative sentences. This he stigmatised as a trick of the

meanest character, the dishonour and discredit of which he would not attempt to divide between the Government and the authorities in Ireland. Anything more mean and miserable, more worthy of the contempt of any honest man, and almost of every dishonest man, could not be conceived. Power of appeal was given in cases of sentences exceeding a month, and two sentences of one

Parnell. There were also lively discussions on the Bill for providing Colonel King-Harman, the recently appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary, with a salary, contrary to the pledges of Government when the office was created. It narrowly escaped defeat on the second reading, and the unfortunate gentleman's death, shortly afterwards, was probably hastened by the consequent



FIGHT AT ENNIS BETWEEN NATIONAL LEAGUERS AND POLICE. (See p. 321.)

month apiece were passed together, so that the person sentenced could be imprisoned for two months and not have the power of appeal. The motion was rejected by 219 votes to 165, and next day Mr. Carew's Irish Local Government Bill was thrown out by 282 votes to 195. It drew, however, a very remarkable speech from Lord R. Churchill, who declared that Government stood pledged by his speech in 1886 to "similarity, equality, and simultaneity," of treatment for the two countries, and demanded a specific declaration on the point. Mr. Smith protested that Government had no intention whatever of postponing the question, when his speech was cut short by the closure moved by Mr.

mortification. Lastly, the whole Irish administration of Mr. Balfour was arraigned by Mr. John Morley on June the 26th, when he moved a vote of censure on Government. In the interval there had been lively times in various parts of Ireland; thus at Ennis, on April 15th, a desperate affray took place during a proclaimed meeting between police and public. The partisans of the National League shut themselves into a store and thence stoned the police, who, with the assistance of the military, stormed the building. One or two of the soldiers, in the excitement of the fray, struck their enemies with the flats of their swords, and several of the crowd were injured by the truncheons of the constabulary.

Similar scenes occurred at Kilrush, Loughrea, and Macroom, where meetings were held despite Government proclamations, and consequent collisions occurred. At Youghal violent disturbances took place in consequence of Mr. O'Brien's attempt to address the tenants on the Ponsonby estate, and Captain Plunkett, in charge of the police, was wounded. For a speech at Tullyallen Mr. Dillon was arrested, and that oration and others brought upon him the sentence of six months' imprisonment, though he was released on the 18th of September, on the ground of ill health. Mr. Dillon's case was placed in the foreground of his argument by Mr. John Morley, who based upon it an attack on the magistrates, whom he declared to be deficient in common sense and incapable of administering either law or equity. There was a good deal of subsequent discussion upon what was, and what was not conspiracy, and how far Government were justified in treating Mr. Dillon as a common prisoner. Mr. Goschen produced the usual statistics to prove that boycotting and outrages were diminishing and that the Plan had been broken. Altogether the attack and defence were upon familiar lines, and so was the division, which resulted in the defeat of the motion by 366 votes to 273.

An altogether new turn was given to the Irish controversy by the case of O'Donnell *v.* Walter, which, in conjunction with the somewhat petulant opposition of the Irish Members and Mr. Conybeare to Mr. Balfour's Bills for the drainage of the rivers Bann, Barrow, and Shannon, occupied the latter part of the session. The action was one for £50,000 damages brought by Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, formerly a prominent member of the Nationalist party, against the proprietor of the *Times* for alleged libels contained in the articles on "Parnellism and Crime." It terminated somewhat abruptly in favour of the defendant, as Mr. O'Donnell declined to enter the witness-box in support of his own case. Nevertheless, the Attorney-General, who appeared for the *Times*, repeated all the old charges of "Parnellism and Crime," read again the facsimile letter, and produced several fresh letters which, if genuine, certainly appeared to implicate Mr. Parnell with the authors of the Phoenix Park murders. There were letters from Mr. Egan to "M.," which it was suggested meant Mullet, one of the Invincibles, and other letters purporting to show that the money supplied to Mullet came from Mr. Parnell. But the most important of the new disclosures was a letter, which we shall afterwards

give *in extenso*, beginning—"Dear E.,—What are those fellows waiting for?" and two others purporting to be apologies from Mr. Parnell for language condemnatory of the murders of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke. The Attorney-General regarded the authenticity of these documents as beyond a doubt, though he was unable to say by whom the body of some of the letters was written. The signatures, however, could be compared with seven or eight undoubted specimens of Mr. Parnell's handwriting as initialled in Kilmainham by the Governor. The documents had been in the possession of the *Times* for many months, and they had been investigated with the utmost care. Sir Richard Webster brushed aside with contempt the demand of Mr. Ruegg, the counsel for Mr. O'Donnell, that the *Times* should disclose the source whence these letters were produced. Who were behind Mr. Ruegg in this matter? "The men," said the Attorney-General in solemn tones in answer to his own question, "who have been undoubtedly connected with the Land League organisation, the men who have been undoubtedly connected with the worst form, it may be, of that organisation, by which I mean the American section—the Link Battalion as it has been called—the American branch, and the Invincibles, who were capable, on my learned friend's own confession, of the monstrous and iniquitous crimes that were perpetrated in the autumn of 1881. Many of those men are still in existence. Those who are behind my friend know well that the days of danger from dynamite and assassination are not over, and cost what it may to the *Times*, although they will put before you the proof of the grounds upon which they believe them to be genuine, they will not expose one of the several persons from whom these documents were obtained, to a risk which they know to be a real risk, that many hours would not elapse from the time of their names being given and returning to their vocations, before they would be in a great and positive danger to their lives."

On the following day Mr. Parnell made a personal statement in the House of Commons of his attitude in respect of the charges contained in the letter read by the Attorney-General. He explained that he had attended the Court in the expectation of being called as a witness, but had been deprived of his opportunity by the collapse of the case. He denounced the facsimile letter as a flagrant forgery, saying that he had not used that particular form of signature since 1879, and the other letters were equally fabricated. Egan's

letters he was sure were forgeries; Byrne's letter acknowledging the receipt of a cheque for £100 he thought might be genuine, though it was utterly untrue that it had been given to aid his escape after the Phoenix Park murders. Mr. Justin McCarthy subsequently explained that Byrne had received a cheque for that amount in respect of Land League subscriptions. Finally, Mr. Parnell pointed out the absurdity of supposing that he would voluntarily put himself into the power of the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish. He demanded a Select Committee, consisting, if Mr. Smith desired it, of English and Scottish Members. The First Lord flatly declined to promote the investigation, and advised Mr. Parnell to have recourse to the courts of law.

The next stage in the proceedings was Mr. Parnell's formal question on July the 12th, if Government would consent to the appointment of a Select Committee, to report upon the authenticity of the letters affecting Members of the House read by the Attorney-General in the case of *O'Donnell v. Walter*. Mr. Smith offered as an alternative a Special Commission of three judges to inquire into the allegations against Members of Parliament, contained in the whole series of articles on "Parnellism and Crime." The offer was accepted, but when the notice appeared on the Order Book, it was discovered that the words "and others" had been inserted after "Members of Parliament." Thus the inquiry practically became one into the whole of the Nationalist movement, and against this the Irish Members strenuously protested. The Government, however, were apparently sure of their case, and though Mr. Smith at first declared that if the Irish Members rejected the offer, then it would be withdrawn, he subsequently declared that, will they or nill they, the Charges and Allegations Bill would be carried through. Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt supported Mr. Parnell in his attempt to narrow the inquiry, but in vain, and the Bill, though fiercely fought in all its stages, passed on the 8th of August. Several attempts were made to narrow the scope of the inquiry, and Mr. Parnell declared that if the case was confined to the forged letters he would prove his innocence in less than a week. Even Mr. Chamberlain admitted that the letters constituted the principal charges, and that if their falsity was proved, the other allegations would fall flat. At last Mr. Smith moved that, at one o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of August, the clauses should be put without discussion. As the hour

for the *coup d'état* drew nigh, Mr. Parnell spoke as follows—"We have information that there are men at present in London whom we can lay our hands upon, if they will wait for us to do so after this Bill has passed. They have knowledge of the forgery of these letters, and if we can place them in the box, we will force them to admit the forgery." Altogether the Government had not distinguished itself. The employment of the Attorney-General as counsel for the *Times* was unfortunate, though in keeping with legal etiquette, because thereby the Opposition was enabled to assert that the Government and the *Times* were acting in collusion. Still more unfortunate was Mr. Smith's *naïf* admission that his "old friend" Mr. Walter had called upon him since the Commission had been in prospect. Mr. Buckle, the editor of the *Times*, said Mr. Healy, had also called, and was Buckle an old friend? The Opposition, with the countenance of Mr. Gladstone, had acted, however, somewhat ungraciously in attacking the composition of the Commission, in particular fixing upon the appointment of Mr. Justice Day—the other commissioners were Mr. Justice Hannen, and Mr. Justice A. L. Smith—as inadmissible on account of opinions formerly expressed. The Commission sat for the first time in the Probate Court on October the 27th, but its proceedings and their sensational *dénouement* are best reserved for a complete survey in a subsequent chapter.

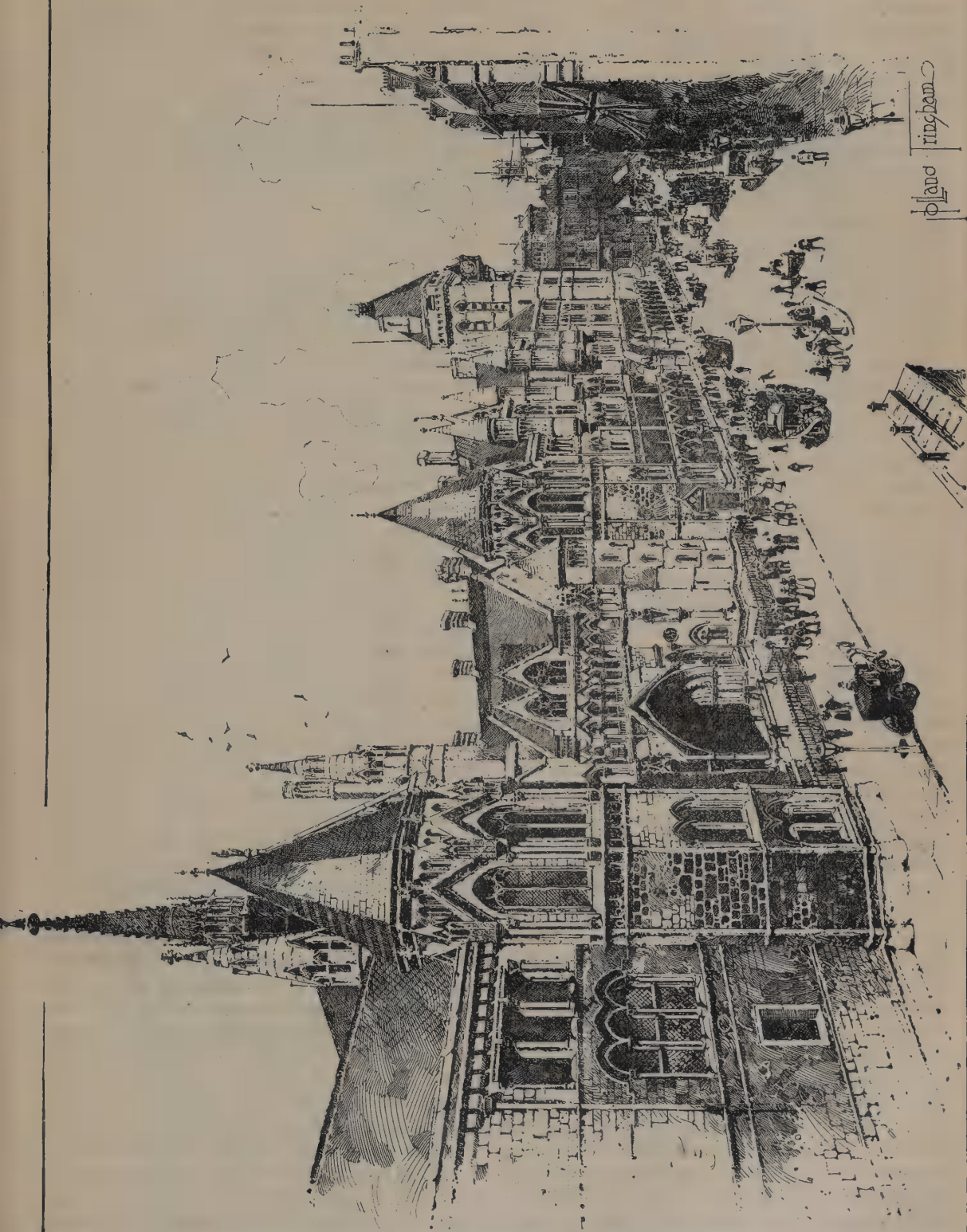
One of the Ministerialists, and one only, recognised the danger of the course to which the Government stood committed. Lord R. Churchill submitted to Mr. Smith what he subsequently described as "a strong but friendly protest," and its text is to be found in Sir Herbert Maxwell's "Life and Times of the Right Hon. W. H. Smith." He began by laying down the principle that "the Tory party are under an imperative obligation to avoid seeking escape from political difficulties by extra-constitutional methods." He then summarised the facts up to the "new departure of a most serious kind" taken by the Government. Against this course he urged the "obvious and unanswerable objections"—(1) that the offer, to a large extent, recognised the wisdom and justice of the accused persons in avoiding recurrence to the ordinary tribunals; (2) that it was absolutely without precedent; (3) that it was "in the highest degree inexpedient and indeed unlawful to take the judges of the land from their proper sphere of duty, and to mix them up in political conflict. In this case, whichever way

they decide they will be the object of political criticism and animadversion." Lord Randolph urged that the constitutional legality of the proposed tribunal should be submitted to the judges for their opinion. He pointed out that the Commission, whatever its decision, would not prevent Irish constituencies from returning as representatives the persons implicated. In that event the "honour of the House of Commons" could only be vindicated by repeated expulsions, followed by disfranchisement—a policy contemplated by no sane intelligence. Finally, if the charges were not established, the newspaper would have to sustain an action for libel, under a grossly unfair disadvantage. If they were, a criminal prosecution would appear to be imperative, and that step "would probably be replete with danger and disaster."

Irish affairs formed the staple of speech-making in the political garden-parties in which both sides, presumably weary of long sittings in the House, freely took part towards the close of the session. Mr. Chamberlain taunted Mr. Parnell because he declined to face a British jury; while Mr. Gladstone justified the Nationalist leader for objecting to the raising of issues of an indefinite character. The Radical Unionist leader was observed to have shifted his ground, for he now passed lightly over the letters, and declared that Government were right to make the inquiry as wide as possible, since they would show thereby how a constitutional agitation had been turned into an agitation for the furtherance of crime. Mr. John Morley, on the other hand, asserted that, apart from the letters, there was nothing in the *Times's* allegations which was not included in Mr. Forster's great speech, delivered in 1883. Mr. Balfour expressed ironical perplexity at the ingratitude of the Irish Members in objecting to an inquiry they had begun by demanding. Mr. Gladstone, however, in more than one speech, denounced the immense injustice committed in the previous year by the House of Commons in refusing Mr. Parnell's request for a Select Committee. He also pointed out the great advantages that the superior resources of the *Times* gave them in a long inquiry against the comparative poverty of the Irish Members. "This, gentlemen," he continued, "is the sort of fair play, and the sort of justice which a Tory Government, and a Tory minority swelled into a majority by dissentient Liberals and the House of Lords—no wonder—at their back, have thought fit to administer to the representatives of Ireland."

Irish affairs, too, formed the basis of the speeches

of the recess, and Mr. Gladstone soon found himself involved in a voluminous controversy for his assertion that the treatment of the Irish prisoners was worse than that of the Neapolitans by King Bomba some thirty or forty years before. Evidence was produced from his celebrated pamphlet upon Poerio and his companions to show that they were loaded with heavy chains, and barely separated, on payment of money, from murderers, thieves and all kinds of ordinary criminals, and altogether the leader of the Opposition was felt to have overstepped the limits of legitimate controversy. He also entangled himself in a hot discussion by an article on Mr. Forster in the *Nineteenth Century*, in which he declared that no difference had existed between the Chief Secretary and the rest of the Cabinet up to the moment of Mr. Forster's resignation, and that the suspects released in 1882 had been confined to such prisoners as had not been associated with crime. His first assertion was somewhat ungenerously twisted by the Unionist papers into a declaration that Mr. Forster had placed before the public a disingenuous version of events; as to the second, Lord Selborne published evidence from six members of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet that the question of Mr. Parnell's innocence or guilt had never been brought before them. Nor was Mr. Gladstone particularly fortunate in his allusions to the case of Mr. Mandeville, melancholy though the circumstances were. This gentleman, who had shared Mr. O'Brien's imprisonment at Tullamore, died some months after his release, according to the medical evidence, of an acute inflammatory disease of the throat after a few days' illness. Even the *Freeman's Journal* had said that he left prison "in the best of health and spirits," and by his own account, a month later, "not a feather had been knocked out of him." Nevertheless, at the inquest accusations of a vague character were produced as to his ill-treatment, and the jury found that he had died in consequence of his privations. These assertions so preyed upon the mind of the prison doctor, Dr. Ridley, that he committed suicide, and thereupon the Nationalist papers pronounced the facts proved to the hilt. They were adopted wholesale by Mr. Gladstone, who, notably at Wrexham, produced some very doubtful anecdotes about Mr. Mandeville's being fed under diarrhœa upon bread and water. Mr. Balfour disproved the legends at Glasgow, but his tone both there and at Manchester, where he talked of a "sham tragedy," was of too polemical a nature, and the opportunity of an expression of



THE ROYAL PALACE OF JUSTICE, LONDON.

London

regret, however conventional, was allowed to pass unused.

In truth, considering its size and population, Ireland could hardly complain that her claims were disregarded by politicians of either side. Non-Hibernian affairs formed, of necessity, the subject of Mr. Gladstone's speech at the Welsh Eisteddfod, though it was prefaced by an Irish discourse, delivered in the Wrexham Town Hall, in which Poland, Naples, and Mr. Mandeville played prominent parts. The second speech was, in part, couched in Mr. Gladstone's happiest vein. He pointed out the sympathy entertained by the Tudors for the Welsh, and how Shakespeare had applied to them the epithets "trusty," "loving," and "hardy," which painted the national character in a most agreeable aspect. He then went on to claim for Wales a separate political life, and in accordance with his familiar views, maintained that the attachment of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland to the Imperial connection would be strengthened by the acquisition of local self-government. Then, early in September began a Liberal Unionist campaign at Bradford, Nottingham, and the West of Scotland. Mr. John Morley retorted at Ipswich and Newtown; Mr. Balfour, as we have incidentally mentioned, replied to Mr. Morley at Glasgow and Manchester. At all these meetings the eternal Irish question was threshed out, sometimes with moderation, sometimes with acrimony; but perhaps the solitary point of permanent interest was the attitude of the Liberal leaders towards Welsh Disestablishment, and Welsh Home Rule. Mr. Morley, it must be allowed, was somewhat reticent. He confessed that the opinion was growing among English Liberals that the Establishment in Wales constituted both a practical grievance and a moral wrong; as to Home Rule, he made the significant remark that "twenty-six is a smaller number than eighty-six," but sketched out a plan whereby the Welsh should federate their County Councils, and so, in time, create a National Council. At the meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Birmingham (November 5th), Mr. Gladstone was expected to divulge some items at any rate of the future programme of the Liberal party. He confined himself, however, to Irish topics, and though received with enthusiasm by his audiences, his addresses hardly acted as a stimulus to Liberalism in general, though his acceptance of the principle of paid Members of Parliament was encouraging to the more democratic. Mr. Morley, indeed, proclaimed that the Liberal party wanted to make

—whether in England or in Ireland, or in the widespread British realm, all over the surface of the globe—the home, however humble it might be, brighter and happier. Nevertheless, it was not easy to see how domestic legislation was attainable when Ireland blocked the way. On the other hand, Mr. Chamberlain's scheme for the remedy of Irish disorder, as published in the *Birmingham Daily Post*, failed to attract much attention, though it included aid from the Imperial Parliament to Irish industries, an extensive scheme of land transfer and a large measure of local autonomy as soon as the agrarian difficulty was out of the way. Some of his speeches during the brief recess were exceedingly bitter; for instance, he accused Mr. Shaw Lefevre and Mr. Illingworth of lending their respectability to cover outrages.

Public attention was distracted from politics, during the autumn, by a series of horrible murders committed in Whitechapel upon women of the lowest class by a human fiend calling himself, or called by the public, "Jack the Ripper." In each instance the miscreant completely baffled the police, though they must sometimes have been on the spot within a few minutes of the deed, and his identity and motive were alike unknown, though concerning the latter many theories, all more or less fanciful, were propounded. The complete failure of the police to obtain the slightest clue to crimes occurring within a stone's-throw of one another, and on one occasion twice in the same night, naturally created some outcry against the force, and, with less justice, against Sir Charles Warren. People forgot the villain's astuteness and daring were unprecedented, but the Chief Commissioner's suppression of the Trafalgar Square meetings had not been forgotten, and unfortunately he was in some respects a square peg in a round hole. For instance, he had been at loggerheads with Mr. Monro, the chief of the Detective Department, and the general conclusion was that, though the latter was insubordinate, the former had acted in the spirit of a martinet. Accordingly, Mr. Matthews was felt to have been within his rights when he reprimanded Sir Charles for contributing a signed article on his administration to *Murray's Magazine*, which was couched in terms of such severity that the Chief Commissioner was obliged to send in his resignation. The whole constitution of the Metropolitan Police force was arraigned during the autumn session by Mr. Bradlaugh, but the debate was discursive and barren, though Sir William Harcourt somewhat discomfited the Radical party by coming to the

support of Mr. Matthews. He said that the Chief Commissioner was entirely subordinate to the Home Secretary, who was the Minister responsible to Parliament for the administration of the police. At the same time he exonerated Sir Charles for not discovering the Whitechapel murders, maintaining that he had done his best in circumstances of extreme difficulty.

The autumn session, which began on the 6th of November, was rendered dreary by prolonged discussions on the Estimates, and Mr. Smith was soon obliged to discard the Tithe Bill, the Trade Marks Bill, the Bill for establishing a Board of Agriculture, and the Employers' Liability Bill, after the last had produced a sharp passage of arms between Mr. Broadhurst and Mr. Bradlaugh. The Education Estimates, however, were more than usually interesting, because the recent School Board elections had proved that the old contest between the supporters and opponents of voluntary schools was still a drawn battle, a result emphasised by the double Report of the Royal Commission on Education. Nevertheless, there was a certain consensus of opinion among the commissioners that the system of numerous examinations was producing a sort of education that was dry and uninteresting; and even thorough-going educationalists like Dr. Dale and Mr. Ship-ton were of opinion that oral examinations were sufficient in Standard IV. and the inferior grades. Both parties also condemned "payment by results" as productive of cram and over-pressure, and thought that the fixed grant should bear a greater proportion to the variable grant. It was proposed by the majority that the fixed grant should be 10s. instead of 4s. 6d., and that the varying grants should depend on the good character of the school as a whole, and on the acquirements of the scholars in general, rather than on the attainment of a *minimum* standard of proficiency. The minority looked rather to the abolition of payment by results through an extension of the Board School system; at the same time they suggested that two-thirds of the grant might be fixed. They were unable to agree with the recommendations of the majority for "some more comprehensive system of administration to remove, first, the grave and inequitable inequalities between the two systems of voluntary and Board schools as now existing; and, secondly, to eliminate, as far as possible, for the future the friction and collision which has so often, and so injuriously arisen between them." In the circumstances the Vice-President of the Council,

Sir William Hart Dyke, acted with commendable wisdom in declining to upset the compromise of 1880, while at the same time he hinted that an amended Education Code would in all probability be put forth. There was a general wish expressed for continuation schools, but as to whether they should be compulsory up to the age of eighteen or nineteen, according to Mr. Samuel Smith's somewhat sweeping proposal, or, as Mr. Talbot suggested, purely voluntary, there was but little prospect of agreement.

The chief measure of this session was Mr. Balfour's Bill for the extension of the Ashbourne Act. The Bill was confined to one clause empowering the Irish Executive to advance £5,000,000, for the purpose of enabling Irish tenants to purchase their holdings. It was somewhat captiously denounced by the Opposition as a breach of the understanding that no new legislation should be undertaken during the session, though Mr. Smith showed that there was a distinct understanding that it should be introduced. Finally, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of an amendment that the Irish land question had best be dealt with in the present instance by a remission or cancelling of arrears, after the legislation recently and beneficially applied to the Crofters' holdings in Scotland. The Bill was introduced by the Solicitor-General for Ireland, Mr. Madden, in a speech which dealt first with previous attempts at land purchase, notably Mr. Gladstone's proposal involving British credit to the amount of £150,000,000. He then explained the more modest scope of Lord Ashbourne's Act, and dilated on its success as proved by the fact that agreements had been signed, involving purchase-money to the extent of £5,986,000, of which nearly seven thousand affected holdings under £30 a year. The instalments had been regularly paid, and the security of the State was excellent, inasmuch as one-fifth was retained by the State, while the tenant pledged not only the freehold, but the tenant right. Mr. Gladstone was naturally rather handicapped by his own Land Purchase Bill, and so his admonitions against the danger of placing the State in a position of the immediate landlord of the occupier, with no guarantee to cover him, and with eviction at his rear, were somewhat discounted. Nor did the statement that the Irish tenants were the best rent-payers in the world pass unchallenged, and it appeared, too, that he did not object to land-purchase, but only to land-purchase in homœopathic doses. Mr. Gladstone was on sounder ground when

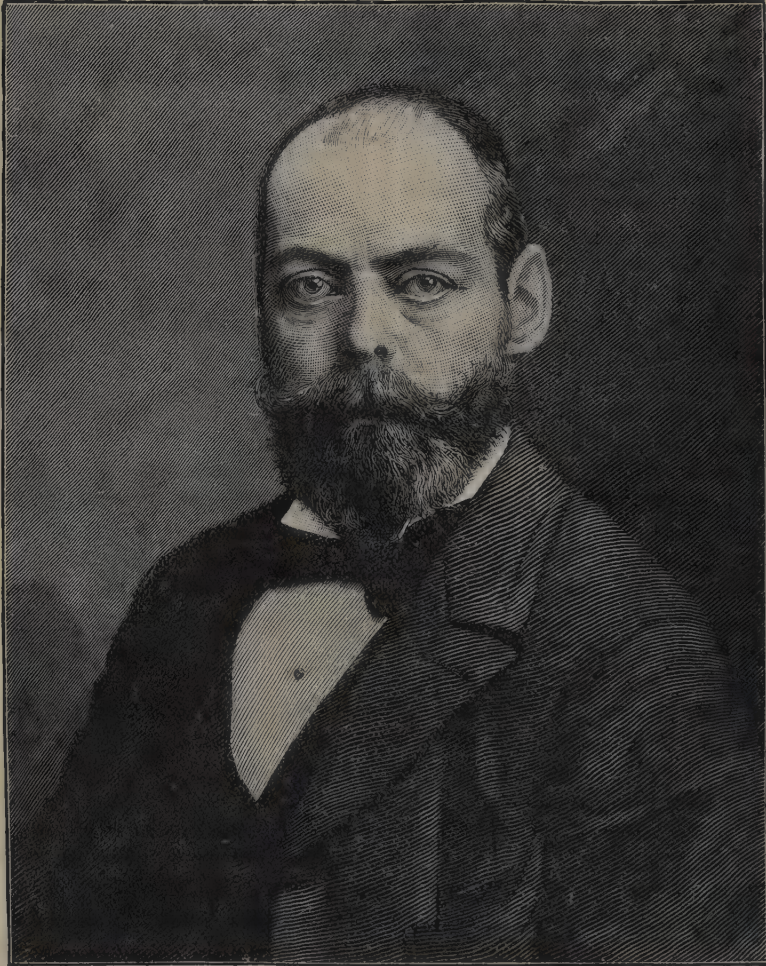
he approached the question of arrears, and maintained that their existence was used by the landlord to reduce the benefits of the Land Act to a nullity. Mr. Goschen pointed out, in reply, that Government had offered to deal with the question of arrears, and were prepared to renew the offer if their conditions were too high, and he naturally made a point of the ease and rapidity with which Mr. Gladstone had glided over his own gigantic purchase scheme. As the debate proceeded there was talk of Liberal defections, but they dwindled to Mr. Haldane and Sir Edward Grey. Mr. Dillon, in a menacing speech, warned the taxpayers of Great Britain that they were lending their money on a rotten security, and that a party might arise whose programme would be the repudiation of these contracts; and after Mr. Gladstone's amendment was lost by 330 votes to 246, he was thrown over by Mr. Parnell, who asserted his absolute and unreserved approval of the measure in principle; and he declared that he only voted against the Bill because circumstances would prevent its efficiency. These hindrances appeared to be the necessity of an understanding between landlord and tenant and the arrears difficulty, a settlement of which was also urged by Lord Randolph Churchill in a very independent speech. The most effective passage in Mr. Parnell's speech was that in which he urged that the benefits of the Bill would be absorbed by the great landlords like the Duke of Abercorn and the London companies. It did not leave the State to decide what estates it was desirable to purchase, but left that point entirely to the judgment of the landlords themselves. The result would be that the holdings in the most congested districts in Ireland would not be affected by the Bill at all, for there the landlords and encumbrancers refused to sell at any price which the commissioners could sanction. "Let us clear our minds of cant. Let the House vote for the landlords with its eyes open." In Committee, however, Mr. Parnell's amendment upon the arrears question was rejected by 182 to 149, and after many protracted discussions and a series of scenes due to an over-officious attempt to arrest Mr. Sheehy, M.P., under the Crimes Act, either in or just outside the House, the Bill passed the Commons on November the 29th. The most important additions were Mr. Rathbone's clause, limiting the advances to a single tenant to £300, and Mr. Healy's, prohibiting the landlord from demanding rent after the Land Court had assented to the purchase of a

holding. In curious contrast to the dilatory conduct of the Lower House was the rapid progress of the Bill through the Lords after Lord Ashbourne had described the progress of his Act, and Earl Spencer had given a qualified approval of what was, after all, but a temporary measure.

Protracted wrangles occurred over the Civil Service Estimates, those connected with Ireland being made the excuse for discussing the whole of Mr. Balfour's administration, including the Mitchelstown incident, the death of Mr. Mandeville, and the case of Mr. Moroney, who was imprisoned for contempt of the Bankruptcy Court until discharged on his landlord's petition. Then debates on the Egyptian policy of the Government, and in particular the Suakin expedition, and a night's discussion on the state of the navy, in which Lord Charles Beresford once more played the alarmist, delayed the prorogation until Christmas Eve. Meanwhile, politicians were busy with the constituencies; and Lord Salisbury, having little to do in the House of Lords, was very much in evidence. Thus, he assisted with Lord Hartington at a banquet given in their honour by the Irish Nonconformists, at which it appeared that 864 out of 990 Nonconformist clergy had signed a Unionist address, and that of the remainder only eight were avowed Home Rulers. More attention was attracted by an unfortunate indiscretion in his speech at Edinburgh, where he went out of his way to refer to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, a former Liberal candidate for Holborn, as "a black man," a remark that was generally resented as a somewhat gratuitous slur upon the population of India, not to mention that the worthy Parsee happened to be rather whiter than the Premier himself. So great was the outcry that the Prime Minister's significant declaration to the ladies of the Primrose League, that the day was not far distant when women would be admitted to the franchise passed almost unnoticed. Mr. Morley, meanwhile, was making a counterbid for popular support by an important speech at Clerkenwell, which advocated for London the taxation of ground landlords, the abolition of the leasehold system and the control by Londoners of their own police. For the country in general he proposed a new system of registration—one man one vote, and shorter Parliaments. A passage of autobiography made some of the Conservative newspapers declaim against the speaker's sentimentalism. "I am tempted to recall," said Mr. Morley, "when first I came, a great many years ago, as a very young man to London. I had

chambers—not having any more than you have, too much of the superfluities of life—in one of those old lawyers' Inns, looking on to one of the Holborn courts, I suppose not more than a mile or a mile and a half from here. I shall never forget, I can

However, he recited as questions ripe for public discussion, registration and "one man one vote," shorter Parliaments, the rating of ground-rents, the enfranchisement of leaseholds, and fuller local government for London, artisans' dwellings,



LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Sassano, Old Bond Street, W.)

never forget the doings of that London court while I was endeavouring to read. The horrors of life under my window would have impressed themselves upon any man's mind; and when I go about other parts of London now, I have that in my recollection, and I know and see that what then used to haunt me, is still a type of far too large an area of that great city." These remarks were endorsed by Mr. Gladstone in a speech delivered at Limehouse on the eve of his eightieth birthday, though he did not appear to consider the control of the metropolitan police a matter of urgent importance.

free schools and "what is termed Disestablishment in Scotland and Wales." But then followed the significant intimation that all these subjects resembled "a great collection of ripe fruit gathered together ready to be plucked from the trees in a splendid garden; but that garden is surrounded by a high wall which nobody can scale, and as to the doors of it, the keys have been lost or have not yet been found. That is the case with all the questions in the lump. You may be able to make an occasional exception, but with regard to the most of them, that is the state of things. Now

what does my high wall mean? My high wall means the Irish question. Until you either pull down the wall or find the keys and open the door, you will never bring the course of British legislation to what it ought to be." How much depended on Mr. Gladstone was made clear by the discussion in Liberal circles as to his possible successor, when the claims of Sir William Harcourt, Lord Rosebery, and Mr. John Morley were canvassed without definite result, except that none of the three appeared to be generally acceptable. The reunion of Liberalism had, meanwhile, been rendered more unlikely than ever by the retirement of Lord Hartington and his followers from the National Liberal Club, and though the party had undoubtedly gained at the bye-elections, the Conservatives were the stronger for the success of Mr. Goschen's finance and the popularity of Mr. Balfour. Indeed, the Chief Secretary's remarkable abilities were indirectly acknowledged even by the Nationalist press, though the compliment took

the form of epithets of which "bloody" and "brutal" were among the mildest. In return, Mr. Balfour was not sparing of sarcasms, and the mutual irritation continued unabatedly.

For the rest the political year was not especially distinguished, even by its deaths, which included those of Colonel King-Harman, the much-worried Assistant Parliamentary Secretary for Ireland; the sturdy champion of Welsh Nonconformity and international arbitration, Mr. Henry Richard; Lord Mount-Temple, educationist and philanthropist, and the veteran ex-Speaker Viscount Eversley. Sir Henry Maine was a philosopher rather than a politician, and the influence of his work on "Popular Government" was hardly direct; and Matthew Arnold can scarcely be said to have added much to practical statesmanship, though his ridicule was constantly employed, sometimes with effect, but often with exaggeration, in the exposure of sundry social shams and superstitions.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Rosebery and Imperial Federation—Australian Festivities—Sir Henry Blake's Appointment—Chinese Immigration—The Rabbit Pest—Canada and the United States—Annexations and a Customs Union in South Africa—The East Africa Company—Egypt and the Mahdists—Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty—Campaigns in Burma and Tibet—The Black Mountain Expedition—England and Italy—Bismarck and Bulgaria—Death of the Emperor William I.—Death of the Emperor Frederick—Mr. Gladstone's Eulogy—Accession of William II.—Boulangism in France—Reaction in Russia—The Czar and Bulgaria—The Russians in Central Asia—Lord Salisbury on Foreign Affairs.

IMPERIAL FEDERATION still found an eloquent votary in Lord Rosebery, who, in two speeches delivered, the first at the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, and the second at Glasgow, urged the importance of admitting the colonies to a larger share in the concerns of the Empire. He argued that commerce was the reason of the Empire's being; were it not for trade the Empire would consist, not of world-wide dominions, but of two small islands in the Atlantic, animated by no very friendly feelings. Now, England in her foreign policy was guided almost entirely by her commerce and her colonies. That being the case, was it not desirable to admit the colonies to a voice in affairs, more especially as their action brought us in contact with the great European Powers, and sometimes with the United States? He

urged that if Australia and Canada were to remain British they must have a larger voice in determining the general line of Imperial policy, and that it was England's duty to procure a stronger union, at the sacrifice of some freedom of action. In short, his suggestions appeared to follow the plan elaborated in his scheme for the reform of the House of Lords, namely, the admission, amongst other new blood, of the Agents-General of the Colonies.

These aspiring views hardly found much support in the Australian colonies, and even the preliminary step of Australian Federation hung fire through the continued refusal of New South Wales to take part in the movement. That colony, meanwhile, held great festivities in January to celebrate the centenary of the landing of

Captain Phillip at Port Jackson, from which the flourishing polity dates its existence; and by a happy coincidence at Melbourne there was opened in August a Centennial National Exhibition, held in honour of the foundation of the Australian colonies. The area of the buildings was 32 acres, largely in excess of that of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and an attractive feature was the collection of British art. Unfortunately, the undertaking was too gigantic for financial success, and though the visitors were numerous and enthusiastic, the balance-sheet showed a deficit. Unfortunately, too, with these manifestations of national confidence the causes of friction with the mother country did not cease, though the final withdrawal of the French troops from the New Hebrides, and the definition of the powers of the Anglo-French Naval Commission did much to remove apprehensions in that quarter. Of the particular colonies, Queensland had her particular grievances in the appointment of a new Governor in the person of Sir Henry Blake. A tried public servant, he was, nevertheless, disliked by the Irish section of the community because of his earlier career as magistrate and officer of the constabulary in his native country. Before the nomination was made public, Sir Thomas McIlwraith had attempted to exact from Lord Knutsford a pledge that the name of the new Governor should be submitted to the Ministry in Queensland. With this demand the Colonial Secretary refused to comply on constitutional grounds, and when the selection was declared the indignation of the colony rose to fever-heat. Not only were Sir Henry's Protestant and anti-Irish leanings strongly criticised, but it was urged in addition that his training had been, like that of his predecessor, Sir A. Musgrave, in Crown Colonies. Sir Thomas McIlwraith, strongly supported by the Australian Natives' Association, telegraphed a vigorously-worded protest, and after a period of suspense, due to Lord Knutsford's desire to collect information, Sir Henry Blake exchanged his office with Sir Henry Norman, the Governor of Jamaica. The action of Queensland was supported in New South Wales, where Sir Henry Parkes carried by a big majority a resolution in favour of the principle that the Colonial Governments should have a voice in the appointment of the Queen's representative. In South Australia a similar line was adopted; but Lord Knutsford overruled the desire of the Ministry to be consulted on the successor to Sir William Robinson. Fortunately, the appointment of Lord

Kintore proved highly popular, and no friction was created. In Victoria, however, where there was a strong feeling against the attack upon the educational system by the Roman Catholics, Sir Bryan O'Loughlen's attempt to carry a similar motion was defeated by no less than 57 votes to 3. After which the House relieved its feelings by singing the National Anthem, with the assistance of the Speaker, and in cheering the name of the Queen.

Of more general interest, perhaps, to the mass of the people was the question of Chinese immigration, upon which colonial feeling was strongly manifested, the cry being "Australia for the Australians, not for the Mongolian." In Victoria there was great interest displayed in the case of one Ah Toy, a Celestial who, having been refused landing after the deposit of his capitation fee, brought an action against the Government, and the judges decided in his favour. Nevertheless, the anti-Chinese feeling did not abate, and the Marquis Tseng lodged a complaint against the treatment to which his fellow-countrymen were subjected in Australia, in total defiance of treaties. The announcement that large shiploads of immigrants were on the way to the South Pacific to flood the labour-market brought matters to a crisis. New South Wales took the lead, and Sir Henry Parkes, after telegraphing to Lord Knutsford that the Sydney Government would not allow the landing of Chinese unprovided with naturalisation papers, introduced a Restriction Bill and carried it through the necessary stages at one sitting. Sir Henry Parkes's declarations were outspoken in the extreme. "Neither for Her Majesty's ships of war, nor for Her Majesty's representative on the spot, nor for Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, do we intend to turn aside from our purpose." The law thus passed was of the most stringent character; prohibiting future naturalisations, raising the poll-tax from £10 to £100, and confining the immigration to one Chinaman to every 300 tons of goods. Nor did the Prime Minister shrink from illegality, for when charged with breaking the law he replied, "I care nothing about your cobweb of technical law; I am obeying a law far superior to any law which issued these permits, namely, the law of preservation of society in New South Wales." To Lord Knutsford's inquiry under what Act the landing of Chinese had been prevented, the fiery statesman replied there was no Act; and when the Supreme Court declared that the detention of Chinese in Sydney Harbour was

unjustifiable, the Government replied by passing an Indemnity Bill. The able Governor, Lord Carrington, supported the action of the Cabinet, and Sir Henry Parkes's high-handed action was endorsed by an Australian conference held at Sydney. Elsewhere similar tactics were adopted; thus, Mr. Gillies, the Victorian Prime Minister, when confronted by treaty obligations, declared

boycotting of steamship companies which employed Celestials on board, were somewhat unjust, though entirely successful. But there was good sense behind these extravagances, and Sir Henry Parkes raised the problem to a higher level when he asserted that the Chinese were justifiably excluded, not for their dirt and immorality, but because of their old and deep-rooted civilisation.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, MELBOURNE, FROM THE BOTANICAL GARDENS.

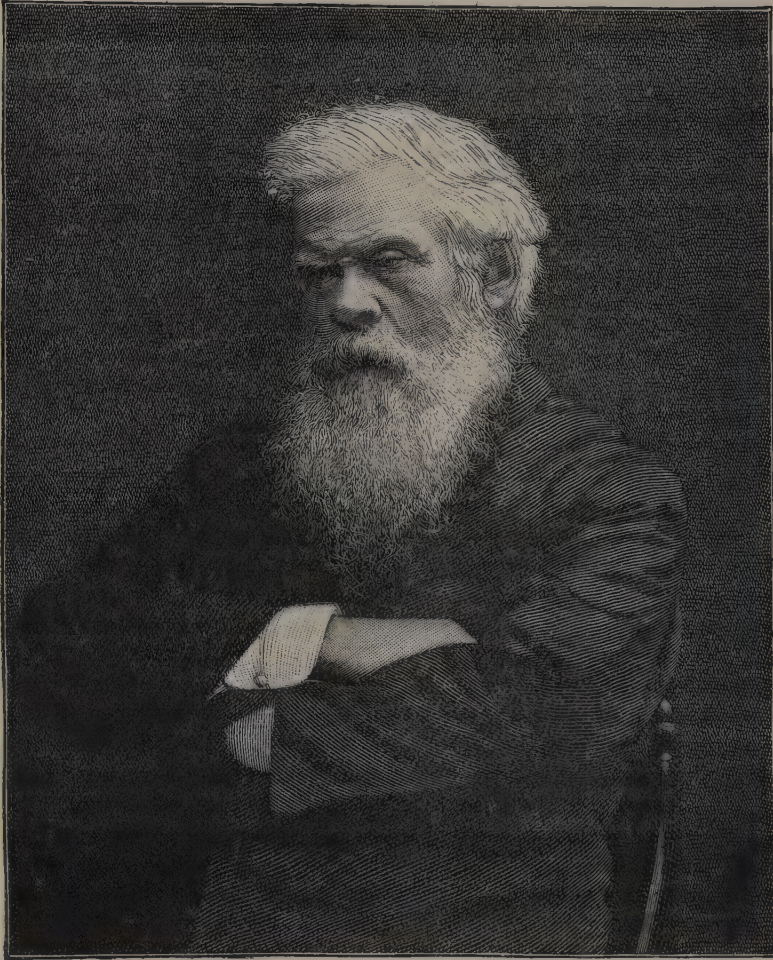
that he was ignorant of their exact nature, and scouted the idea of unlimited immigration as absolutely untenable by the Home Government in opposition to colonial opinion. Similarly, in New Zealand the Government put in force an old proclamation of Sir Arthur Gordon's, whereby all districts inhabited by a Chinese population were declared infected by small-pox, and placed under strict quarantine. No doubt there was exaggeration in the anti-Chinese sentiment, and its origin was the fear of the working men that wages would be reduced by the competition of a race of unwearyed industry and the thriftiest habits. Possibly some of their methods of action, such as the

"The influx of a few millions of Chinese here would entirely change the character of this young Australian Commonwealth. It is because I believe the Chinese to be a powerful race, taking a great hold upon the country, and because I wish to preserve the type of my own nation, that I am and always have been opposed to the influx of Chinese."

Uneasiness was rife in several colonies on other accounts, particularly in New South Wales, where trade was partially paralysed from August to September by the strike of the colliers of Newcastle. Even more serious was the rabbit pest, for the rodent—an importation, it should be said,

from the mother country—was devastating whole districts. In the course of the year a single landowner in Victoria, erected 100 miles of rabbit-proof fencing on his estate, and the Government of New South Wales spent over £250,000 in extermination, with but partial success. In

with the approval of the Home Government, though full liberty to alienate the Crown lands was for the present withheld. Meanwhile the British flag was being hoisted on various islets in the South Pacific, in view of the future connection of Australia by telegraph with Canada



SIR HENRY PARKES (NEW SOUTH WALES).

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry, Baker Street, W.)

Queensland the vermin were turning sheep-run after sheep-run into a desert. Government rewards for schemes of wholesale destruction produced no original specific until M. Pasteur, the eminent French biologist, came forward with a proposal of extermination by inoculation with chicken cholera. The drastic remedy found, however, but few supporters, partly because of its supposed cruelty, partly because its non-infectious character was not considered to be conclusively proved. More fortunate than her neighbour, West Australia was elaborating a Constitution

and India; and the Empire was further consolidated by the formal proclamation of a protectorate over North Borneo and Sarawak, of which the former was already administered by an English Company, while the latter was under the peaceful control of a nephew of Rajah Brooke.

Canada's record during the year was not particularly eventful, though her relations with the United States were naturally affected by the rejection of the Fisheries Convention, and President Cleveland's threatened retaliation. In the circumstances, the movement in favour of

commercial reciprocity made but little progress, and Sir Charles Cartwright's motion in its favour was rejected by the Dominion Parliament, by 124 votes to 67. In fact, public opinion approved of Sir John Macdonald's attitude of sturdy indifference to American hostility, and his confidence that when the election fever subsided, the people of the United States would return to the Washington Treaty with very different sentiments. Lord Lansdowne's tenure of office having come to an end, he was succeeded by Lord Stanley of Preston, better known perhaps as Colonel Stanley, who took an early opportunity of complimenting the Canadians on their firm and dignified attitude. Had he spoken a little later, Lord Stanley might have found food for reflection in the cavalier treatment by President Cleveland of the British Minister at Washington, Lord Sackville. That luckless representative received a letter purporting to have been written by an Englishman, and asking for advice as to his vote in the Presidential election. He replied in a letter marked "private" by a very guarded recommendation to cast a vote in favour of Mr. Cleveland. Unfortunately, the letter was a trap laid by the Republican Committee in New York, and it was promptly printed and published broadcast over the States. Thereby the Irish vote was imperilled, and Mr. Cleveland and his Secretary of State, Mr. Bayard, resolved upon precipitate action. The immediate recall of Lord Sackville was demanded, less, however, on account of the unlucky letter, than because of certain expressions reputed to have been used by him in two conversations with an interviewer, imputing discreditable motives to the President and Secretary in their action on the rejection of the Fisheries Treaty. Mr. Phelps, the American Ambassador, promised to present Lord Salisbury with copies of Lord Sackville's *obiter dicta*, and meanwhile the latter telegraphed from Washington his deep regret at what had occurred. Before the arrival, however, of the necessary explanations, Mr. Bayard abruptly dismissed Lord Sackville on October the 30th, and the envoy was obliged to take his departure without an opportunity being given him of setting himself right, though he indignantly repudiated the former's reasons as "an unjust attack on his integrity." No satisfactory explanation being forthcoming from Mr. Phelps, Lord Salisbury was amply justified in dismissing the affair in his Guildhall speech as "belonging rather to the history of electioneering than the history of diplomacy."

The leading events in South Africa have been

anticipated, so far as Zululand and Swaziland were concerned, in the survey of the previous year. President Kruger's continued determination to annex the neighbouring native states, and to keep the Transvaal apart from the adjacent British colonies, while the English residents at Johannesburg, who threatened to outnumber the Boers, were not admitted to the franchise, was naturally a theme of indignant comment, particularly in Natal. In one quarter, however, he was signally frustrated, namely, in Mashonaland, where the savage King Lobengula made over his mining rights to a syndicate from the Cape, who subsequently sold the concession to the British South Africa Company, and further refused to have dealings with a Boer representing himself as consul from the South African Republic. The arrangement was confirmed by Sir Hercules Robinson's treaty of amity with Lobengula, and thereby a country reputed to be extremely rich in gold was thrown open to British adventure, though its possession was disputed by the Portuguese on the ground of certain historic rights to a nebulous kingdom of Monomatapa. Meanwhile, Bechuanaland, the adit to this land of Ophir, was being steadily colonised by British and Dutch settlers, who lived in peace with their black neighbours under the rule of Khama and other enlightened chiefs. Further, the Cape Government was pushing on the railway to Vryburg, and so preparing for great events. The general welding together of South Africa was the object of the Conference of delegates from Cape Colony, Natal, and the Orange Free State, which met at Cape Town under the presidency of Sir Gordon Sprigg, to discuss the knotty questions of railway communications and Customs Union. True to his policy to have nothing to do with railways other than from Delagoa Bay, President Kruger sent no representatives; but Sir John Brand, the President of the Orange Free State, though near his grave, played a prominent part. The agreement arrived at provided for an extension of the Cape and Natal railways in the direction of Bloemfontein, and, on the suggestion of Mr. Hofmeyr, a tariff with an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. upon goods not enumerated, while the importing States were to pay three-fourths of the Customs to the internal States--i.e. the Orange and the Transvaal republics, supposing the latter chose to join the Union. The Cape Parliament, after rejecting the Bill founded on these resolutions, as abruptly passed it before the end of the session; but Natal declined to confirm the action of her

representatives, and in consequence the arrangement fell through. The Cape, nevertheless, concluded in the following year a separate Customs Union with the Orange Free State, and so the conference was not wholly barren of results.

Elsewhere in Africa the muse of history is constrained to chronicle the sad fate of King Ja-Ja, the potentate of Accra on the Gold Coast, who, convicted of suborning rebellion against the British Consul, was tried and deported to St. Vincent. Another kinglet under British protection whose reign was not of the most peaceful, was that of the Sultan Seyyid, Khalifa of Zanzibar, who succeeded his brother in March. The Italians seized a portion of his northern territory on the mainland, and he was obliged to consent to their occupation. The Germans effected the installation of their East Africa Company in such a high-handed fashion, that the Arabs rose in revolt and the whole coast was a scene of battle and pillage, in which the invaders by no means came off unscathed. In instructive contrast was the peaceful installation of the British South Africa Company, which from the harbour of Mombasa rapidly pushed inwards towards Victoria Nyanza. Out of all this evil came a certain amount of good in the shape of an agreement between the British and German Governments, with the sanction of the Sultan, for the suppression of the slave-trade. On the 2nd of December the coast was placed under blockade by the two fleets, and though the French Republic declined to join in the operations she consented to the search of vessels flying the French flag. The policy was questioned in the House of Lords by Lord Harrowby and others because of the extreme unpopularity of the Germans, and the danger that the bombardment of Arab villages would bring upon the mission stations inland. Lord Salisbury, however, made out a good case for interference, quoting Mr. Cameron to the effect that the traffic had increased fourfold in recent years.

In Egypt the year opened somewhat ominously with differences of opinion between Sir Evelyn Baring and Nubar Pasha, of whom the latter found that the progress of reform was too rapid for his approval. The tension was abruptly terminated by the Khedive, who suddenly dismissed Nubar, and summoned Riaz Pasha to form a Ministry. This statesman was reputed to hold reactionary views; nevertheless, he worked in harmony with his British advisers, with the result that, despite an unusually low Nile, the Budget showed a surplus; and in addition a

settlement was effected, through the mediation of Sir William Marriott, of the long-standing claims of the ex-Khedive Ismail. With French interference happily suspended, the revenue showed every sign of development, particularly in the Customs department. The frontier, however, was perpetually exposed to Arab raids, in which villagers were killed, cattle looted, and the telegraph destroyed, and the garrisons had to be considerably strengthened.

On the 25th of August a most daring attack was made on the fort of Khor Musa, into a portion of which the Mahdists penetrated, and it was not until Colonel Wodehouse arrived with the armoured train that the warriors were dislodged, those within the enclosure being all killed or wounded. Elsewhere Osman Digna, after Colonel Kitchener had narrowly failed in effecting his capture, persisted in threatening Suakin, and even occupied a fort within 2,000 yards of the town. He was driven away, but being strongly reinforced the undaunted Emir proceeded in September to lay regular siege to the place with some 4,000 men. The lines were in imminent danger until H.M.S. *Gannet* and *Starling* arrived to the rescue, and General Grenfell, the Sirdar, was accordingly summoned to the scene of action. On his arrival in November he promptly telegraphed home for reinforcements, and when he found himself at the head of 750 British, 2,000 Soudanese, and 2,000 Egyptians, he determined to attack the Arab trenches. Meanwhile, in answer to inquiries, Osman Digna sent General Grenfell a wholly fictitious narrative concerning a white pasha and traveller reported to be at Khartoum. These, said he, were none other than Emin and Mr. H. M. Stanley; they had been taken prisoners in circumstances which he related in detail, and were now servants of the Khalifa. A few days after this apocryphal message, the Sirdar, on December the 20th, advanced upon Osman, making a feint upon his south flank, but advancing in force on his north. At the same time a naval demonstration was effected in the direction of Mersa Kuwai to the north of Suakin. The attack was steadily conducted in the face of a desultory fire, the trenches were carried at the point of the bayonet, and on the arrival of a battery of Horse Artillery the lines were cleared, and the Arabs retreated on Hashin, leaving some 500 on the ground. The expedition, which terminated in the battle of Gemaizeh, as it is sometimes called, was hotly discussed in the House of Commons as a wasteful and useless operation. Sir James

Fergusson, however, and Mr. Stanhope maintained that the raising of the siege was absolutely necessary if Suakin was to be retained, and as to that question, neither Mr. John Morley nor Lord Randolph Churchill gave very definite answers to Mr. Smith's challenge. Further debates were raised by Lord Randolph, who declared that General Grenfell's force was inadequate, and that the expedition was being run "on the cheap;" and by Mr. Morley, who urged that before the fighting began, negotiations should be opened with Osman Digna. Again Sir James Fergusson declared that Government had no intention of reconquering the Soudan, though Lord Randolph retorted that the policy of fighting a battle and going away again was "foolish and stupid," unless there was virtue in the "decimation of dervishes." Finally, Mr. John Morley's amendment for the reduction of the diplomatic vote was defeated by 165 votes to 76, and the subject was dropped.

In India the chief event was the resignation of the Viceroy, with the Marquisate of Dufferin and Ava, after a tenure of office comparable with that of any of his illustrious predecessors. To his successor, Lord Lansdowne, he transmitted an Empire in every way stronger and more self-confident. The great feature of his rule was undoubtedly the strengthening of the Empire against attack from without: first, by establishing excellent relations with the buffer-kingdom of Afghanistan; and, secondly, by constructing, on the advice of Sir F. (afterwards Lord) Roberts, a formidable line of defences on the North-West frontier. In the same spirit he gladly accepted the patriotic offers of the feudatory States; and their contingents were being brought to such a pitch of efficiency that they would soon be worthy of being placed in line with the British soldier. The annexation of Upper Burma was forced upon him, but at least he grasped the inevitable with promptitude, and his subordinates displayed praiseworthy zeal in creating order out of chaos. Lord Dufferin in the execution of these great enterprises did not fear to face deficits, but at least he took care that their causes should be ascertained; and his Finance Commission was a valuable guide to future economies. Similarly, his Civil Service Commission was a necessary preliminary to the admission of the natives of India to a larger share in the administration. But to the more extravagant pretensions of the so-called National Congress, embracing, amongst other matters, the placing of the Legislative Councils under popular control, he was outspokenly adverse, and did not fail to

rebuke the seditious language of some of its members in tones of severity and dignity.

Though the Finance Commission hoped to effect economies to the extent of a million and a quarter, the annual Budget showed a deficit of two millions, and that in spite of an increase of the salt-tax. The continued fall of the rupee, and the lack of elasticity about certain sources of income, such as the railways and the opium traffic, rendered the outlook for the future somewhat gloomy, more especially as the number of "little wars" during the year was somewhat in excess of the average. In Upper Burma, though dacoity was fast being stamped out, expeditions were necessary against the Shans and Chins. The former offered little resistance, and came readily under the British rule, nor did the Chinese Government raise formidable objections to the abrogation of its suzerainty. The latter, however, living in the almost inaccessible hills between India and Burma, proved formidable foes, and though easily defeated when anything like a pitched battle took place, they evaded pursuit and frequently killed isolated Englishmen. Farther to the west in the snowclad peaks of Tibet, Colonel Graham advanced against the Lamas. The origin of this quarrel was somewhat complicated; the hierarchy of Lhasa had fortified their passes in apprehension of the despatch of a British embassy; further, they had seduced from his allegiance the Rajah of Sikkim, whose dominions lay partly in India and partly in Tibet, and compelled him to receive a Tibetan force at Lingtu. After the mediation of the Celestial Empire had been futilely invoked, Colonel Graham advanced against Lingtu, and occupied the position without much resistance on March the 21st. In May the British troops, who suffered from the severity of the climate, easily beat off a desultory attack of the Lamas, and finally on September the 24th Colonel Graham drove them beyond the frontier with the loss of 1,000 men. The Rajah of Sikkim surrendered at discretion, and towards the end of December a Chinese official arrived on the scene of action with a view to the settlement of the dispute. The mediation of this functionary was, however, ineffectual, as too was the mission of Mr. Hart of the Chinese Customs, who was subsequently despatched by the Government of Peking. Throughout 1889, therefore, no settlement was effected, chiefly because the Celestials clung with characteristic tenacity to their suzerainty over both the Tibetans and the Rajah of Sikkim. As, however, the latter was now thoroughly amenable to the

Indian authorities, no forward movement of the British troops was attempted. On their side the Lamas were studiously non-aggressive, and at the end of the year Colonel Graham's expedition had been withdrawn, with the exception of a small garrison which was left for precaution's sake at Sikkim.

Yet another force under General M'Queen was despatched to avenge the death of Major Battye

such gallant impetuosity that they were slain to a man. This defeat broke the neck of the resistance, and after their chief strongholds had been captured or burnt the chiefs hastened to make their submission and pay the fine. The country was not annexed, but placed under the control of the frontier police, and wide roads were constructed in order to facilitate the future passage of troops. Before retiring the British troops ejected



APPRAY WITH ARABS AT SUAKIM. (See p. 335.)

and Captain Urmstone by the tribes of the Black Mountain. These ferocious hillmen, reinforced by a settlement of Hindu fanatics at Maidan, had long been famous for their raiding propensities, and on the present occasion when summoned to pay a fine for their misdeeds, they treated the demand with silent contempt. Accordingly, the country was invaded by four columns, numbering some 2,000 men, and of these the river column came in contact with the tribesmen, who had entrenched themselves strongly at Kotkai. There a battle took place on October the 6th; when the enemy, though their knowledge of tactics was rudimentary, displayed the most desperate courage, and a body of Ghazis, or fanatics, charged with

the fanatics from Maidan, but they returned almost immediately.

The Queen's Speech at the opening of the Session had contained the usual assurance that Her Majesty "continued to receive from all other Powers cordial assurances of their friendly sentiments, as well as of their earnest desire to maintain the peace of the world." The former statement seemed during the year in less danger of being falsified than the latter, for the twelve months were free from alarms so far as England was concerned, British relations with Italy, in particular, having been favourably influenced by the mission of Mr. Gerald Portal, who attempted, though unsuccessfully, to dissuade King John of

Abyssinia from engaging in a war with the Italian garrisons at Massowah. Signor Crispi's gratitude for this expedition, in which Mr. Portal was in peril of his life, was almost effusive, but in other respects he hardly lived in charity with all men. Thus, the success of the Papal Jubilee, at which thousands of Catholics from all parts of the world did homage to Leo XIII., evidently raised his wrath, and he showed his feelings by trying to force the municipality of Rome, one of whose members had conveyed greetings to his Holiness, to resign. Even more outspoken was his hostility to France, as displayed in the rupture of the commercial treaty, at a moment when the finances were exceedingly straitened, and the consequent commencement of a war of tariffs. So acrimonious, indeed, were his utterances that during a visit paid to Prince Bismarck in August he was said to have received admonitions of prudence. Meanwhile, the national distress continued, and the repeated defeats of the Italian troops by the Abyssinians rendered the occupation of Massowah very unpopular.

The other two members of the Triple Alliance went in obvious fear of Russia, and at the beginning of the year Prince Bismarck took the curious step of publishing the text of the Austro-German Treaty of alliance in order to convince the Czar that its scope was purely defensive and pacific. Nevertheless, an alarmist speech by the Hungarian Premier, M. Tisza, and a large increase of the Austrian peace establishment continued to feed the panic, and the German Chancellor intimated plainly enough in a great speech delivered on February the 6th that if the Russians occupied Bulgaria, Austria and Britain must look after their own interests, since he would not move a finger in their support. "Bulgaria," said he, "that little land lying between the Danube and the Balkans, is not an object sufficiently great for Europe on its account to be plunged into a war extending from Moscow to the Pyrenees, and from the North Sea to Palermo—a war of which no mortal man can foresee the results. At the close the combatants would scarcely know why they fought at all." The result of this cynical policy, though disastrous to Bulgaria, certainly acted as a damper to Austrian irritation, and thereby averted the chances of a war in the East. But towards France the Prince pursued his usual policy of annoyance, particularly by the issue in May of passport regulations of extraordinary severity towards foreigners entering from France into Alsace-Lorraine. The truth would appear to be

that the temper of the iron Chancellor, never of the sweetest, was severely tried by the internal misfortunes of the Empire. On March the 7th the aged Emperor William died, and Germany was deprived of one of her three great makers, whose name will be inseparably connected with those of Bismarck and Moltke. The close of his honoured career was made the occasion of sympathetic speeches in both the British Houses, and in return a resolution of thanks was passed by the German Parliament for an expression of feeling "which had called forth the deepest sympathy and the liveliest gratitude throughout Germany, and constitutes a signal proof of the friendly relations existing between the two peoples."

His successor, the Emperor Frederick, hastened from San Remo, where he was fighting with death, to assume the direction of the State. His Liberal principles, as expressed in a letter to the Chancellor, were in marked antagonism to the latter's policy, and he was believed also to be under the influence of his wife, the English Princess Royal. Hence the Ministerial organs began to indulge in sneers at "petticoat government," and the quarrel was heightened by the indecent contest waged over the Emperor's sick bed by the German doctors against the Empress's *protégé*, Sir Morell Mackenzie. Much feeling was created in Great Britain by the controversy, though the English doctor somewhat damaged his cause by a subsequent book on the Emperor's last days, which was hardly in keeping with professional etiquette. During the brief reign the Emperor was at frequent loggerheads with his Chancellor, who thwarted a marriage between the Princess Victoria and Prince Alexander of Battenberg, the ex-ruler of Bulgaria, on the ground that it would give serious offence to Russia. Further, an Imperial rescript on the freedom of elections was taken as a personal affront by the Minister of the Interior, Herr von Puttkamer, and he resigned.

On June the 15th the Emperor's sufferings came to an end, and he was succeeded by his son, William II. The occasion was made the subject of a fine speech by Lord Salisbury, and a noble eulogy by Mr. Gladstone. The latter touched on the English recollections of the Emperor, dwelling on the trait that "when he came to this country after the war of 1870 it was impossible not to be profoundly struck by the fact that, after he had shown that in skill and valour he was worthy to take his place among the heroes of the world, he still displayed in a peculiar degree all the modesty of his youth. It seemed as if all

were conscious of these facts but himself." Mr. Gladstone dwelt upon the educational value of his nature upon the German people and the world at large, and in a striking outburst exclaimed—"I greatly doubt whether there has ever been a case in which one so exalted in rank and station as was the late Emperor has had such claims—I will not say merely upon the admiration, but upon the sympathy and pity of the world. Sir, it is touching to reflect on the enhancements of that great trial—the circumstances under which it occurred, the peculiar slowness and certainty of the disease, the extreme strength of the constitution of the sufferer, and the great advance in the resources of medical science, which, aided by its most skilful professors, permitted a considerable but unavailing prolongation of life which we ventured to hope might lead to recovery, but which was, in truth, but an addition to suffering."

The Emperor William II. began his reign by a startling address to his soldiers, in which he asserted that the Kaiser and the army were born for one another, and belonged to one another; and this manifesto was followed by another couched in the language of Divine Right to the effect that he would be a just and merciful Prince, fostering piety and the fear of God, a helper to the poor and the distressed, and a guardian of the right. In his speech to the German Parliament he made no allusion to his father, but professed a desire to walk in the footsteps of his grandfather, both in home and foreign affairs. Here, it was thought, was an Emperor after Prince Bismarck's heart, who in addition was supposed to be on bad terms with his mother, and to be bitterly hostile to England. His first proceeding was to pay a round of visits to the Continental Sovereigns. By the Austrian Emperor and the King of Italy he was received with cordiality, but his brusqueness was reported to have offended the Pope, and though the Czar received his guest with great pomp, the two men were far too masterful to come to a permanent understanding. Still, these pilgrimages appeared to lay alarms to some extent, while at home the Emperor's position, though slightly shaken by the resignation of the post of Chief of the Staff by the veteran Marshal von Moltke, seemed secure from the firm majority of Conservatives and National Liberals, and the popularity of the chief measure of the Session, the Bill for the insurance of aged and sick workmen.

Fortunately for Germany, while these changes were in progress, France was in the crisis of the Boulangist struggle. In February the plebeian

Pretender received a considerable number of votes at three bye-elections, though he was not an eligible candidate. Then came evidence that he was in active intrigue with the Monarchists, and had frequently absented himself from his command without leave, in order to be present at meetings of the Parisian malcontents. A military dictatorship being apparently in prospect, the Ministry with some promptitude dismissed the General from active service (March 14th), but his popularity with the mob only increased tenfold, and a noisy tail collected about him, partly Socialist and partly Monarchical. The advent to power of a somewhat stronger Cabinet under M. Floquet was followed by the General's election for two departments, Dordogne and the Nord, though his programme embraced only the vague phrases "Revision: Dissolution;" in the Aude he had a big minority vote, in the Aisne his nominee was elected. The hero's appearance in the Chamber was something of a failure as he confined himself to reading a baldly-worded manifesto in favour of dissolution. An exchange of amenities between himself and the Premier resulted in a duel, and the elderly civilian wounded the darling of the people. After this fiasco the General's popularity naturally ebbed, and at the National Fête President Carnot was received with enthusiasm. Nevertheless, on resigning his seat for the Nord the General was re-elected, and returned almost at the same time in two other departments. The Chambers were in utter disrepute, and party controversy was transferred to the streets, whence it seemed at any moment that a wave of mob fanaticism might carry him to a Caesarean throne. In the departments his name was all-powerful; the doubt was if the capital was not alienated by his profligate flirtations with the Monarchical factions. Unfortunately the death of a Parisian Deputy in the last days of the year gave an opportunity for testing the doubtful point. On January 27th, 1889, General Boulanger was returned by a crushing majority (245,236 votes to 162,875) in preference to M. Jacques, a respectable shopkeeper of staunch Republican principles.

In curious contrast to the mutability of France was the reaction of Russia, where the Czar, who was rapidly passing under the influence of Count Tolstoi, the Minister of the Interior, and M. Pobiedonostoff, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, persisted in stamping out all religious dissidence and political independence. His foreign policy remained, as before, wavering and perplexed; at one time he appeared to incline to an alliance

with France, at another the instability of her institutions evidently repelled him. He was bitterly aggrieved by the check in Bulgaria, where Prince Ferdinand, in spite of Russian menace and intrigue, continued to maintain his seat upon his crazy throne. Early in the year the

Macedonia. At the same time Prince Ferdinand's position grew distinctly stronger, while that of his neighbours, King Charles of Roumania and King Milan of Servia, was less secure. The dominion of the former was honeycombed by Russian intrigues; the kingdom of the latter was torn by the



FREDERICK III., THE GERMAN EMPEROR.

(From a Photograph by Reichard and Lindner, Berlin.)

idea of a military occupation was apparently abandoned, and Russian diplomacy had recourse to the old tactics of putting forward the Porte, in spite of the energetic remonstrances of Britain, Austria and Italy, to protest against the illegality of Prince Ferdinand's presence at Sofia. The Porte went so far as to telegraph to that effect to M. Stambouloff, but the sturdy Minister sent no reply. Further coolness was displayed on both sides: by the Turks when they imposed a duty on Bulgarian imports, by the Bulgarians when they threatened to stir up an insurrection in

dissensions between the Sovereign and his Russian wife, terminating in a somewhat ludicrous divorce on the ground of "unconquerable mutual aversion and danger to the Servian State;" and by the desperate attempts of the Radical party to place the monarchy in leading-strings. The activity of unauthorised Russian agents in the Balkan Peninsula was matched by the energy of the Czar's officers in Central Asia. By the opening of the Samarcand section of the Trans-Caspian railway General Annenkoff's great undertaking had advanced 1,000 miles in three years, and articles

appeared in the Russian press minatory to the British Empire in India. Some counterstroke of policy was necessary, and it was effected by Sir H. Drummond Wolff, the Minister at Teheran, who persuaded the Shah to refuse to accept a Russian consul at Meshed, and to open the Karum river to British merchant vessels. The success, however, was brief, as M. de Giers succeeded in forcing his subordinate on the Shah, and in December a decree was issued whereby the river was freed to ships of all nations.

Nevertheless, the situation, except in France, was pacific; the hopeful strain with which Lord Salisbury summed up the British foreign policy in August held equally true in December. The two subjects that were occupying the attention of English statesmen were Egypt and Bulgaria. As to the former the state of affairs was cheering, and gave hopes of an Egypt "self-sustaining, strong

enough to master internal disorder or to repel an external foe. Until we can be satisfied that that state of things exists we shall remain to assist Egypt; the moment we are satisfied that it exists we shall gladly relieve ourselves from an unnecessary burden. With respect to Bulgaria, all, so far as appearances go, tends to future tranquillity and peace. I think we may venture to hope that a conviction is stealing over the minds of the principal statesmen of Europe that the best thing to do with Bulgaria is to leave it alone, to leave it to its own development, to leave it to the decision of its own inhabitants, to leave it to the path which they who have shown such high character, such great courage, who have shown themselves worthy to be the foundation of a great nation, shall choose as the path best fitted for their own national destiny and prosperity."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1889—County Council Elections—Extra-Parliamentary Oratory—Administration of the Crimes Act—The Olphert Estate—Liberal Protests—The Queen's Speech—Mr. Morley's Amendment—The Naval Defences Bill—The Budget—The Parnell Commission—Debates on the Crimes Act—The Scottish Local Government Bill—Amendments in Committee—The Scottish Universities Bill—Welsh and Irish Legislation—English Bills—The Technical Education Bill—The "Dear Sugar" Bill—The Royal Allowances Bill—The Irish and Liberal Alliance—The Birmingham Election—Mr. Gladstone in the West—Signs of the Times—Visits of the Shah and the German Emperor—Labour Conferences—The Dockers' Strike—Its Extension and Methods—Questions at Issue—Cardinal Manning's Arbitration—Effects of the Strike—Other Revolts of Labour—Platform Speeches and Bye-Elections—Lord Salisbury on Assisted Education—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Morley, and Mr. Parnell—Death of Mr. Bright—Obituary of the Year.

THE year 1889 opened with the elections for the new County Councils in England and Wales. In the Principality politics ran rather high, and representatives of the Liberal and Nonconformist interests secured the seats. In the purely agricultural districts of England the polls were, as a rule, low, and country gentlemen coming forward in most districts, the majority of the councils contained much the same elements as the old quarter sessions, reinforced, however, particularly in the Midlands, by a valuable cohort of tenant-farmers. In London the elections aroused a considerable quantity of political acrimony. The number of seats was twice that of the parliamentary representation, making, with four seats for the City, 118 seats in all. The original understanding, as favoured by Mr. Gladstone, was that the contests should

be fought on non-party lines. But though entirely illogical, the use of party machinery was found a great convenience, and was generally employed by the Liberal or "Progressist" candidates. The complaint of their "Moderate" opponents was that due notice was not given of this manœuvre, with the result that though Lord Rosebery was returned for the Conservative City, elsewhere the Progressives "rushed" 70 out of the 118 seats. This convenient theory was, however, discounted by the elections of 1892, when, after a stand-up fight the Moderates suffered a still more decisive defeat. The majority used its strength with severity in electing the aldermen. Of the Moderate list one only, Lord Meath, was returned, though the Progressist nominees were otherwise unexceptionable, as the names of Lord Hobhouse, Lord Lingen,

Sir Thomas Farrer, and Mr. Frederic Harrison bore witness. Miss Cons was also elected, as had been two other ladies as ordinary councillors, namely, Lady Sandhurst and Miss Jane Cobden. Their elections were, however, declared invalid by the judges of the Queen's Bench, in an action brought by Mr. Beresford Hope, who had been defeated by Lady Sandhurst at Brixton, and they had in consequence to resign. One satisfactory feature in the elections had been the defeat sustained by members of the old Metropolitan Board of Works, which body had been convicted by Lord Randolph Churchill's committee, under the able presidency of Lord Herschell, of gross corruption and mismanagement. In the following session Parliament, in accordance with the wishes of the Council, passed an Act for the abolition of the coal duties. These exactions were no doubt economically indefensible; at the same time they constituted a fund whereby many valuable improvements had been assisted, notably the Victoria Embankment; and the coal merchants took care that their discontinuance did not lower the price of coals. The council elected Lord Rosebery as chairman, Sir John Lubbock as vice-chairman, and Mr. J. F. B. Firth as deputy-chairman.

Encouraged by the triumphant capture of the Govan division of Lanarkshire from the Liberal Unionists—represented by Sir John Pender—by the Gladstonian candidate Mr. John Wilson, the Liberal orators were full of zeal before Parliament opened. From Mr. Smith's biography it may be gathered that the Conservatives were correspondingly depressed. The leader of the House wrote to Lord Salisbury that "it was impossible to exaggerate the gravity of the struggle in which we are engaged," and he offered to resign in favour of one readier of speech. Lord Salisbury, however, while admitting the situation to be that "of bloodless civil war," declined the magnanimous proposal, and wrote to the Queen that Mr. Smith's retirement "would cause the gravest prejudice to your Majesty's service." His view was afterwards endorsed by a resolution signed by 254 Conservative Members. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had, meanwhile, intimated at Bristol that the question of naval defences would come prominently before the country, and this declaration was seized by Mr. Morley to enforce the warning that the Opposition would take care that the money's worth was obtained for the money to be expended. Mr. Chamberlain promptly fastened upon Mr. Morley's phrase "government by swagger" to accuse him of deploring though he could not prevent the

growth of the empire. Though the eternal Irish question occupied the major portion, at all events, of nearly every speech, the burning topic was certainly that of the national defences, and Lord Wolseley, at a meeting presided over by Mr. Chamberlain on January the 25th, propounded the theory that England, in order to be prepared for the approaching war of "devastation and extinction" between the great nations, should adopt the principle of military conscription. The argument was generally regarded as over-alarmist, and there were powerful advocates of the counter-claims of the navy; for instance, Lord Charles Beresford, who dwelt upon the imperative necessity of protecting British commerce, and Lord Brassey, who urged that the fleet ought to be, but was not, superior to those of France and Russia in combination. Experts, for instance Lord Wolseley, Sir Lintorn Simmonds, and Sir Andrew Clarke, argued vigorously in the papers on behalf of their respective services, and various rumours were afloat as to the nature of the forthcoming demands of the Government.

For the rest the "Clerkenwell-cum-Limehouse programme" of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. John Morley was subjected to some searching criticism by Mr. Chamberlain, who said that it must be indefinitely postponed, if the Irish question was still to be regarded as "blocking the way." Attention was, however, drawn once more to Mr. Balfour's administration by the prosecution of a fresh batch of Irish M.P.'s, under the Crimes Act, and their condemnation to various terms of imprisonment. As usual, Mr. O'Brien was very much to the front. Summoned to the Carrick-on-Suir sessions to answer for a violent speech delivered at Naas, he walked out of the court during a disturbance that arose, mounted a trap, drove some ninety miles to Wexford, and crossed the Channel in a collier. He reached London in safety, and on the 29th of January appeared at a meeting at Manchester in pursuance of a promise to Mr. Jacob Bright. After the meeting he surrendered quietly to the police and was committed to Clonmel Gaol for a period of four months' imprisonment. During his incarceration there were the usual commotions owing to his refusal to wear the prison dress, and this time he gained his point. Another sentence, reduced on appeal so as to expire with that of Carrick-on-Suir, was passed upon him at Tralee for conspiracy, and in the course of the proceedings Mr. Healy was turned out of court for calling Colonel Turner, the Resident Magistrate, "a sneak." More serious than these excursions and

alarums was the murder of Inspector Martin at Gweedore on February the 3rd, while attempting to arrest Father McFadden for promulgating the Plan of Campaign. The serving of the warrant, which took place after Mass, was certainly made at an injudicious moment, and the result was that stones were freely thrown at the police, one of which striking the unfortunate inspector on the head killed him within a few hours. Father McFadden and nineteen others were arrested and afterwards tried for murder at the Maryborough Assizes. On October 21st William Colls, who threw the fatal missile, was convicted of manslaughter, five others pleaded guilty to the same offence, while Father McFadden and the remainder pleaded guilty to obstructing the police. The priest was liberated on his own recognisances; upon the others sentences varying from six months to ten years were passed.

A few weeks earlier a sensational series of evictions had occurred on Colonel Olphert's estate, not far from Falcarragh. Again, the inequality of the combat attracted much comment, a body of emergency men, armed with crowbars and a battering-ram and protected by some 200 military and police, operating against a single mud cabin. The tenant of this crazy fortress, one Patrick O'Donnell, a blacksmith, had made the most scientific preparations for resistance, by building up the doors, loopholing the upper windows, and laying in a store of provisions. Several times the emergency men were beaten back, not without wounds, while the peasants on the hills cheered the little garrison and showed some disposition to come to the rescue, but were checked by the soldiery. At last the Resident Magistrate read the Riot Act, and the soldiers prepared to fire into the cottage. However, a parish priest came forward and persuaded O'Donnell to surrender, and loss of life was happily avoided.

These scenes were naturally converted by the Liberals into effective party weapons. Mr. John Morley, at Sheffield, read to his audience a chronicle from the *Times* of one day's work in Ireland; and at Newcastle was eloquent on the death of Inspector Martin, which occurred within a few hours of a speech in which Mr. Balfour had congratulated himself upon the state of the country. The discourse in question was delivered at the Ancient Concert Room in Dublin, and the Chief Secretary had alluded in sarcastic terms to Mr. T. D. Sullivan's telegram of remonstrance against the treatment of Mr. O'Brien. This he had requested should be docketed and kept as a specimen of the

good taste and accuracy of the communications coming from the chief officer of the municipality of the chief city of Ireland, and then "he went to bed and slept the sleep of the just." However, the Liberal Associations throughout the country passed resolutions of remonstrance, and a national protest drawn up by Mr. Frederic Harrison was adopted at a large meeting held in St. James's Hall, at which Mr. John Morley took the chair, and Mr. Parnell spoke. Mr. Balfour, possibly in consequence of these demonstrations, restored—as we have already mentioned—his clothes to Mr. O'Brien.

Meanwhile Mr. Chamberlain on a Scottish campaign was preaching free education and other sweeping reforms, somewhat to the dismay of his Conservative allies, while Sir William Harcourt at Derby gave another version of the Round Table Conference. These discourses, however, attracted but little attention compared with the complete breakdown of the *Times's* case before the Commission, so far as the forged letters were concerned, owing to the exposure and flight of the miserable Pigott. This startling event occurred almost simultaneously with the meeting of Parliament on February the 21st, for what proved to be a non-sensational and industrious session. The Queen's Speech announced the necessity of "increased precautions for the defence of our shores and our commerce," a Local Government Bill for Scotland, Bills for developing the material resources of Ireland, for regulating the Scottish Universities, for establishing a Department of Agriculture, a Land Transfer Bill, a Tithes Bill, and an Employers' Liability Bill. A fair proportion of these measures eventually became law; but first there was the usual debate on the Address, which the Lords disposed of with brevity after a vehement denunciation by Lord Selborne of Lord Granville's doctrine that the Crimes Act had created new offences; and a sneer by Lord Salisbury at "Mr. O'Brien struggling for his clothes, and Mr. Harrington mourning for his moustache." In the House of Commons, however, the debate occupied ten nights, and was then terminated by the closure. It was not until the third night that a definite topic was introduced in the shape of an amendment moved by Mr. John Morley which deplored the harshness, oppression, and injustice of the administration in Ireland. Mr. Morley gave a long list of sentences and charges, and in allusion to Mr. O'Brien remarked—"You hoped that you were going to destroy their leader, but I am by no means sure that he will not destroy you." And then came a significant passage—

"There is one chapter in the history of the administration during the last three or four months into which, when the proper time comes—and I have no intention of anticipating it—we shall have to make a sharp and searching inquisition. We shall want to know whether it is true—and if so, upon what principle—that officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary, in receipt of public money, have acted as collectors of evidence in the interests of one party in a great process now going on. We shall want to know whether it is true that Resident Magistrates, in receipt of public pay, assisted or were present at the taking of evidence for this great process, either in Ireland or London. We shall want to know whether anyone in the position of a Crown Solicitor has acted as paid agent in an inquiry relating to crime in his own country, and whether such action is compatible with his position. We shall want to know whether Government officers have handed over secret and important documents, the property of the Government, to private individuals, for use in making a case against certain persons." The debate, however, seldom rose above petty details of prison discipline, though Mr. Chamberlain pointed out that the Opposition had produced no alternative policy, and challenged them to do so; while Mr. Gladstone, in an eloquent speech, argued that the diminution of outrage was due, not to coercion, but was the consequence of hope in the Irish people. He adroitly seized upon Mr. Courtney's statement to his constituents, that if an inquiry into some of the disputed matters was moved he would vote for it. Why did not the Liberal Unionists, asked Mr. Gladstone, take the initiative? Why did they advocate steps which they invariably abstained from supporting with their votes, if by so doing they endangered the safety of the Government? Mr. Parnell, who was received with prolonged Opposition cheers, during which he maintained his sphinx-like calm, spoke on the last night with strict moderation. "It is legitimate and right," said he, "that we, being the smaller country, should endeavour to conciliate you in every possible manner, and yield to you, and agree to such safeguards as you may think necessary or desirable for the security of your own interests. We have always been anxious and willing to do this, and we are willing to do so still. I am convinced that our people, knowing that England, Scotland, and Wales have for the first time turned the ear of reason to the solution of this question, will steadily resist every incitement to disorder, to turbulence, and to crime; and that they will hold fast in the

true way pointed out to them by the right hon. gentleman the Member for Midlothian in 1885, until he gets that chance which we hope and believe will be a near one, both for the sake of Ireland and for the sake of England, of again touching the great heart of his countrymen." Finally the amendment was rejected by a majority of 79 (339 votes to 260). During the remaining three nights, multifarious subjects were discussed, and Trafalgar Square among them; but nothing of importance emerged, beyond a promise on the part of Mr. Smith that Government would consider a scheme of State-aided emigration for the congested districts in Scotland. The closure was carried by 247 to 66 votes, and the Address by 227 to 99.

Lord George Hamilton, the First Lord of the Admiralty, moved on the 7th of March that—"It is expedient that a sum not exceeding £21,500,000 be granted for the purpose of building, arming, equipping, and completing for sea, vessels of her Majesty's Navy; and that it is expedient that a sum not exceeding £10,000,000 be issued out of the Consolidated Fund for seven years, ending the 1st of March, 1896; and that a sum not exceeding £11,500,000 be issued out of the moneys to be provided by Parliament for the naval service during the five financial years ending the 21st of March, 1894." The First Lord's part of the proceedings consisted in explaining what Government proposed to do, namely, build 70 new ships within four years and a half, including eight first-class battle-ships, two of the second class, nine first-class and 27 smaller cruisers. The battle-ships would be the largest vessels afloat, their displacement would be 14,000 tons, as against the 11,940 of the *Nile* and the *Trafalgar*. The result, as the Secretary of the Admiralty, Mr. Forwood, afterwards explained, would be that the United Kingdom in 1894 would possess 77 armoured, and 88 protected vessels, or 165 in all; while France would only have 62, Russia 30, Germany 58, and Italy 36 of both classes. There were, besides, new boilers necessary for existing ironclads, coaling facilities were to be provided for the Channel Fleet, the Medway was to be dredged, and some 2,000 marines and bluejackets were to be added to the navy. Lord Randolph Churchill promptly attacked the proposal with vehemence on the ground that it implied the pledging of Parliament to a future course of financial action; and was followed by Mr. Goschen, who explained that the fund would be provided by adding £600,000 to the Estimates for the next four years, and £10,000,000

would be spread over seven years at the rate of £1,430,000 a year. Lord Charles Beresford attacked the scheme on the ground that it did not go far enough, and both of the Conservative free-lances expounded their views in the *Times*. On the other hand, the Opposition seemed at some loss to know what line to adopt. Mr. Cremer moved, on behalf of the Radical section, that the expenditure was inexpedient in view of the statements of Lord George Hamilton and Mr.

Churchill; and though Lord George Hamilton characterised their attitude as one of "financial pedantry," it was supported by Mr. Gladstone in a cogent speech which pointed out the rarity of precedent, though Lord Palmerston's in 1859-60, and the votes in 1885 were, he admitted, cases in point. Mr. Childers's amendment was rejected by a narrow majority (158 to 125), showing that the House felt the weight of Mr. Gladstone's objections, and Lord George Hamilton's resolution



SURRENDER OF PATRICK O'DONNELL. (See p. 343.)

Stanhope as to the armaments of the country, and the declaration in the Queen's Speech of the peaceful relations with the Powers. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman in a very ambiguous speech appeared to adopt that view on behalf of the front Opposition bench, but when a division was taken Mr. Cremer only found 85 supporters against 256, and Lord George Hamilton's resolution was carried by 251 votes against 75. Mr. Childers on report produced a carefully-worded amendment in favour of meeting the cost by annual votes in Supply, instead of spreading the outlay over a series of years. The official leaders of the Liberal party thus took up much the same line as Lord Randolph

having been finally carried, a Bill founded there-upon was promptly introduced. It was vigorously debated on its second reading (May 6th), when its rejection was moved by Mr. Labouchere and Sir Wilfrid Lawson, on the ground that it was unnecessary and aggressive; while Lord Charles Beresford declared that it could only be considered an instalment of the nation's requirements. The front Opposition bench confined their criticism mainly to the financial side of the question, somewhat to the disgust of their more thoroughgoing followers. The motion for the rejection of the Bill was defeated by a majority of 141, and the third reading was carried by 183 to 101. In the

House of Lords the discussion was amicable, and Lord Salisbury laid down as the Government's guiding principle, that in 1894 the strength of the British Navy would be equal to that of any two Great Powers.

Before Easter the Army and Naval Estimates and the Budget were dealt with in a business-like manner. Mr. Goschen's financial statement contained nothing sensational. He had a surplus of £2,800,000, but the Navy Annuity and other warlike expenditure created a prospective deficit, which would absorb the savings. The only novelty in his proposals was an increase of 1 per cent. on the death duties, a somewhat timid assertion of an important principle. Altogether the Budget failed to rouse any enthusiasm, and the attention of the House was devoted to the Parnell Commission, now rapidly nearing its close. The points selected by the Opposition were the employment of the Attorney-General as counsel for the *Times*, the facilities given to the *Times* agents to visit convicts in the hope of securing evidence, and thirdly, the handing over of confidential documents to Major Le Caron. Upon the first point it was conclusively proved that Sir Richard Webster's proceedings, though in theory liable to objections, were in accordance with professional etiquette, and Sir William Harcourt's somewhat acrimonious attack was unsupported by Sir Horace Davey and other prominent lawyers. As to the second point, it certainly appeared as if Government, in their desire to arrive at the truth—to quote the Home Secretary—had departed from the strict neutrality originally professed. Le Caron's affair did not come to much, because the letters lent him by Mr. Anderson were those which he had himself written, but that official did not improve his position by a somewhat violent attack upon Sir William Harcourt in the *Times*. In fact the *dénouement* of the Parnell Commission naturally appealed to passion rather than reason, and the language in the House of Commons was frequently highly coloured, for instance, Sir William Harcourt's description of Major Le Caron, Mr. Houston, Mr. Anderson, and Lord Hartington as "private friends," which Mr. Healy improved upon by terming Pigott the "pal and chum" of the Government. Mr. Balfour replied that such accusations were scandalous and unfounded libels. The Opposition had not scrupled to say that in the first place Houston was the accomplice of Pigott, in the second place that the *Times* was the accomplice of Houston, and in the third that

Government were the accomplices of the *Times*. Mr. Matthews, nevertheless, admitted that Pigott had been allowed to visit the dynamiter John Daly in Chatham Prison, and that Mr. Soames, the solicitor of the *Times*, had seen both Daly and Gallagher. Sir William Harcourt's comment was that "the infamous perjurer and forger Pigott went to see an assassin in order to make evidence against the Member for Cork." It was also proved that Mr. Horne and Mr. Roche, two Resident Magistrates, had prepared statistics by the order of Government, and that those figures, when complete, had been handed over to Mr. Soames.

There were also several discussions of moment upon Mr. Balfour's administration in Ireland. The question of prison discipline was raised by Mr. John O'Connor's Bill, requiring that political prisoners confined under the Crimes Act should be treated as first-class misdemeanants. Sir William Harcourt, who seconded the motion, maintained that the law in Ireland operated most unequally. Why, for instance, should Mr. T. D. Sullivan be treated as a first-class misdemeanant, while Mr. Edgar Harrington had been imprisoned with hard labour? He then proceeded to denounce the Removable Magistrates, and declared that they acted in obedience to the implied wishes of Government. Mr. Balfour warmly defended his subordinates, but admitted that he did not quite comprehend why the prison dress and the hair-cutting were imposed upon every kind of Irish prisoner. He considered that punishments which did not inflict discomfort, but which were thought to imply degradation, need not be essentials of prison discipline, more especially as the hardened criminal looked upon them with indifference. This, as Mr. John Morley remarked, was a considerable change of attitude. It operated to the benefit of Mr. Conybeare, M.P., who was arrested in company with two young Oxford men, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Benson, for abetting the Falcarragh evictions. The last was at once released and Mr. Harrison was acquitted on trial. Mr. Conybeare, who was found guilty of supplying the besieged tenants with food, and of cheering the Plan of Campaign, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment. It was at these evictions that a battering-ram was employed, which was promptly christened "Balfour's Maiden" by the Irish press. A model of this instrument was forthwith manufactured, and was produced with considerable effect at the bye-elections. Another source of annoyance to Government must have been the disclosures

concerning Mr. Segrave, one of Mr. Balfour's Resident Magistrates. It was discovered that he had been dismissed from the Cape Infantry for grave neglect of duty, and the Chief Secretary ordered his suspension.

The Scottish Local Government Bill was introduced by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Macdonald, on the 8th of April. That measure differed in several important particulars from the English measure, its main provisions being that burghs with a population of less than 7,000 were merged in the counties, which became the units of administration; that the voters should consist of every qualified ratepayer, and every holder of a service franchise choosing to pay the county rate; that elections were to be direct, there being no aldermen as in England; and that elections were to be triennial. As to the powers of the Councils, they were to comprise those of the commissioners of supply, the road trustees, some of the administrative powers of the justices of the peace, and those given to the sanitary authorities under the Public Health Acts. The last were to be administered by district committees, consisting of the members for the electoral divisions of the district, together with two members elected by each parochial board; they would appoint their own sanitary inspectors. Finance and the police were to be entrusted to a standing joint committee, consisting of seven county councillors and seven commissioners of supply, with the sheriff of the county as chairman. The parochial boards were to be reformed and half their members to be elected by owners and half by occupiers. The State, while abandoning grants in aid, would surrender to the County Councils probate and licence duties to the amount of £557,000, of which £30,000 was to be supplied to the Highland Crofters, and £171,000 to the remission of school fees in board and voluntary schools.

The Bill was thus more thoroughgoing than the English measure in several important particulars, the dispensing with the aldermen, for instance, the district committees, and the bestowal upon Scotland of what amounted to a three-parts free education. Nevertheless, it was criticised by Mr. Campbell-Bannerman as being defective in certain respects—for example, the omission of the service franchise, the control of the police, and the liquor licences. His objections were answered by Mr. Balfour, who pointed out the absurdity of giving the franchise to those who did not contribute a shilling to the rates; declared that in the present state of parts of Scotland it would be dangerous to hand over the police to popularly

elected bodies; and said that the liquor licences were not dealt with because of the experiences of last year during the debates on the Local Government Bill. He explained that school fees would be remitted up to Standard III., and Sir George Trevelyan and Sir Lyon Playfair at first pleaded in vain for the remission of the fees in all the standards. On the other hand, two sturdy Conservatives, Sir R. Temple and Mr. Barclay, declined to support the clause at all, but were defeated by 52 votes to 245. Other Scottish Members were adverse to the omission of the control of the Poor Law from the functions of the County Councils; and to the electorate, which, said Sir George Trevelyan, should be the same for Parliament, the County Councils, and the Boards of Guardians. Most of these objections were overruled, particularly Mr. Campbell-Bannerman's amendments for transferring the control of the police to the County Councils and for giving the franchise to married as well as unmarried women. The Lord Advocate also carried a new clause providing that no woman should be eligible for election as a county councillor. In the matter of free education, however, the Scottish Members gained their point. After some wavering Government announced through the mouth of Mr. Balfour that the amount to be devoted to the payment of school fees would be raised to £246,000, whereby the first five standards would be free.

The Scottish Universities Bill did not come on for its second reading until June the 20th, when the Lord Advocate explained that it was framed on the Royal Commission of 1876. A sum of £42,000 was to be charged on the Consolidated Fund as a Government subsidy, and the question of theological tests was to be submitted to an Executive Committee. To which the objections were that the money was insufficient and the religious tests were obsolete. In Committee these points were argued at considerable length, and the general status of the Scottish Universities was thoroughly examined. Mr. Goschen promised that if, in revising the salaries of the professors, the Commission should be involved in difficulties, Government would make a further appeal to the generosity of Parliament. As for the theological tests, they were dropped for all chairs held by laymen, while for the theological chairs the decision was left with the Universities Commission. Mr. Bryce attempted to produce the entire abolition of University tests; but the compromise was generally regarded as acceptable and the Bill was added to the Statute Book in July.

Wales also received her boon in the shape of an Intermediate Education Bill, introduced, however, not by Government, but by Mr. Stuart Rendel, the Liberal Member for Montgomeryshire. His object was to establish a Welsh Board of Education, consisting of members elected by the County Councils for the establishment of intermediate and technical schools to be supported partly by Government grants, and partly by a rate not exceeding one halfpenny in the pound. The Welsh Members, powerfully supported by Mr. Gladstone, made out a strong case of the dilatory treatment of their demands, and the Bill was accepted by Sir William Hart Dyke. The chief alteration in Committee was that the Educational Board, instead of being wholly appointed by the County Councils, was to be composed of five members appointed by the Councils, and two by the Lord President. The Irish measure of the Session was the Light Railways Bill, which became law in spite of the pertinacious opposition of Mr. Storey. On the other hand, the Drainage Bills had to be withdrawn in the face of the prolix criticism of a knot of Radicals, who had already distinguished themselves by similar tactics with regard to the Estimates. Among them, Mr. Storey and Mr. Labouchere were perhaps the guiding spirits, while the party as a whole received the temporary designation of "Jacobyns" from Mr. Jacoby, one of their Whips. And so a small measure, that might have been of great local assistance to the Irish peasantry, was rejected on the trivial ground that it was a piece of bribery, to be carried out at the expense of the British taxpayer.

England naturally suffered from the attention devoted to the other parts of the United Kingdom. The Land Transfer Bill was, however, defeated on its merits in the House of Lords, where the great landowners, after allowing the measure to pass its third reading by the narrow majority of 9, accepted on the question of passing the Bill an amendment of the Marquis of Bath's, which the Prime Minister declared to be fatal to its principle. Accordingly the proposal was withdrawn, and a similar fate overtook the Tithes Bill, chiefly owing to the Government's change of front in substituting the owner for the occupier as the person liable to prosecution for the recovery of tithe. Sir William Harcourt promptly pounced upon this and other alterations, on the ground that they made the Bill entirely new, and the Speaker upheld his contention. Government, however, passed a useful Board of Agriculture Bill, of which the object was to constitute a new department, similar to the Board of Trade and the Local Government Board,

under a President and such other persons as the Queen might appoint from time to time. It was, in fact, a devolution of the duties of the Privy Council Committee on Agriculture and of the Land Commission, and its first President was Mr. Chaplin, who was also admitted to the Cabinet. Another admirable measure was the Bill for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which made persons guilty of neglecting or ill-treating children liable to fine or imprisonment for misdemeanour, and limited their employment to ten years old and upwards. Various attempts were made to allow the producers of pantomime and other spectacles to employ children, and evidence was produced that at Drury Lane and elsewhere they were kindly treated and perfectly happy. Though the feeling of the House of Commons was against any exemption, Lord Dunraven in the Lords carried an amendment which, in its final form, permitted managers to hire children between the ages of seven and ten if a magistrate were satisfied, on representation being made, that proper provision was made for their health and kind treatment.

Among the Government measures, which it is unnecessary to particularise further, were the Lunacy Act, the Weights and Measures Act, the Friendly Societies (Amendment) Act, and the Infectious Diseases Notification Act, whereby the principle that notice of infectious sickness should be given to the local authorities was extended to London. The Technical Education Bill became law through the praiseworthy exertions of Sir W. Hart Dyke, though introduced at a late period of the Session. It provided that the local authorities should be empowered to raise a rate, not exceeding a penny in the pound, and apply the proceeds to the establishment of technical lectures and schools. Mr. Channing was unsuccessful with an amendment placing the enforcement of the measure in the hands of school boards where they existed, and Mr. E. Robertson failed to obtain the transfer of the control of technical instruction from the Science and Art Department to the Education Office.

The Bill for the exclusion of "bounty-fed" sugar was one of the Government failures. This measure was pursuant upon the conference which had sat in London towards the end of 1887 under the presidency of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, Baron de Worms. Its labours resulted in a protocol whereby certain of the Powers bound themselves to exclude "bounty-fed" sugar or to impose upon it a duty equal to the bounty. But France and Austria suspended



SITTING OF THE PARNELL COMMISSION: PIGOTT UNDER CROSS-EXAMINATION

their consent to the convention, while Sweden, Denmark, and Brazil declined to sign it at all. Most of the other Powers, including Germany, Russia, Spain, and Italy, agreed to be represented upon a Commission which should decide what sugar was bounty-fed. Several of those nations, however, being sugar-producing countries, the arrangement naturally bore the appearance of an attempt to close the English market to their rivals. Further, when the Bill was introduced to carry the Convention into effect, several ardent Free Traders, notably Sir Thomas Farrer, pointed out that its inevitable effect would be to raise the price of sugar. A bounty, they argued, cheapens an export to the purchaser. The system simply exists because the foreign Governments are jealous of one another, and so persist in an unwise competition to secure the good graces of their chief customer, England. Baron de Worms maintained that the Convention, if given validity, would not raise the price, and other Conservatives urged that it would help the West Indian Colonies, whose condition was somewhat depressed. By the general public, however, the "dear sugar Bill" was regarded as Protection in disguise, and Government confessed themselves in error by dropping the Bill for the Session.

The marriage of the Princess Louise, the eldest daughter of the Prince and Princess of Wales, to the Earl of Fife, who was at the same time raised to a dukedom, took place on the 27th of July in the private chapel of Buckingham Palace, in the presence of the Royal Family and about 200 invited guests. It was generally popular both as a fresh departure from the custom of seeking husbands for British princesses from the German Courts, and because it was known to be an alliance of affection. The question of the Duchess's allowance and a provision for Prince Albert Victor came before the Commons on the 2nd of July, when Mr. Smith moved for a Select Committee to report on the former practice of the House. On the 22nd of July their report was submitted to the House, and dealt with some minuteness with the subject of Royal grants. Mr. Smith informed the Committee that the Queen waived all claim to allowances on behalf of the children of her younger sons and of her daughters, so that the children of the Prince of Wales alone remained unprovided for. On Mr. Gladstone's suggestion Government abandoned the idea of fixed allowances for each, and recommended that a sum of £36,000 should be handed over to the Prince of Wales annually, to make such assignments with the sanction of the

Queen and the assent of the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer as he might think fit. When the matter came before Parliament, Mr. Labouchere moved that the funds at the disposal of the Royal Family were adequate without further demands on the taxpayers; but was opposed by Mr. Gladstone on the ground that it was unfair to expect the Prince of Wales to maintain his sons when they became entitled to separate establishments, and that his daughters could not be expected to marry if absolutely penniless. Further divergence of view was exhibited during the progress of the Bill between Mr. Gladstone and his followers, nor did Conservative speakers omit to comment on the moral of the "revolt of the Jacobyns." Altogether the Houses had earned their holiday when, on the 30th of August, Parliament was prorogued.

Meanwhile the discovery of the Pigott forgeries had profoundly modified the political situation. Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone drew into closer political alliance, and the social relations previously existing between the rank and file of the parties were now extended to the chiefs of the Opposition forces. Thus Mr. Parnell and Lord Spencer met at the Eighty Club on March 8th, and exhibited great cordiality, the former declaring that he valued the opinion of the ex-Viceroy far more than the judgment of "a hundred mushrooms such as Balfour." He then attended an indignation meeting at St. James's Hall, presided over by Mr. John Morley, to convict Government of complicity with the *Times*, at which he asked the pertinent question, if there was any foundation for the charges in "Parnellism and Crime," why did not Government institute a prosecution? Lord Salisbury at Watford indignantly denied that Government had any interest in supporting the *Times* against Mr. Parnell, and sneered at the excessive and premature jubilation of the Opposition, because "a Nationalist had forged the signature of the Nationalist leader." He desired to express no opinion on any part of the case until the Commission had delivered its judgment. This advice, however, was neglected by the constituencies, which with nearly one consent returned Opposition candidates.

Disastrous defeats at Kennington and Rochester were but poorly retrieved by a victory at Enfield, and when the death of Mr. Bright created a vacancy at Birmingham it almost seemed as if dissensions in the Unionist camp would allow the enemy to capture the stronghold. The Liberal Unionist candidate was Mr. John Albert Bright,

son of the dead statesman, but the Conservatives urged with considerable show of reason that they were under-represented at Birmingham, and produced a promise from the Liberal Unionist Committee of twelve months back that Lord Randolph Churchill should be the candidate of the coalition. The Liberal Unionists maintained that the Member for Paddington had declined to fight the constituency. Lord Randolph, however, asserted that his refusal was only conditional, and now expressed his readiness to come forward. On the advice of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Chamberlain he was ultimately induced to withdraw his candidature, and Mr. Balfour having succeeded during a mission to Birmingham in soothing the susceptibilities of the irate Conservatives, Mr. Albert Bright triumphed at the polls by 5,621 votes to 2,561 over his Gladstonian opponent, Mr. Phipson Beale. The contest, nevertheless, left some memories behind it, and a newspaper war arose which, confined at first to Conservative and Liberal Unionist organisers, eventually embraced Lord Randolph and Mr. Chamberlain. These two hard hitters continued for the remainder of the year to interchange blows in print and on platform. The former scored a point by his argument that Mr. Chamberlain was now at the mercy of the Birmingham Conservatives—"a party kept by your 'caucus' and by the genius of Mr. Schnadhorst in a condition of intolerable political subjection." Mr. Chamberlain retaliated by describing Lord Randolph's political creed as a "crazy quilt," made up of "Socialism from Mr. Burns and Mr. Hyndman, local option from Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Egyptian policy from Mr. Illingworth, metropolitan reform from Professor Stuart, and Irish policy from Mr. John Morley."

There is little to chronicle about the extra-Parliamentary oratory before Whitsuntide, save that Unionist orators were extremely fond of twitting Sir William Harcourt with his unfortunate phrase of "stewing in Parnellite juice." Politics were indeed somewhat flat, the proceedings of the Parnell Commission always excepted, though Mr. Balfour, in a speech to the Nonconformist Unionist Alliance in Willis's Rooms, called attention to the practical unanimity against Home Rule of every one of the Protestant non-Episcopalians in Ireland. Perhaps the most important event was the presentation of a memorial to Lord Salisbury on May the 29th, by a deputation of peers and Members of the House of Commons, in which the abolition of the

Viceroyalty of Ireland, and the substitution of a Secretaryship of State was urged on the ground that its existence encouraged the idea that the complete union between Great Britain and Ireland had not taken place. With the Whitsuntide recess began Mr. Gladstone's campaign in Devonshire and Cornwall, during which the veteran statesman exhibited all his old persuasive eloquence while dealing with topics that were of necessity somewhat worn. The gains of the Liberals at the bye-elections, the use of the Crimes Act to suppress not crime but combination; the complicity of Government in the attacks of the *Times* on Mr. Parnell's character; English and Welsh Disestablishment; and other kindred subjects were all handled with didactical skill and unsurpassed vigour. Even as a physical feat the tour was remarkable, and it contained one or two important declarations of policy. For instance, the argument that the Orangemen were perfectly safe from persecution at the hands of the Catholics was taken to imply that he had not changed his opinions as to the impossibility of a separate treatment of Ulster; while concerning Disestablishment in England he said, "I apprehend that there are few of you who think that a legislative settlement of that question is very near at hand. It is a subject," he continued, "of the deepest complexity, and attended with the greatest possible differences of opinion. I do not think that the most sanguine among you would presume to say that there has yet been in England a distinct pronouncement of the national voice upon the subject of Disestablishment. You see, or you believe you see, a movement of opinion in that direction, and I believe that you are wisely content to watch these results which are achieved in this country when the due season has arrived. Naturally at my time of life such a subject is placed beyond all possibility—all reasonable possibility—of contact with myself. If it ever comes it will come to a prepared people; it will come without the bitterness which, unfortunately, has too much marked our recent conflicts on the subject of Irish privileges. It will come, I think, to the great religious community, which will have learned before that time to disavow all selfish dependence upon the temporal and secular arm, which will know that Establishment is one thing and that the Church is another thing, and which will have ample means, undoubtedly, if the spirit be not wanting, to provide and to fill up whatever void might be caused by the withdrawal of the support from national property which the Church

may now be considered to receive." As for withholding his vote on the question of Welsh Disestablishment in a recent division, he explained that he had not voted in favour of Scottish Disestablishment until two divisions had shown the clear opinion of the country, and that he was therefore bound to take the same course with regard to Wales. This somewhat opportunist declaration was turned to account by Mr. Balfour in a speech delivered at Portsmouth on June 5th, in an amusing description of "How to make a Separatist agitator," though the wealth of his illustrations was taken from the Gladstonian comments on Ireland. In spite, however, of Mr. Balfour's slashing reply, the Opposition continued to win advantages at the elections, though without altering the balance of parties.

So the two sides manœuvred and counter-manœuvred without much change of situation, though some saw a sign of the times in Mr. Asquith's demands that Mr. Gladstone should take the Liberal party into his confidence with regard to Home Rule; while another politician, Mr. Atherley Jones, pronounced in print that the Opposition could not hope to win the general election on Home Rule only, but that its leaders must make up their minds as to a programme of domestic reform. Another incident of some significance was the bestowal of the freedom of the City of Edinburgh on Mr. Parnell, notwithstanding the fact that the proposal was only carried in the Town Council by very narrow majorities, and that an informal canvass disclosed considerable hostility to the ceremony on the part of the citizens. It was made, nevertheless, the occasion of a striking demonstration, at which the Irish leader was welcomed to Scotland by Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Childers. A festivity that created far less diversity of opinion was the celebration of Mr. Gladstone's golden wedding on the 26th of July, at the National Liberal Club, which was attended not only by his own following, but by many Liberal Unionists who in former years had been amongst his distinguished lieutenants.

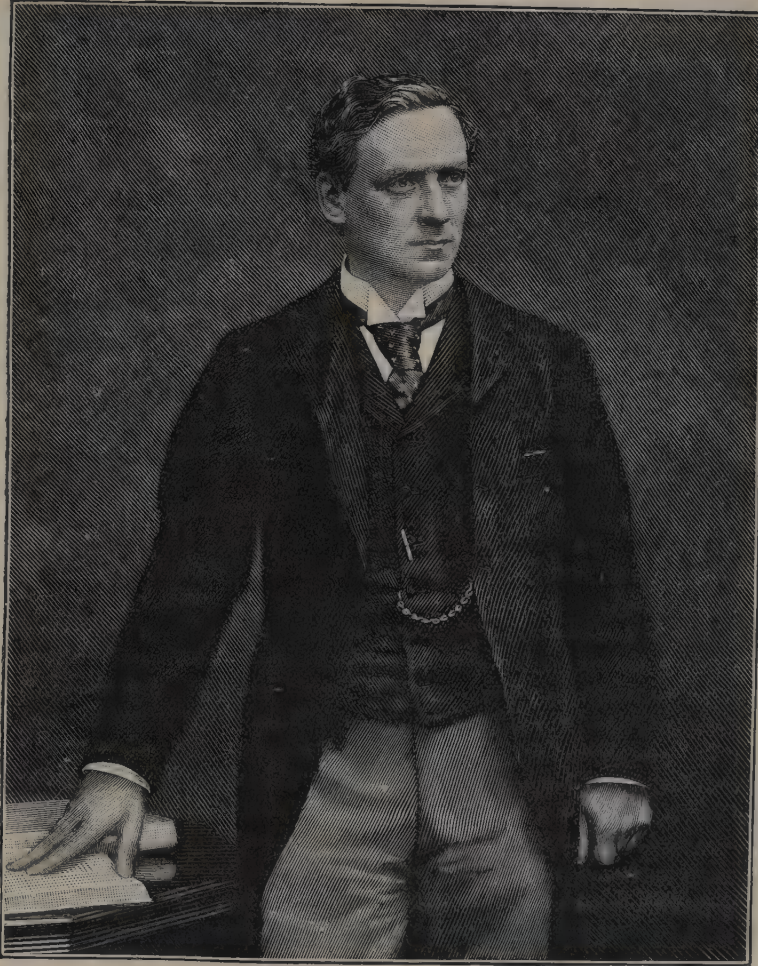
Two visitors of some importance landed on English shores during the summer. The first was the Shah of Persia, who was in England from the 1st to the 29th of July. This shrewd Oriental potentate, besides visiting several of the great provincial towns in England and Scotland, was hospitably entertained at Buckingham Palace, and saw the sights of the metropolis under most favourable auspices. Among the most striking festivities at which Nasr-ed-Din assisted was a

special performance given by Mr. Sassoon at the Empire Theatre of Varieties, and a garden party at Hatfield House, where royalty and notability were present in full force. Before his departure he went to Osborne to take leave of the Queen. Of more importance was the advent of the German Emperor which took place early in August. The occasion was of moment because of the hostility to England by which William II. had avowedly been actuated at the time of his accession, a sentiment which upon better knowledge the impetuous but well-intentioned ruler had determined to lay aside. On the 1st of August he arrived in the Downs on board the Imperial yacht *Hohenzollern*, accompanied by a fleet of twelve German men-of-war. The naval review at Spithead which was held in his honour was postponed from the 3rd to the 5th on account of a violent gale. On the latter date, however, it went off without mishap, though the interest in the proceedings was inevitably discounted in the minds of some of the spectators by the great maritime display of the Jubilee year. Nevertheless, there was impressiveness in the sight, since 20 ironclads, 35 cruisers, 18 gun-boats, and 38 torpedo-boats with 596 guns and 20,000 blue-jackets were arrayed in line, and the scene as the German fleet steamed up this avenue of death-dealing monsters was not without its grim attractiveness. On the 6th the fleet divided into four squadrons, proceeded to the naval manœuvres, which included an engagement off Ushant, and the usual descents upon the seaport towns, despite the vigilance of the blockading force. At these operations the Emperor was not a spectator, but at Aldershot on the 7th he witnessed a review of about 27,000 troops, including Volunteers, and expressed himself as greatly pleased by their smartness and efficiency. In fact the visit was an entire success; the Kaiser, if his annual arrivals were any criterion, appeared to have secured the regard of his royal relatives, while public evidence of the good-will between the two Courts was offered in the shape of the Emperor's appointment as honorary admiral of the British fleet, and the Queen became honorary colonel of the 1st Prussian Dragoon Guards, which was known thenceforth as "The Queen of England's Own."

This was a year of widespread disturbance in the labour market; nor while the leaders of the working classes were of one mind that something was wrong, were they by any means unanimous how it was to be set right. Thus, at the Trades' Union Congress held at Dundee during the first

week in September, there was a distinct fissure between the old school of Unionists and the new. The President, Mr. Ritchie, was applauded for certain safe generalities on the inequality of wealth, the uncertainty of employment, and the necessity of securing a direct representation of

Mr. Keir Hardie attacked Mr. Broadhurst's well-known objections to Parliamentary intervention that gentleman secured the support of 177 delegates against 11. The most important resolution was that in favour of paid Members of Parliament, a question that was rapidly coming to the front.



HERBERT HENRY ASQUITH. (From a Photograph by J. Thomson, Grosvenor Street, W.)

the labour interest in Parliament. However, his leanings towards an eight hours' day received less general support, and it appeared that very few of the Unions had answered inquiries as to the urgency of such an arrangement either voluntarily or by Act of Parliament; and that, in the thirty-nine associations that did send replies, a minority was in favour of a fixed term of labour, while the supporters of legislative interference were a mere handful. In these circumstances the conference acted wisely in postponing a decision, and when the new Unionists under the guidance of

Later, a Miners' Conference met at Newport, Monmouthshire, to discuss the questions of wages and hours of labour. The discussions were animated but conflicting, and the first result was the suspension of a decision, a resolution that contracts should be limited to eight hours from bank to bank being defeated by 73 votes to 44. The final voting was: in favour of adjournment, 100 votes, in favour of eight hours by Act of Parliament, 50. Thus, the proposals could hardly be said to have made much progress; at the same time an eight hours' day was evidently coming into favour, and one or two

leading politicians showed a disposition to coquette with the demand, especially Lord Randolph Churchill, whose convictions were both easily acquired and vehemently maintained.

These debates were invested with much practical significance from the strikes which occurred during the summer and autumn, beginning with that of the London dock-labourers, a revolt of labour which excited almost world-wide notice. Hitherto the "dockers" had attracted but little attention from students of the labour question; they were regarded as a somewhat uninteresting body of unskilled workmen devoid of combination. Now and again, it is true, a descriptive journalist in search of "copy" would describe the painful struggle for employment of the "casuals" at the dock-gates, in which the broken-down gentleman and the plebeian ne'er-do-well scuffled for the privilege of doing a few hours' work at starvation wages. However, though uncelebrated, the "dockers" were not devoid of common-sense, and had gradually begun to combine in a Union, with Mr. Ben Tillett as its energetic secretary. Representations as to the inadequacy of their wages were made from time to time, notably in July, to the Joint Committee of the London and India Docks. No satisfactory reply was forthcoming, and on the 13th of August an ultimatum was sent to the authorities of the South-West India Dock, in which the men threatened to leave work unless at twelve o'clock their terms were accepted. The notice was certainly short, but the Dock Companies must have known that the men were determined, and the argument that they were taken by surprise failed when judged by their subsequent conduct. On August 13th the dockers at the Millwall, Victoria, Albert, and Tilbury Docks also came out, and on the 14th the labourers at the Surrey Commercial Docks joined the strikers. The movement rapidly extended to the kindred employments: thus the stevedores, the lightermen, and the coal-whippers left their work "from sympathy," and the trade of the port of London was entirely at a standstill, except for such amateur assistance as the Companies could secure. The Strike Committee was fortunate in its members: Mr. John Burns and Mr. Tom Mann early gave their services, and the effects of their experience and powers of organisation were speedily visible. From the outset the strikers abstained from violence, though the dock-gates were steadily picketed to prevent the entrance of "blacklegs," and the railway stations carefully watched to avert the advent of labour from the country.

These proceedings naturally caused some consternation, and Mr. Monro, the Chief Commissioner, was sharply censured for refusing the interference of the police in favour of the "blacklegs." Meanwhile from their headquarters, the "Wade Arms" public-house in Poplar, the committee launched processions which went daily through the City and West End collecting money for the support of the strike. The outside sympathy was prompt and lavish. It was calculated, when the tension was removed, that the Strike Committee had received upwards of £48,000, partly from the trades' unions, partly from street collections; but the "backbone of the strike," in the words of Mr. John Burns, was the contribution from Australian trades' unions and working-men, which amounted to the sum of £30,000 and over.

The points at issue between the strikers and the Joint Committee, under the sturdy leadership of Mr. Norwood, were fairly simple. Their present wage was 5d. an hour; they demanded 6d., "the docker's tanner," with 8d. an hour overtime. Further, they insisted on the abolition of contract work and not less than four hours' employment. The Joint Committee refused to give way on the former article, though upon the latter they promised a minimum wage of 2s. for every man engaged before midday. Meanwhile, cargoes were rotting in the port, and vessels homeward bound deserted the Pool, and unloaded elsewhere. The Strike Committee, now matters were at a deadlock, made efforts to paralyse resistance by enlarging the strike area. They were partially successful with the coal-heavers, with the result that for some days the capital was threatened with a cutting-off of fuel. Then followed a manifesto from the "Wade Arms," calling for a general strike of the working classes throughout London. This ill-judged appeal undoubtedly caused much withdrawal of public sympathy and assistance, though it was promptly quashed by the committee. It was felt that Mr. John Burns and his friends had overshot the mark, and Mr. Norwood availed himself of the strategical mistake by refusing to accept the Strike Committee any longer as the representatives of the men. Fortunately, other mediators were not wanting, though their efforts were not for many days crowned with success. The first to come forward was Mr. Lafone on behalf of the wharfingers, who proposed that, *inter alia*, an 8½-hours' day should receive a 4s. wage. Mr. Norwood replied by offering a 2s. minimum wage and a system of piecework to be paid at 6d. an hour for the regular hands, but steadily declined to concede to the casuals the desired

"tanner." On the rejection of these terms, the shipowners, headed by Sir Donald Currie, submitted to the Joint Committee a plan for unloading their ships by means of outside labour, and Mr. Norwood's associates after some demur decided to entertain the suggestion. Fortunately, independent intervention was victorious where experts had failed. The Lord Mayor, Cardinal Manning, the Bishop of London, Sir John Lubbock, and Mr. Sydney Buxton held consultations at the Mansion House with Messrs. Tillett and Burns, and offered to the directors terms which included the sixpence, the increased rate of wage to begin on the 1st of January. This compromise was, however, repudiated by the Strike Committee, and the Bishop of London withdrew from what appeared a hopeless negotiation. The Cardinal, however, persevered, and by degrees so narrowed the controversy, that while the directors agreed to increased pay on November 1st and onwards, the men held out for a rise on the 1st of October. The latter eventually gave way, and after some further niggling over details the strike was terminated on the 11th of September by the surrender of the Dock Companies. In all it had cost the commercial capitalists of London quite two millions sterling, and the return of their former prosperity was known to be seriously endangered by the reckless manner in which they had constructed dock accommodation—notably at Tilbury—in extravagant contempt of the real requirements of trade. Indeed, much merchandise that formerly was transhipped from London, now, in consequence of the strike, went directly to Antwerp and elsewhere. The comparative emptiness of the port naturally affected the labour-market, and that greatly to its general disadvantage. True, the condition of the regular hand, now the member of a vigorous Union, was materially strengthened. But what about the casual? He was left in the lurch, and after the stoppage of some five weeks' employment found himself more at a loss for a job than ever. The system was, however, a vicious one, and something was probably gained even if sheer destitution drove him to betake himself elsewhere, far from the hopeless competition at the dock-gates.

The dockers' strike was followed by other revolts of labour, and these were attended with far more equivocal success. Almost simultaneously, indeed, there terminated a strike of the miserable employés of the tailors' sweating-dens, with the nominal result that the masters had granted a 10½-hours' day, with overtime not to exceed four hours. The stoppage of work, however, had been

but partial, and with an almost unlimited supply of unskilled hands ever on the look-out for an engagement, the Jewish and Christian middlemen were speedily enabled, it was asserted, to play fast and loose with the understanding. Equally doubtful was the issue of the rebellion of the bakers, composed for the most part of German immigrants. In the West End they were said to have gained their point—sixty hours per week, but in the East the adroit movement of the master-bakers in raising the price of the loaf alienated public sympathy, and the movement as a whole was a failure. So also was the strike of the drivers and conductors on the various tramway lines, though here and there they obtained a reduction of hours. The least justifiable of all these combinations was that of the gas-stokers, who had they prevailed would have enveloped Manchester, Leeds, and a portion of London in Egyptian darkness. Their reason for leaving work was the design of the South Metropolitan Company to avert the possibilities of a strike by substituting a yearly engagement with three months' notice for the weekly system in vogue, and in return for the change a share in the profits was offered to the men. The movement, engineered by the Gas-Stokers' Union, was hardly sufficiently simultaneous, though Manchester, on December the 6th and the following days, was reduced to a very limited supply of gas, and in some houses business had to be suspended. Then the strike collapsed in the north, with the result that much "blackleg" labour was in the market, when on the 13th the stokers in the South Metropolitan Gas Works to the number of some 3,000 came out on strike, in pursuance of a notice delivered a week previously. However, an equal number remained in the works, and these were speedily reinforced by the capable manager, Mr. Livesey, by unskilled labour, and importations from all parts of the country. The pickets were foiled by his adroit manœuvres, and cases of violent obstruction of "blacklegs" were taken before the magistrates. Hence the daily output of gas was not greatly diminished, and in the beginning of the following year a somewhat aimless contest, so far as the men were concerned, was brought to an end by Mr. Livesey's terms being accepted. He agreed to take back the old hands, but refused to dismiss any of his new employés. The general feeling seemed to be that even unholy capital has its rights as against the demonstrations of labour when aimlessly obstructive; and the moral was brought home to the gas consumers by the demand that they should pay

by an increased rate one half of the £30,000 spent in the fight.

These stirring scenes naturally tended to throw platform oratory into the background, though its current was in nowise lessened thereby. The Liberal Unionists were astir early in the autumn, and it was noticed that while Mr. Chamberlain seemed to be restive under the Conservative connection, Lord Hartington, on the other hand, dwelt upon the national benefits that had arisen from the alliance. On the whole, they made no material additions to political knowledge, and more attention was paid to Lord Randolph Churchill, who at Newtown tried to persuade Wales that as Mr. Gladstone had done nothing for her, and was only disposed to accept Disestablishment as "ripe for Parliamentary discussion," the Principality had better vote Conservative, in hopes of obtaining such social reforms as the Tory party was prepared to grant, and to regard the Church as inseparable with her history. His declaration that to Disestablishment, whether in Wales or Scotland, the Tory party was bound to oppose an inflexible resistance, was regarded as important, and it was remarked that the Church Congress at Llandaff, while dwelling upon the considerable strides that the Church had made, was also keenly alive to the necessity of legislative and internal reforms. Passing over some admirable but rather academic contributions to the Irish controversy by Lord Selborne and Mr. Leonard Courtney, we come to Mr. Gladstone's speech at Hull, where he significantly urged the electors to vote for Liberal candidates, even if they advocated advanced views on some points, for instance, land nationalisation, which, if it meant the plunder of proprietors was robbery, and if it meant compensation by the State was folly. His admonitions may have influenced the bye-elections, for the Liberals gained several seats, though Mr. Loder won a big victory at Brighton (October 28th) over a somewhat nondescript candidate, Sir Robert Peel. On the other hand, Peterborough was lost to the Unionists on the death of Mr. Fitzwilliam, and Elgin and Nairn on that of Mr. Anderson. A worse mishap to the Government occurred in North Bucks, on the elevation of Mr. Hubbard to the peerage, where the Liberal candidate was victorious by 208 votes. Even where the Conservatives retained seats, the majorities were frequently reduced, and altogether the Liberals won twelve seats in 1889 against a solitary gain to the Liberal Unionists. Meanwhile, Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain were busily engaged

in the attempted conversion of Scotland, and Lord Randolph Churchill at Perth found food for ridicule in extracts from Sir William Harcourt's old speeches. Their campaign was to all appearances somewhat barren of results, and it may be doubted if many votes were won by the speeches of Mr. Courtney and Mr. Chamberlain in Cornwall. The latter was certainly not sparing in personalities, and many doubted the expediency of his reference to the "corrupt influences" in the shape of peerages which had, according to him, been bestowed on certain Liberals, in order to secure their support of Home Rule. Sir William Harcourt was prompt in reply, both at Carnarvon, where he held out to the Welsh proposals of Disestablishment, Sunday Closing, and shorter rentals; and at the National Liberal Club, where he declined to define Home Rule, on the ground that the polling-booths would give the necessary reply. Indeed, the counsels at Hawarden were evidently against any premature disclosure of the Home Rule plan, and Mr. Gladstone intimated as much in a speech at Southport. Nevertheless, the view evidently gained ground that the constituencies were not to be won on the bare principle of Home Rule alone, and the party began to turn its attention to English reforms. At Newcastle Mr. Morley was severely "heckled" by his extremest constituents on the subjects of eight hours, State railways, and land nationalisation, and though neither Mr. Smith at Glasgow nor Mr. Balfour at Ipswich showed much disposition to advance a counter-programme, Sir William Harcourt mentioned at Bristol a new system of registration, one man one vote, and compulsory allotments, as among the pressing requirements of the times. Other speakers followed in the same path, notably Mr. John Morley at the Eighty Club on November the 19th.

The last week in November was, however, reached before the rival parties developed their political creeds. Then an important meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Associations was held at Manchester, where the demand for a National Party as suggested by Mr. Chamberlain, was formulated by the delegates without much encouragement from Lord Salisbury, who also did not appear greatly captivated by the proposal to restrict pauper immigration. However, he made the important announcement that the time had come for the Conservatives to adopt the principle of "free," or rather "assisted" education in a manner calculated to do no harm to the voluntary schools. "Four years ago," said the Prime

Minister, "I expressed the opinion at Newport that by forcing people to send their children to school, whether they ask it or not, you were incurring a certain obligation to relieve the burden of that compulsion, where the circumstances of the parent were such that it was too heavy for him to bear. We believe that considerable progress in that direction may be made. We have already introduced measures to that

voluntary schools. If it is to suppress the voluntary schools, free education would not be a blessing but a curse." The Prime Minister also mentioned State-aided emigration, and the housing of the working classes as objects that the Conservative party had at heart. The advance was accepted with some demur by Conservative organs which were not in favour of the Liberal Unionists; their memories evidently carrying them



JOHN BURNS ADDRESSING A MEETING OF DOCKERS ON TOWER HILL. (See p. 354.)

effect in Scotland. I believe that with perfect consistency with sound principle, and merely recognising the fact that where you enforce a duty upon a man, you are bound to make it as easy for him as you can—I believe that it will be possible considerably to extend that principle in England, and very greatly to relieve the difficulties of the working man in that respect. But allow me to say that I consider the question as to its rapidity, and as to its progress, to be a question for the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I venture to repeat that the gift of free or assisted education must be so conducted as not to diminish in the slightest degree the guarantee that we now possess for religious liberty as expressed by the

back to the days when similar legislation, as set forth in Mr. Chamberlain's "unauthorised programme," was reprobated by Sir Stafford Northcote as worthy of Jack Cade.

On the other hand, the "Clerkenwell-cum-Limehouse" programme was enthusiastically endorsed by the National Liberal Federation at Manchester, under the presidency of Sir James Kitson, and Mr. Gladstone, who was present, adopted most of its items explicitly and the remainder by implication in his speech at the Free Trade Hall. For himself, as he was now in his eightieth year, he admitted that he had no direct interest in many of these questions. But many were ripening, some were already ripe, and

when Parliament had accomplished the great Irish devolution, it would be able to take up these important tasks. "We have bated," he declared, "no jot of heart or hope." Some stirring speeches followed from Mr. Balfour during a progress through the south of Scotland; thus, at Edinburgh he ridiculed Federal Home Rule as a "strange and frantic nightmare of a Constitution consisting of four Parliaments and four Executives," and denounced in no mild fashion the "absurd and sophistical" excuses that Mr. Gladstone had invented for the Plan of Campaign, and the "soft epithets" he had found for boycotting which had undoubtedly encouraged crime in Ireland. In a previous speech Mr. Balfour had based an elaborate argument upon the analogy of Scottish history—"Difference of locality, difference of race, difference of history, and, I would almost venture to say, under some circumstances, difference of religion, may produce by their results differences of national sentiment which, properly used and properly directed, will be invaluable elements in the body politic. The British Empire gains, I am convinced, instead of loses by the fact that Scotchmen feel bound to each other. But as you may direct this great feeling of nationality to good ends, so, by stupid perversity, or to obtain some temporary electoral triumph, you may direct it to evil and to pernicious ends; if you are so mad as to direct it in a manner which causes it to crystallise and concentrate round separate legislative institutions, without doubt the whole result must be to cause these separate institutions to diverge farther and farther. Do that, and you convert it from a safe and health-giving influence—an influence which no wise statesman, no true lover of his country, would desire to see abolished—you convert it into a violent and disruptive force which may shatter even the compact fabric of the British Constitution." Mr. Morley delivered a series of effective counter-harangues, but more attention was attracted to the appearance of Mr. Parnell, who made two speeches at Nottingham and Liverpool, the interval being spent as a guest at Hawarden Castle—a visit that was destined to have serious consequences for the Home Rule cause. That enigmatic statesman closed the year with some remarks of the most studious mildness. Most of his comments were retrospective, and were chiefly noteworthy as containing a eulogium of the Plan of Campaign, upon which he had hitherto suspended his judgment. As for the future, he decided that if Home Rule were granted, Irishmen would

studiously avoid every inducement to rebellion; since with the prospect of legitimate freedom, and with every power to do what was necessary for their own success, and for the prosperity of their action in the future—it would be madness for them to talk about physical force. Mr. Parnell's calm forsook him when he referred to the Commission. He had been presented with £3,500 on behalf of the Defence Fund, and he mentioned that when that fund was started they had no trace of the forger. "We had to search in the dark. We had a tribunal carefully chosen by our enemies from the ranks of our political opponents, a tribunal which I grant you, would not be wilfully unfair, but which, from the necessity of the case was bound to be prejudiced. Every step was taken, every plan was laid by the Government and its conspirators to prevent us, my colleagues and myself, from removing this cloud from our reputation. I never could have credited that a political party, a great political party of a great country, that a Government of a great country could have stooped so low against a political opponent who was the weaker and the smaller man, the representative of a poor country, an impoverished nation, and an oppressed people struggling for their lives. And they hounded these wretches on to assassinate us with blows behind the back. It was not English. It was not brave. It was not manly."

In comparison with the death of Mr. John Bright on March the 27th, all the other national losses seemed insignificant indeed. That great man's name has been mentioned so often in these pages that criticism of his political career would savour of vain repetition. The tributes paid to his memory in the Houses of Parliament were unusually happy, and summed up very completely the various attributes of the Tribune of the People. Lord Salisbury referred to his oratory and said, "He was the greatest master of English oratory that this generation—I may perhaps say many generations—has produced. I have met men who have heard Pitt and Fox, and in whose judgment their eloquence at its best was inferior to the finest efforts of John Bright." Lord Granville touched upon his services as peacemaker in Cabinets, and Lord Hartington remarked that though Mr. Bright did not pretend to be a statesman, and, in the sense of official training was, perhaps, not exactly a statesman, yet few men of equal power had ever applied so consistently to their public conduct the standard of morality by which they regulated their private lives. Mr.

Gladstone said that Mr. Bright was *felix opportunitate mortis*; all his principles had triumphed, and at the close of a long life he had even reconciled his foes to him without alienating his friends. "His name remains indelibly written in the annals of this Empire—ay, indelibly written, too, upon the hearts of the great and ever-spreading race to which he belonged: that race in whose wide expansion he rejoiced, and whose power and pre-eminence he believed to be full of promise and full of glory for the best interest of mankind."

Lord Malmesbury died this year, a politician who as Foreign Secretary in various Conservative Cabinets was in his day somewhat depreciated, but whose despatches and his clever, though inexact, "Memoirs of an ex-Minister" prove him to

have been a shrewd and capable man. Two other Conservatives who made their exits were the Duke of Buckingham, an efficient Governor of Madras and highly competent Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords, and Lord Addington, better known as Mr. Hubbard, the embodiment of the commercial and financial wisdom of the City, and an active and conscientious High Churchman. Lord Blachford was a valuable Colonial official, who, as Sir Frederick Rogers, aided Lord Carnarvon in the creation of the Dominion of Canada. The Bishop of Durham, Dr. Lightfoot, was a scholar rather than an administrator; nevertheless he was by no means deficient in the latter character, and to his efforts the spread of the Church Temperance Society was very largely due.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Salisbury and Mr. Goschen on Foreign Policy—The Morier Incident and "Outidanos"—Russia and the Triple Alliance—Suppression of Boulangism—French Opposition in Egypt—Advance of Wad-en-Nejumi—His Defeat at Toski—The Balkan Peninsula—The Trial of Moussa Bey—The Cretan Rebellion—A Colonial Conference suggested—Sir Henry Parkes's Scheme—The West Australian Constitution—Samoa—Canada and the United States—Africa and the Brussels Conference—Disputes with the Portuguese—Annexation of Mashonaland—The British South Africa Company—The Future of South Africa—The Indian Frontier—Indian Finance.

"THE barometer," said Lord Salisbury at his annual Guildhall speech on November 9th, "is distinctly rising in the scale of peace," and Mr. Gladstone, in more than one speech, bore generous tribute to the general success of his rival's conduct of foreign affairs. Similarly, Mr. Goschen at Hull laid the flattering unction to his soul that—"We do not fear the comparison between our foreign policy and that of our predecessors. We have been fortunate in some ways; we have had no small wars. We have had no surrender to defeat. We have had no costly and bloody expeditions which failed of their objects because they were undertaken too late. The damning cry of reproach, 'Too late! too late!' has not been shouted in the ear of the present Government. No, we have had no successions of humiliations in our diplomacy, and yet we have not shrunk from dealing with some of the most difficult problems. We believe that our colonies were never more cordially and more closely tied to us than they are at the present time." Recrimination apart, the

Continental prospect was unusually serene, and the German Emperor's visit to England was by no means the least among the influences that made for tranquillity. Curiously enough, it was preceded by a violent passage of arms between two prominent German and British officials—Sir Robert Morier, the British Ambassador at Berlin, and Count Herbert Bismarck, his father's *alter ego*. The Bismarcks were undoubtedly jealous of the Minister's influence at St. Petersburg; besides, they had formerly disliked his intimacy with the Emperor Frederick. In December, 1888, there appeared a statement in the *Cologne Gazette* that Sir Robert, when *chargé d'affaires* at Darmstadt, had been guilty of betraying German secrets to Marshal Bazaine during the war of 1870. The calumny had previously been repeated in conversation by Count Herbert Bismarck, and, having strengthened his case by an emphatic denial from Marshal Bazaine, the diplomatist demanded an explanation. The curt and discourteous manner in which Count Herbert shielded himself behind his official position in

declining to comply with the "astonishing demand" was generally taken to mean that he had none to offer, and with his final discomfiture by the publication of the correspondence, the "Morier incident" closed. Another splutter in Continental circles was produced by an article signed by "Outidanos" in the *Fortnightly Review*, which, though never acknowledged as such, was generally believed to be Mr. Gladstone's. Its very seasonable advice was to the effect that Italy had best make her peace with France and the Church, instead of ruining her finance by military preparations. Upon Signor Crispi it operated startlingly, for the Italian Premier at once delivered himself of a violent diatribe at Palermo, which was a pronouncement that Italy would never desert the Triple Alliance, nor come to terms with the Papacy as to the restoration of the temporal power.

The relations of the Powers to one another was one of respectful alienation. The Czar's attitude was expressed concisely enough in a toast to the Prince of Montenegro on the occasion of a betrothal between the families of the two Courts, wherein the somewhat insignificant potentate was addressed as "Russia's only sincere and faithful friend." Nevertheless, Alexander III. did violence so far to his feelings as to pay in October a visit to Berlin, where Prince Bismarck is said to have assured the Czar that Germany had no intention of recognising Prince Ferdinand. The good effects of this meeting were somewhat neutralised by the German Emperor's visit to Constantinople, though as a matter of fact it was rather a holiday ramble than an expedition deliberately designed to force Abdul Hamid from that cautious neutrality which he had hitherto maintained. In Austria, meanwhile, popular discontents and the suicide of the Archduke Rudolph, the heir to the throne, in painful and disgraceful circumstances must have produced a distaste for foreign adventure in the minds of the Emperor's advisers. Similarly, Italy was severely handicapped by an agricultural crisis of some acuteness, and financial difficulties which were increased by the war of tariffs with France. The Republic was engaged in her final struggle with Boulangism, and emerged from the struggle victorious but maimed. We have already mentioned the "Brav' Général's" election for a division of Paris by a huge majority. That startling event was followed by something like a general panic, and had the contemplated *coup d'état* been effected by the League of Patriots there can be no doubt that it would have been temporarily successful. Fortunately, the pretender, embarrassed

perhaps by his intrigues with the Monarchists and extreme Socialists, was deficient in nerve; the Chamber strengthened itself against mob violence by a return to the old system of *scrutin d'arrondissement*, and on the collapse of M. Floquet's Ministry the new Cabinet, at the head of which was M. Tirard, was strengthened by an energetic Minister of the Interior in the person of M. Constans. With commendable promptitude he first suppressed the simultaneous meetings which the Boulangists proposed to hold throughout France on the 24th of February, and then by a pretended design to arrest the pretender forced him to fly from France. Then the game was up, the lodgings of the fugitives were searched, and a considerable number of incriminating documents discovered. The trial came on before the Senate, erected into a High Court of Justice, and Boulanger with his associates, Count Dillon and M. Rochefort, were found guilty of conspiracy, attempts against the State, and misappropriation of public money, and were sentenced in their absence to imprisonment in a fortress. The cynical acknowledgment of their complicity in the plot by the Monarchist chiefs finally burst the bubble, and the cause of the Republic was greatly strengthened by the prosperity and good-humour of Paris, owing to the complete success of the Centennial Exhibition and its Eiffel Tower. In the circumstances the year ended more favourably than it began, and the general election of September resulted in a considerable triumph of the Republicans, their numbers being 366 as against 233 opponents of the existing *régime*. The absent General was, nevertheless, elected by a division of Paris, but the return was promptly quashed on the ground that he had been deprived of his civil rights.

The paralysis of France at home was accompanied by no inactivity abroad, particularly so far as Egypt was concerned. Thus, the scheme for the conversion of the Privileged Debt from a 5 to a 4 per cent. stock was rendered ineffectual by the obstruction of the French Government, and so an opportunity of lightening the burdens of the fellaheen, particularly the obnoxious payment for exemption from the *corvée*, was lost. Similarly, the railway administration was hampered by the refusal of the French member of the board to accept a reduction of salary. Nevertheless, the Budget produced an agreeable surplus, and the rapid extension of irrigation works and railway lines testified to the enormous capacities of the Nile Valley. Meanwhile the advance of the Dervishes had assumed formidable proportions.

Reverses in Darfur, the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and on the Abyssinian frontier had long delayed the advance, but the defeat and death of King John of Abyssinia had relieved the Khalifa, the Mahdi's successor, of anxiety in that quarter, and reinforcements were despatched to the intrepid Wad-en-Nejumi. His

22nd he arrived at Sarras upon the west bank, and was there joined by an important Emir, Abd-el-Halim. The advance was unopposed as far as the village of Argin, where, however, Colonel Wodehouse with some 1,940 men prepared for resistance. By this time Nejumi's force consisted



GENERAL BOULANGER.

(From a Photograph by Solon Vathis, Paris.)

first effort was a raid upon the village of Deberra during the night of April 30th, which was easily repulsed, and an attempt on Serra (May 9th) was also beaten off after some severe hand-to-hand fighting. The main body of the enemy was, meanwhile, concentrating at Dongola, where Wad-en-Nejumi was at last surrounded by a force of 4,000 fighting men, with 300 horses, 550 camels, and two machine-guns. His officers raided ahead, and skirmished with the "Friendlies" who, supported by the gunboats on the Nile, and the Egyptian troops, more than held their own. On June the

of some 5,000 fighting men and upwards of 8,000 camp-followers. The attack, made on July the 1st, was a failure, as the Fabian tactics of Nejumi were disregarded by the impetuous Abd-el-Halim, whose division was, in consequence, terribly cut up. The Arabs retired to their encampment, and there remained, the force being rapidly diminished by desertions and famine, though the horses and camels were rapidly killed for food. Accordingly, the Sirdar, Sir Frederick Grenfell, on arriving at the front, summoned the Emir to surrender, in a letter which explained to him the

hopelessness of his position, hemmed in between the river and the desert, with the Wady Halfa garrison in his rear. The haughty reply ran—"As regards what you say about the large number of your army, and the approach of its arrival, that does not frighten us at all. Be it known to you that we still insist upon fighting and destroying you." The fanatical hero's thirst for battle was satisfied on the 3rd of August upon the field of Toski. There his force, reduced to less than 3,000 men, was caught in a disadvantageous position and routed, after several gallant charges. Nejumi, who had stationed himself upon a knoll in the rear, then mounted his horse and dashed down into the plain to rally his men. His horse was shot under him, and he fell mortally wounded. A devoted band placed the body on a camel and made for the hills. They were overtaken by the cavalry and, twice summoned to yield, still fought on, and died to a man. Leaving behind them over 1,200 dead and a considerable number of prisoners, the Arabs fled through the desert to Dongola; but the corpses of those who died from hunger and thirst marked their path across the desert. The Khalifa's dream of universal empire was over.

In other portions of the past and present dominions of the Sultan there was disquiet, and, here and there, bloodshed. The Balkan Peninsula was uneasy, though in Bulgaria Prince Ferdinand, still unrecognised by Europe, avoided abdication, owing to the ubiquitous energy of M. Stamboul-off. In Roumania King Charles's position was disturbed by the revelations as to the use of Government moneys by M. John Bratiano, who had been for twelve years his trusted Minister; and by the intrigues of M. Hitrovo, the Russian consul at Bucharest. The king, nevertheless, took an important step towards the strengthening of the dynasty, in the proclamation of his brother, Prince Ferdinand, as Crown Prince. But confusion came to a head in Servia, where King Milan, disgusted at the new Constitution which had been forced upon him by the Parliament, and discredited by his immoralities and the quarrels with his wife, abruptly abdicated on the 6th of March; the Government, pending the majority of his young son, Alexander, being placed in the hands of a regency, at the head of which was M. Ristich. Although the bickerings of Milan and his wife, Queen Natalie, continued during the remainder of the year to disturb the country, Servia was a paradise to some of the lands still under direct Turkish rule. In Armenia the

inhabitants were subjected to grievous oppression at the hands of the predatory Kurds, chief of whom was the miscreant Moussa Bey. Though the Porte attempted to conceal the facts, Lord Salisbury in August sent such a strenuous remonstrance to Constantinople that the arrest of the criminal was ordered forthwith, and he was taken to Constantinople. There the Armenian witnesses perjured themselves copiously in order to impress Western Europe; they were constantly bullied by the Public Prosecutor, and after a trial that was a perfect mockery of justice Moussa Bey was acquitted. A fresh trial was indignantly demanded by the press in England and France, but the Sultan, worried by conflicting demands—for many Turks considered that Moussa was being hounded to death by Christian clamour—kept the Kurd in prison and then quietly banished him to Arabia.

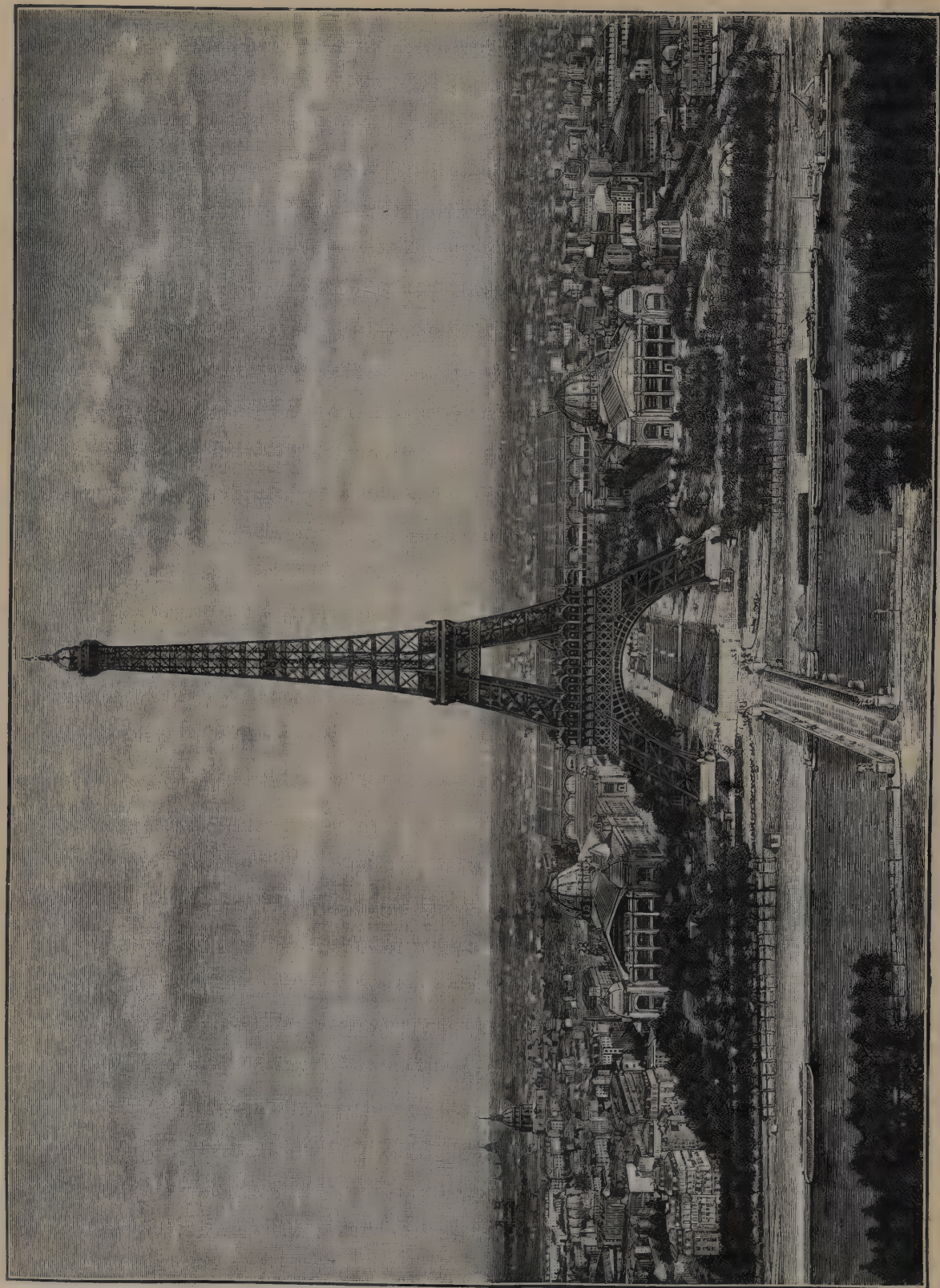
Even more anarchical was the state of affairs in Crete, to which attention was drawn by some powerful articles in the *Daily News*. There the Home Rule granted by the Sultan resulted in a series of faction fights between Christians and Mussulmans, which the Turkish regulars suppressed with some loss of blood. It was doubtful which side was the aggressor, or which was the chief sufferer; nevertheless, the Greek Premier, M. Tricoupis, availed himself of the presence of Cretan fugitives at Athens, by sending a circular to the Powers, in which he stated that his countrymen could no longer look upon the state of affairs in the island with complacency. In spite of the increased reputation of Greece abroad—which was further strengthened by the marriage, on October 26th, of the heir to the throne, the Duke of Sparta, to the Princess Sophie of Prussia—the naval preparations in the Piræus received no countenance from any of the Powers. Lord Salisbury immediately informed M. Tricoupis that, while sensible of the serious character of the disturbances in Crete, he saw no valid reason for intervention on the part of Greece. At the same time he declined to assure the Porte that the departure of the Greek ships would be forcibly prevented by England, and urged Rustem Pasha to impress upon his Government the hope that the grievances of the Cretans would be promptly and justly remedied. The Sultan's first step was to dispatch to Crete Shakir Pasha, ex-Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who by the stern exercise of martial law, and large reinforcements of troops was able to restore the country to some semblance of order, though not before many villages had been reduced to ashes.

In December appeared the Sultan's firman granting constitutional reforms, one of which gave the Christians a majority in the Assembly, while another placed the keeping of the peace in the hands of a non-*Crétan gendarmerie*. These measures were, however, rejected by M. Tricoupis as wholly inadequate, besides being in violation of the treaty of Berlin, and at the close of the year a peaceful solution appeared remote.

The general relations of the various members of the British Empire were the subject of an interesting correspondence between Lord Rosebery and the Prime Minister in the month of July. The former urged the summoning of a fresh Colonial Conference to London, in order to consider the possibility of establishing a closer and more substantial union between the mother country and her daughter states. Lord Salisbury, however, prudently replied that the initiative for such a movement must come from the colonies themselves, and on the whole the negative conclusion was deemed statesmanlike, though Lord Carnarvon afterwards supported Lord Rosebery's demands for frequent colonial conferences. As a matter of fact, the British communities were far too occupied with their own affairs to pay much attention to proposals of Imperial importance. Thus in Australia the somewhat sickly state of the federal idea received a doubtful impulse from the proposal of Sir Henry Parkes, the Premier of New South Wales, that the colonies should join in creating a Federal Parliament, and a Federal Executive Government on the model of Canada. The volatile and aged politician's change of front was somewhat surprising, considering that to his action had been due the previous alienation of New South Wales from the movement. Besides, his proposals fell somewhat flat under the searching criticism of Mr. Gillies and other Australian statesmen. They pointed out that the present Federal Council might be enlarged, so as to meet the growing wants of Australia, without going to the lengths of displacing it by a totally new body, and further, that the Federal Government must inevitably come into collision with the Colonial Governments on the question of taxation. In short Federation was at a discount, though united action on the part of the colonies was visible in their vigorous protests against the delay attendant on passing the West Australian Constitution Bill through the Imperial Parliament. The reasonable hesitation of the House of Commons to entrust a small community with vast acreages of virgin soil was subjected to

indignant comments, of which the text was "Australia for the Australians," and resolutious in favour of the Bill—asserting, however, in most cases, the propriety of colonisation from Great Britain and Ireland—were passed by the Legislatures of the self-governing colonies. Nevertheless, the colonies seemed disposed to pursue their war of hostile tariffs, and a formidable intercolonial dispute raged over the ownership of the waters of the Murray. That river runs through South Australia after forming the boundary line between Victoria and New South Wales. The use of it for irrigation by one of the colonies was resented by the others, on the grounds of illegality and the practical consideration that the river might be drained dry; nor was there much prospect of a settlement of the complicated question of ownership.

Within the Australasian system lies Samoa, which unfortunate islands—after internal feuds had swollen into a civil war, in which the Germans lent armed assistance to the rebellious faction—received the attention of the Powers concerned, namely, Great Britain, Germany and the United States. Prince Bismarck found it advisable to disavow the support lent to the pretender Tamasese by his local agents, and the position of the Germans was further weakened by a hurricane which wrecked the corvette *Olga* and two gunboats, while H.M.S. *Calliope*, by a splendid piece of seamanship, put out into the open sea and rode the gale. The annexation of Samoa had already been disavowed by the three Powers at a Conference held at Washington, and now a second conference met at Berlin on May the 1st, and separated in June after signing a treaty to regulate the government of the islands. The purport of this somewhat complicated document was that Malietoa was recognised as lawful king of the islands; he was supplied with a Supreme Court and a Chief Justice to be appointed by the King of Sweden; and Apia, his capital, was erected into a municipality. These institutions seemed a trifle exotic, but no exception could be taken to the article which prohibited the alienation of land to Europeans, or those prohibiting the importation of fire-arms or intoxicants. Pursuant on this agreement the natives met in October for the election of Malietoa. They preferred, however, their former Sovereign Mataafa, who had been deported by the Germans, and the nominee of the Powers readily waived his claims. In the circumstances, the recognition of the old king was only reasonable, and on the 9th of November he was restored to his throne amidst great rejoicings.



THE EIFFEL TOWER, PARIS. (From a Photograph by Neurdein, Paris.)

In Canada the idea of Imperial Federation made perhaps greater progress than elsewhere; but the form it assumed, namely, differential duties against foreign imports, was not one likely to commend itself to the British consumer. Indeed, the Liberal party in Canada adopted a programme of directly opposite tendencies, namely, reciprocity with the United States. The Conservatives, on the other hand, looked to the strengthening of the relations

of Alaska; how far the fur seal was in danger of extinction by promiscuous butchery—these were some of the points at issue between Lord Salisbury and the American Government. Fortunately, the high-handed action of Mr. Blaine, who had become Secretary of State on the return of the Republican party to power, did not interrupt the peaceful course of diplomatic correspondence, and subsequent events gradually prepared the way for



BATTLE OF TOSKI: THE ARAB CHIEF'S LAST RALLY. (See p. 362.)

with the mother country, and the subsidising of steamer lines at both ends of the Canadian Pacific Railway by the two Governments was certainly an important step in that direction. The prospects of better relations between the Dominion and the Republic were not improved by the wholesale seizure of British Columbian sealing vessels by American revenue cutters on the charge of poaching within the waters of the United States. Thus a question which had long taxed the ingenuity of diplomatists seemed likely to receive a somewhat rough solution. What were the exact rights in the Behring Strait which the States had inherited from the Czar by their acquisition

a settlement of the question by international arbitration.

Africa was occupying the attention of the Foreign Office more than any other part of the globe. The commotions, however, were not so much concerning British long-standing possessions at the Cape and Natal as about the ownership of certain vast districts hitherto the property of the noble savage. One of the smallest difficulties was upon the Niger, where the German traders complained that the Niger Company were levying duties contrary to their charter, in order to drive out competitors and secure for themselves an illegal monopoly. More harmonious were

British relations with the Germans on the east coast, though the ruthless war of the latter with the slave-dealers had rendered the coast-line uninhabitable, and conduced to the deaths of several English missionaries. The bombardment of native villages by the Imperial Commissioner, Captain Wissmann, indeed, defeated its own ends, though the capture and execution of a notorious slave-dealer, Bushiri by name, did certainly strike terror into the breasts of the traffickers in human flesh. But meanwhile questions of boundary had cropped up in which the two Powers were closely interested; and it was becoming more and more evident that a coast blockade was a most ineffectual method of checking the trade, which indeed flourished chiefly because slaves were the only means of portorage to the coast through the country inhabited by the tsetse fly. Clearly the whole question needed to be reconsidered afresh, and for that reason an International Conference, summoned to Brussels in November, was hailed as a timely expedient. As Lord Salisbury pointed out, it marked at least a great advance in general European opinion upon the point. Meanwhile, the Sultan of Zanzibar, acting under British advice, had closed one of the richest markets by abolishing the slave trade in his territory, and had further issued a proclamation whereby all children born after the ensuing 1st of January would be free.

Among the Powers owning possessions in Africa Portugal was perhaps the one whose pretensions were the largest when compared with her performances. On the strength of certain squalid counting-houses on the coast, she claimed a *hinterland* stretching right across the continent to the exclusion of the legitimate development of the British territories in South Africa. Even in Delagoa Bay, where her ownership was undisputed, she disregarded legality by causing the railway constructed by English capital to be torn up, and the British residents arrested, in order to further the making of a rival line on the same route in virtue of an agreement with President Kruger. The despatch of a British gunboat to the scene of action and some very strenuous despatches from Lord Salisbury must have impressed the Lisbon politicians with the foolhardiness of their subordinates. Nevertheless, the prospects of satisfaction seemed remote. Equally indefensible was the crusade of Major Serpa Pinto in Nyassaland, where the British African Lakes Company, supported to a great extent by missionary societies, had established itself, and the Makololo and other tribes had been

placed under British protection by the consul, Mr. H. H. Johnston. In spite of the hoisting of the British flag over the Nyassa district and the Shiré highlands, Major Serpa Pinto arrived at the head of a force armed with Martinis and Gatling guns, and proceeded to force the natives *volentes volentes* to accept the rule of Portugal. At the end of the year a pretty quarrel was evidently brewing between Lisbon and London with regard to their respective possessions on the Shiré and its confluent, the Zambesi, south of which river a vast district, including Mashonaland and Matabeleland, had been placed under the control of the British South Africa Company, whose guiding spirit was Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the "diamond king," by a charter, dated the 29th of October, 1889.

The territory thus added to the British Empire comprised in all some 500,000 square miles, or an area about the size of France and Germany combined. Its history may be summarised as follows:—Some time before the Mohammedan era it was occupied by a Semitic race, probably Arabian, which has left behind it traces in the interesting ruins of Zimbabwe. The first European nation to discover it were the Portuguese, who, during the seventeenth century, used the so-called kingdom of Monomotapa as a trading-ground, and even made an attempt at permanent conquest. It failed, however, and they confined their operations to the coast, although maintaining some trading-stations of rapidly dwindling importance on the Zambesi. The interior returned to pure barbarism, and in 1839 a Zulu tribe, known as the Matabele, being driven by the Boers from the Transvaal, went northwards and conquered the greater part of the country. The original inhabitants, the Mashonas and Makalakas, being of an unwarlike character, fell an easy prey to these ruthless immigrants, who exterminated or drove them into the hills. Soon afterwards the rumoured existence of gold in large quantities attracted several hardy explorers, for instance, Hartley, Mauch, the German mineralogist, who discovered the Tati fields in 1864, Baines and the Swede Nelson, who visited the plateau in 1869. Attempts were even made to work concessions from the Matabele king, Lobengula, but they failed owing, it was said, to defective machinery. So matters remained until 1888, when attention was first seriously drawn to Mashonaland as a field for British enterprise. Lobengula was approached; he proved amenable to reason, and granted the Rudd concession to three enterprising adventurers, Messrs. C. D. Rudd, Rochfort Maguire,

and C. R. Thompson, whereby, in return for a monthly allowance, a quantity of arms, and a steamboat, he ceded the mining rights throughout his dominions. The Rudd concession became the basis of the Chartered Company, whose grantees were the Duke of Abercorn, the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Alfred Beit, and Mr. George Causton. Its privileges were granted for twenty-five years, and might then be renewed for further periods of ten years. The Imperial Government retained a general control over the administration, and the Company undertook to be amenable to its advice and to pursue a national policy. It also pledged itself to preserve order, suppress the slave-trade and domestic servitude, and prevent the sale of spirits to the natives.

To whom was South Africa to belong—to Great Britain or her Colonies? This question was raised by Sir Hercules Robinson in a farewell speech at Cape Town, before his return to England at the close of a highly successful tenure of the office of High Commissioner. In the form in which it first reached England, that of a telegraphic summary, the remark was calculated to alarm, inasmuch as it appeared to countenance the extreme pretensions of the Afrikaner party. Further reports, however, showed that the purport was that it was the duty of the Imperial Government, by means of Crown colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence, gradually to prepare the way for placing the native territories under the direct rule of the Cape and Natal. To such extension of colonial responsibility, in the fulness of time, there appeared no reasonable objection; but for the present Lord Knutsford declined to extend the authority of the Cape over Bechuanaland when that proceeding was urged upon him by a delegation. Equally deaf was the Colonial Office to the demand of Natal that Zululand should be handed over to her government. In fact such attempts at consolidation were evidently premature, and the existence of the two independent Republics proved that in South Africa wariness was the best policy. True that nothing could be more reasonable than the attitude of the Orange Free State, but President Kruger, faithful to his separatist tendencies, forced that community into a defensive alliance and commercial union, from which the Transvaal could alone be the gainer. However, his malign intentions upon Swaziland were thwarted by the despatch of Sir Francis de Winton as Special Commissioner, to concert with the authorities of the Republic upon some

scheme of government which should prevent European encroachments and stop the deadly liquor traffic.

In India the British sway was wholly secure, owing to the loyalty of the feudatory chiefs and the stability of Abdurahman, in consequence of the death and defeat of his rivals. In one quarter, indeed, was true reason for anxiety—namely, in Cashmere, where the Maharajah, having fallen into the hands of worthless advisers, was detected in treasonable practices, including an alleged plot to poison the Resident. He acted undoubtedly less from wickedness than folly, and Lord Lansdowne, true to the non-annexation policy in vogue since the Mutiny, persuaded him to resign his authority for the time being to a Regency, at the head of which was placed a trustworthy Mohammedan official. As Cashmere had fallen into a state of complete corruption and oppression, this exercise of authority by the paramount Power cannot be deemed excessive. Besides the Sikkim imbroglio already chronicled, it merely remains to mention that farther to the east the Burmese Government rapidly extended its sway over the frontier tribes, notably the Karens on the border of Siam. Towards the end of the year a column was despatched through the country of the Chins and Lushais in order to check their marauding propensities. In India proper the problem of an uneventful year was the old one—how to make both ends meet. Besides the frontier defences, now rapidly nearing completion, and the expense attendant on the arming of the troops with the new magazine rifle, the resources of the Empire were strained by a partial dearth, which was somewhat severe in Madras, where it was aggravated by cholera. Relief works for 20,000 labourers partially alleviated the distress, which must always be imminent over a poor population living in isolated districts. To meet these and other drains upon the central and provincial exchequers, the revenue was collected with unusual care so as to check smuggling and illicit distillation. Further economies were effected in various branches of the administration. A slight deficit was, nevertheless, incurred, and it had to be met by additional salt duties and an extension of the income tax instituted in 1886 to Lower Burma. One alarming feature was the fall in the railway returns; on the other hand, there was a remarkable increase of manufacturing industries, which turned out goods at a cheap rate owing to the low wages accepted by the industrious Hindoos. Manchester was naturally alarmed and there was some talk of

extending the Factory Acts to India. Native opinion, however, was distinctly against such an innovation, and the evidence of hardship was by no means conclusive. Altogether Lord Lansdowne's administration, though devoid of heroic incidents, was thorough and long-headed. One of

its most satisfactory features was a tendency to encourage native criticism in financial matters, a procedure which, if kept within reasonable limits, could only be for good, though the Anglo-Indian of the old-school looked upon it as revolutionary and unnecessary.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*)

The Parnell Commission and its Causes—Mr. Parnell's Libel Actions—Particulars produced—Opening Speech of Sir R. Webster—Captain O'Shea—The Procuring of the Letters—Agrarian Outrages—Two False Witnesses—Delaney and Farragher—Major Le Caron—His Conversation with Mr. Parnell—The Clan-na-Gael—The Report on Le Caron—Mr. Soames and Mr. Macdonald—Mr. Houston—Pigott's Story—The Letters—Sir Charles Russell's Cross-examination—Pigott's Flight and Death—The *Times*' Withdrawal—Conclusion of the *Times*' Evidence—Sir Charles Russell's Speech—Mr. Parnell's Evidence—Archbishop Walsh and the Irish Members—Mr. Michael Davitt—Retirement of Sir Charles Russell from the Case—The Land League Books—Termination of the Evidence—Mr. Davitt's Statement—Sir Henry James's Reply—End of the Inquiry—The *Times*' Apology to Mr. Parnell—Appearance of the Report—Its Account of the Land League Movement—The First Charge—The "English Garrison"—Mr. Parnell and the Invincibles—The Pigott Forgeries—Incendiary Journalism—Incitement to Crime—Assistance from Advocates of Dynamite—Cost of the Commission.

THE history of the Parnell Commission, or, as it is more correctly styled, "the Special Commission appointed to inquire into the charges and allegations made against certain Members of Parliament and other persons by the defendants in the action entitled *O'Donnell v. Walter*," belongs properly speaking to the year 1890, when the report of Sir James Hannen and his colleagues appeared. So entirely, however, had its interest been discounted by certain sensational incidents in the course of the inquiry, that the whole investigation is best considered in anticipation of its final episode. Its primary cause, as we have already hinted, was a series of articles, afterwards included in a pamphlet, which appeared in the *Times* under the title "Parnellism and Crime," on the 7th of March, 1887, and onwards. The facsimile letter was published on the 18th of April. Its immediate cause was the case of *O'Donnell v. Walter*, a libel action brought against the proprietors of the *Times* by Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, who conceived himself to be one of the persons included in the accusations. His case, as has already been mentioned, collapsed, but in the course of the trial Sir Richard Webster, the Attorney-General, who appeared as counsel for the defendants, repeated and enlarged upon the statements in question. In consequence, after a motion for a

Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the authenticity of the letters, particularly that of May 15th, 1882, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the general facts, with the powers of the High Court of Justice, or any judge of that Court. Before the Bill had received the royal assent, Mr. Parnell, having previously attempted to bring an action for libel against the *Times* in Scotland, which was quashed on grounds of non-jurisdiction, instituted a second action for libel, in which £100,000 damages were claimed. It was settled on February 3rd, 1890, before the appearance of the report, by the payment of £5,000 and his costs to Mr. Parnell, while Mr. Campbell, M.P., his secretary, also received a sum in compensation of his false implication in the writing of the forged letters.

A preliminary meeting of the Commission was held on September 17th, 1888, when the President, Sir James Hannen, laid down the lines upon which the inquiry was to be conducted, namely, judicially and according to the laws of evidence and procedure. Accordingly, the accusers, the proprietors of the *Times*, were required to give particulars of the persons incriminated, and to lay their evidence before the Court. Similarly Mr. Graham, Q.C., in the absence of the Attorney-General, obtained power to call for documents

and papers in the possession of the defendants. The counsel for the *Times* displayed a curious modesty about opening proceedings. "We make no allegations," was their excuse. "Then who does?" asked Sir James Hannen. "Who makes such 'charges and allegations' as are mentioned in the Act under which the Court sits?" Accordingly, the particulars were produced wherein the defendants were accused of being members of an organisation called the Land League, which was founded in order to establish the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation; of agitating against rents in furtherance of that object so as to expel the landlords or "English garrison." They were further charged with organising a system of coercion and intimidation, enforced by boycotting and outrages; with having approved and encouraged such outrages by promises of support and protection. Also they had denounced crimes in public, and afterwards "made communications to their associates and others with the intention of leading them to believe that such denunciations were not sincere." The respondents, 65 in all, were represented by solicitor and counsel, except Mr. Biggar and Mr. Healy, who conducted their cases in person; and Mr. Davitt also appeared in person as implicated, although not mentioned in the particulars. On October 22nd the Attorney-General began his opening speech, which lasted for four days. Its purport was that the Nationalist movement was intended to establish the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation; that one of its immediate objects was the promotion of an agrarian agitation for the non-payment of rents, which was carried into effect by a system of outrages and boycotting, openly approved by the Members of Parliament mentioned in the particulars. Further, he maintained that the movement was largely dependent on funds from America, and in intimate relations, which it could not break, with advocates of Communism, dynamite and assassination in the United States; and also that Members of Parliament and others were engaged in promoting and disseminating in Ireland, American literature which incited to sedition and the commission of crimes and outrages, for instance, the *Chicago Citizen*, the *Boston Pilot*, and the *Irish World*. With regard to the letters, he virtually promised that before the trial came to an end the Commission should be placed in possession of the names of the persons from whom they were obtained, and the money that was paid for them. The facsimile letter he asserted to be in the handwriting of Mr.

Henry Campbell with the signature by Mr. Parnell. If forgeries they were about the clumsiest thing that ever was done, and the forger must have been as foolish a man as could be imagined. He also fully admitted the gravity of the libel if the letters were not genuine, but declared that it concerned Mr. Parnell alone of the respondents. These were his main arguments, which he illustrated by abundant quotations from newspaper articles and speeches, causing Sir Charles Russell to complain that his speech was a *réchauffé*. "It may be easy," was the reply, "to sneer at a charge as a *réchauffé*, but the question is whether it is true or not."

At the conclusion of his somewhat protracted address, valuable for the closeness of its reasoning but unadorned by any gems of oratory, Sir Richard Webster called his first witness, Bernard O'Malley, a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who produced his shorthand notes of the speeches of Brennan, Matthew Harris, and other agitators. The reading of these extracts proved extremely tedious, and drew from the President occasional queries as to whether "there was much more of this?" Suddenly the monotonous course of events was interrupted by the appearance of Captain O'Shea, whose evidence was taken out of its proper stage, on account of private affairs necessitating a journey to Spain. The *quondam* friend and follower of Mr. Parnell was examined concerning the Kilmainham negotiations, in which the Captain had acted as mediator between Government and the Irish leader. He declared that when Mr. Parnell was let out on parole he paid a visit to his house at Eltham, and there, when the question of Brennan's release came under discussion, distinctly advised that he should be kept in prison. As for Sheridan, Egan, and Boyton, Mr. Parnell was reported to have said that they were organisers who knew everybody, and if he were released and could see them he should be able to use them for the purpose of putting down outrages. He was confident that if he saw them first—or to use his actual expression "if he could get the first run at them"—that he would be able to make them do what they wanted. Similarly, he was anxious to use his influence with Mr. Davitt, and to that end he remained in prison until Mr. Parnell could go to Dartmoor. Another interesting point was that Mr. Parnell disapproved of the manifesto at the time of the Phoenix Park murders, on account of its bombast, but said that it must be permitted to go forth to please Mr. Davitt's vanity. Captain

O'Shea's cross-examination was conducted by Sir Charles Russell, with the apparent object of showing that he was concerned in the procuring of the letters. Had he heard of one Houston, a journalist, or Pigott, a journalist? Captain O'Shea had certainly met Houston, who had been the intermediary through whom he, exasperated by Mr. Parnell's slanderous allusions to himself in the House of Commons, had offered to give evidence. But he denied any knowledge of Pigott, and Sir Charles Russell's searching questions concerning his dealings with certain members of the old Fenian party, who were also his constituents, merely resulted in the production of the mysterious story of a certain Mulqueeney, who had told him that Mr. Parnell had aided Frank Byrne to escape. As a matter of fact, the suspicion, entertained to his dying day by Mr. Parnell, that Captain O'Shea was in any way connected with what we may call by anticipation the Pigott forgeries, was entirely dispelled, so far as the public at large was concerned, at a later stage of the inquiry. Similarly, subsequent events, not unconnected with the Divorce Court, may explain the curious ambiguity of the captain's answers when pressed as to the reasons for his quarrel with Mr. Parnell; they were then understood to be connected with some mysterious change of policy. Read by the light of later disclosures, the captain's answers to questions as to the authenticity of the documents is greatly to his credit; he evidently had his doubts, and committed himself as little as possible. One curious point elicited was that Captain O'Shea had destroyed his documents relating to the Kilmainham Treaty, at the suggestion of Sir William Harcourt, endorsed by Mr. Gladstone at a time when there was a danger of a Select Committee being appointed to inquire into the matter, on the ground that it was desirable to observe the utmost reticence. Another was that it was through Captain O'Shea that Mr. Parnell applied to Sir William Harcourt for police protection.

Then the reading of speeches, varied by some rather lively cross-examinations by Mr. Healy, in which he was more than once checked by the President, reduced the general interest to a low ebb, from which it was barely raised by the evidence as to outrages. Nevertheless, they certainly constituted a formidable indictment against Mr. Parnell and his associates, and there was terrible pathos in the story of some of the humble sufferers in the agrarian war: Mrs. Finlay, for instance, who was unable to procure a coffin for her murdered husband nearer than thirteen miles

away; and Thomas Huddy, Lord Ardilaun's bailiff, whom nobody would assist in his search for the bodies of his father and cousin, who had both been foully done to death. Mrs. Blake, of Ryndvale in Galway, gave some striking evidence of the way in which tenants used to bring her their rents in secret, how some of them received in consequence threatening letters, and the cattle of others had been killed. This lady, who had lived on excellent terms with her tenants since 1861, was unshaken in her cross-examination by Sir Charles Russell, who came into collision with Sir James Hannen for what the latter termed "expressions made in the most disrespectful manner." The heated colloquy closed with the President's—"Someone must have the last word, and I think it desirable that I should have it." Her hind, John Kane, whose knowledge of English was limited, created some amusement by replying to the question whether he accented "boycotted" on the first or second syllable—"I go about my own business." Other witnesses made equally irrelevant replies, but it was an open question in the minds of many observers how far their ignorance was simulated. More tragic was the story of another Mrs. Blake, the widow of an agent to Lord Clanricarde, who was shot by her side in a car, together with the servant, while she herself was wounded. Father Egan, according to her testimony, had to be called upon more than once before he would come to the assistance of the dying man. Another interesting witness, though of a very different sort, was one Mannion, who with perfect coolness gave a minute description of moonlighting and other outrages in which he was concerned, while Finnerty, another Fenian, admitted that he would have taken part in murder, if necessary, though he did not actually want to commit it. The story of Lord Mountmorres's murder, as told by his uncle, was intensely dramatic; but even more sensational was Miss Curtin's modest account of how she and her sister struggled with her father's destroyers, the former wrenching a gun from the grip of one scoundrel, the latter tearing the mask from the face of another so that her brother might be able to recognise him. Norah Fitzmaurice also gave an account of her father's assassination, and of the bitter persecution to which she had since been subjected for the denunciation of the two miscreants. Mr. Maurice Leonard, Lord Kenmare's agent, gave some very remarkable evidence as to the state of Kerry, and the farmers who paid rent stealthily and by deputy. Mr. Crowe, an Inspector of Constabulary, defined the relations between the National League and

moonlighting thus:—"Every National Leaguer might not be a moonlighter, but every moonlighter was a National Leaguer." A witness called O'Connor, who attempted to involve Mr. Timothy Harrington, M.P., in something like payment for outrages, was severely shaken in cross-examination, and admitted that the statement that he had made to the *Times'* solicitor in Dublin had been changed more than once. He was recalled later when a letter to his brother was produced in which it was said that he had hoped to make a few pounds, but found it difficult unless he would swear "quare things." His over-inventive imagination brought a term of imprisonment for perjury. Another individual named Molloy admitted having "humbugged" the *Times'* solicitor as to his previous connection with the Invincibles, but being treated as a hostile witness, displayed some knowledge of that gruesome body of men. The testimony concerning Mayo was by no means dissimilar to that relating to Kerry, but was relieved from dulness by the appearance of the famous Captain Boycott, who had unwittingly added a word to the English language. And so, with an adjournment at Christmas (1888), the inquiry dragged on.

The resumption of the sittings was marked by the summoning of Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Brodrick, the Warden of Merton College, Oxford, to answer for contempt of court committed in their comments: one in *United Ireland*, the other on the platform, but they both escaped with apologies. An important witness was the convict Patrick Delaney, who had been one of the Invincibles, and who related with much circumstance the story of the Phoenix Park murders and of the attempt on Judge Lawson. He declared that the Invincibles obtained their money from the Land League through Patrick Egan, Tynan ("Number One"), and others, and that weapons had been furnished, amongst other people, by Mrs. Frank Byrne. Her husband had paid various persons concerned in the horrible crime of May, 1882, but the witness's attempts to connect Mr. Davitt with the Invincibles were of the most inconclusive character, though he persisted that he had seen the "Father of the Land League" in company with Dan Curley. Patrick Farragher, an ex-clerk of the Land League, asserted in similar fashion that Mr. Egan, the treasurer of that association, was in constant communication with the Invincible, James Mullet, and that he himself had taken cheques from one to the other; and Tobin, a moonlighter, gave similar evidence with regard to sums received by his fellow-outrage-mongers and himself from the National League.

According to him, the moonlighters were elaborately organised and under the council of the central branch of the National League. The end of January was mainly occupied in the dreary reading of speeches, and though evidence intended to prove that money had passed from Mr. Foley, M.P., to Walsh, who was convicted of treason-felony, was fairly exciting, one of the main sensations of the trial was reserved until February the 5th, when a military-looking man of forty-eight stepped into the box and gave the name of Major Le Caron *alias* Beach.

He stated that he was a native of Colchester, and had served in the Federal Army, becoming after the war military organiser to the Fenian Brotherhood for the contemplated invasion of Canada. Every detail of the Fenian plans was communicated by him to the Canadian Government. He then gave the most interesting information of the constitution of the United Brotherhood, or the Clan-na-Gael, and the Skirmishing Fund directed by O'Donovan Rossa, Patrick Ford and Devoy, "for striking a blow at the enemy wherever possible." There was a body, said the witness, called the Revolutionary Directory, under whose auspices Mr. O'Kelly had superintended the shippings of arms into Ireland. He then came to his own visit to Europe in 1881; at Paris he saw Mr. Egan, who told him that Mr. Parnell was a thorough Nationalist and Revolutionist to the backbone, and would join the I. R. B. (Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood) had it not been that Egan had prevented him. It was impossible that the Land League accounts should be published, because, said Egan, payments had been made for several objects unconnected with the League, for instance, the expenses of Dutch officers had been defrayed to go to assist the Boers. Even more sensational was the Major's account of his conversations with Mr. O'Kelly and Mr. Parnell at the House of Commons as they promenaded up and down a corridor. The latter said, "Doctor, I have long since ceased to believe that anything but force of arms will ever bring about the redemption of Ireland," and on parting had given Le Caron his photograph, which was afterwards produced. Questioned further, Le Caron said, "In reference to his views as a revolutionist he told me that he did not see any reason why, when we were prepared, had sufficient money, and were armed and organised, a successful revolutionary movement could not be inaugurated in Ireland." He said, "I think from the outlook that we will, at any rate, get in the Land League treasury a sum of 100,000 dollars. This is a pretty

good nucleus. You folks ought to do as well as that." He, Le Caron, had promised that he would bring the Clan-na-Gael into line with the National League, for which purpose he promised to see Sullivan, Devoy, Carroll, and Hynes on his return, and he considered that a complete accord between the open and the secret branches of the movement had been effected in consequence, at the convention of August, 1881. He further undertook, at the request of Mr. Parnell, to induce Devoy, if possible, and if not, Hynes or Sullivan, to come over to England. Dr. Carroll was considered a bad person to send, as he was not a friend of the open movement. According to Le Caron, Mr. Parnell had said, "Let there be no misunderstanding, we are working for a common purpose—for the independence of Ireland." Le Caron then turned his attention to the American side of the conspiracy and dwelt upon the various weapons to be used against England, including a submarine torpedo-boat which, however, turned out a failure, besides showing an intimate knowledge of the V.C., U.S., and other dark cabals. Alexander Sullivan, the President of the Clan-na-Gael, had said that, while he did not desire to compromise Mr. Parnell and his party, he disapproved very much of the attitude they had assumed towards the Clan-na-Gael in America. Le Caron, in the course of five days' evidence, made statements of the connection of the Parliamentary party and the Clan-na-Gael; for instance, he said that the U.S. had organised the demonstration to the brothers Redmond on their return from Australia, and asserted that Mr. Parnell's movements had been arranged by the leaders of the revolutionary organisation. Sir Charles Russell elicited from him that he joined the Fenian organisation with the full purpose of betraying it, and took the military oath with the full purpose of breaking it, and that ever since 1868 he had been in direct communication with the Home Government. He regarded himself as "a military spy, in the service of his country." Whatever his calling and occupation may have been, his clear and startling assertions produced considerable effect on the minds of the judges. Thus, with regard to the interview with Mr. Parnell, the report says, after taking into consideration a strongly corroborative letter from John Devoy, which the Major afterwards produced—

"It appears to us to be highly probable that Mr. Parnell would say to anyone whom he regarded as a member of the physical force party in America that he thought it desirable that an understanding should be brought about between that party and

Mr. Parnell and the supporters of the Land League movement. It was probable also that Mr. Devoy should be mentioned by Mr. Parnell as the person best able to bring about the understanding which he desired, for Devoy had undoubtedly been one of the principal agents by whom the support of a section of the Fenians had been obtained. The purpose for which such an alliance was to be formed, and the terms on which it was to be based, may be disputed, but the desire on the part of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt, and other Land League leaders, that the two parties of physical force and open political movement should act in harmony and not in opposition to one another has been proved. . . . We come to the conclusion that Le Caron has given a correct account of the message he was requested by Mr. Parnell to convey to Devoy. Mr. Parnell denies that he ever said that he had long since ceased to believe that anything but force of arms would bring about the redemption of Ireland; but he bases his denial on the fact that he never thought so. It is, however, not impossible, in conversation with a supposed revolutionist, Mr. Parnell may have expressed himself so as to leave the impression that he agreed with his interlocutor."

After the disappearance of this remarkable witness, proceedings relapsed into their normal dullness until Mr. Soames, the solicitor for the *Times*, appeared, and it was elicited from him that the alleged letters were procured from Mr. Houston, Secretary of the Loyal and Patriotic Association, and that he had them from Mr. Pigott, of the *Irishman*. The murder was out at last; and it was further elicited that over £4,000 had been paid to Mr. Houston and others for purposes of the investigation; that Mr. Soames was in complete ignorance of whence Pigott had obtained the letters; but that he had been told by that mysterious person that Mr. Labouchere had offered him £1,000 to go into the witness-box and say he forged them, and that Mr. George Lewis, solicitor for Mr. Parnell, had accused him in a letter of having admitted the fact that detectives had discovered him holding interviews with Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Parnell. In the same manner, when Mr. Macdonald was examined he explained very readily how he had received the letters from Mr. Houston, but gave no indication of any attempt to go behind his assertions and those of Pigott, apart from expert evidence as to the handwriting. "I am to understand, then," asked Mr. Asquith, "that the investigations you made were solely investigations into handwriting?" "Yes." "And that you took no steps to inquire who were the

original recipients of the letters?" "No." Mr. Macdonald considered that the facsimile letter possessed in the circumstances much inherent probability, and that the letter about "making it hot for old Forster and Co." was the sort of epistle that Mr. Parnell would most probably write.

Excitement grew as Mr. Houston appeared in the box, and informed the Court that Pigott

Maguire, of Trinity College, Dublin, Lord Stalbridge, and other acquaintances. It was not until October, 1886, that Mr. Buckle, editor of the *Times*, agreed to help him. In his cross-examination, Sir Charles Russell elicited that Mr. Houston had deliberately destroyed Pigott's correspondence after the Commission had been sitting for two months; that he had submitted the documents to Lord

15/5/82

Yours very truly
Chas. J. Parnell.

Dear Sir.

I am not surprised at your friend's anger but he and you should know that to denounce the murders was the only course open to us. To do that promptly was plainly ~~thereby~~ ^{our} our best policy.

But you can tell him and all others concerned that though I regret the accident of Lord & Cavendish's death I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts.

You are at liberty to show ^{this} him, and others whom you can trust also, but let not my address be known. Not can write to House of Commons.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE LETTER PUBLISHED IN THE "TIMES" ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN BY MR. PARNELL. (p. 374.)

professed to have obtained some of the documents through the intervention of Eugene Davis, a member of the dynamite faction, after he (Pigott) had undertaken a supposed journey to America in order to obtain permission from a certain Breslin that the papers should be surrendered. Ultimately, Pigott produced them in four several batches, though three weeks after he had surrendered the first lot he declared that the unnamed persons from whom they had been received were frightened, and wished to have them back. Mr. Houston, it appeared, had financed Pigott in the first instance from his own resources; in the second, from money borrowed from Dr.

Hartington, who had absolutely declined to give any advice in the matter; that the editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* refused to deal because the paper had lost £3,000 over the "Maiden Tribute." Further, he confessed that when on a visit to Paris with Dr. Maguire and Pigott, he had been told that the men were downstairs with the letters, and would take them away immediately if the money were not forthcoming. Did he attempt to find out who they were? No. It was part of his procedure not to go downstairs, nor had he inquired to whom Breslin's letter was addressed. He had also been quite satisfied with Pigott's statement that the letters had been left in a bag in a room

where Byrne and O'Kelly had lodged, and had been appropriated by Mr. Pigott's friends. Mr. Houston whose answers at this point were very hesitating, declared that it did not occur to him that if Pigott was inclined to be fraudulent, matters were being made easy for him; that he still believed in him, but did not like his interviews with Mr. Labouchere; whereat the Court laughed considerably.

Mr. Richard Pigott, a well-dressed, bald-headed, white-bearded, and benevolent old gentleman, next put in his appearance, and gave a glib account of his connection with the Fenian movement, how he had written a pamphlet called "Parnellism Unmasked," which he had sold to Mr. Houston for £60, and how the latter had urged him to try to get documentary evidence in support of the allegations contained in the pamphlet. His story was almost cheerful, though it added little to Mr. Houston's, except that the men from whom he obtained the letters were apparently one Maurice Murphy, an old compositor of his, Tom Brown, and a person unknown. His account of interviews with Messrs. Parnell, Labouchere, and George Lewis was hardly plausible, even with the friendly assistance of the Attorney-General. He professed that he had been induced to go to Mr. Labouchere's house by one Sinclair, *alias* O'Brien; that when accused by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Parnell of having forged the letters, he had declared that if Mr. George Lewis would withdraw his subpoena it might be possible for him to avoid going into the witness-box at all, and that he had withdrawn that offer on the sudden entrance of Mr. George Lewis into the room, which convinced him that the whole thing was a plant. As a matter of fact, he had made confession of forgery to Mr. Lewis, as the latter afterwards swore in the witness-box, and his story of Mr. Labouchere's offer of £1,000 if he would acknowledge forgery in open court was totally untrue. Mr. Labouchere had indeed made proposals for any original letters of Egan's that he might have in his possession. To elucidate the terrific cross-examination of Sir Charles Russell, we give here the text of two of the most important forgeries. The first was supposed to be from Mr. Parnell to Mr. Egan.

"9/1/82.

"DEAR E.—What are these fellows waiting for? This inaction is inexcusable. Our best men are in prison, and nothing is being done. Let there be an end of this hesitancy (*sic*). Prompt action is called for. You undertook to make it hot for old Forster and Co. Let us have some evidence of your power to do so. My health is good—thanks.

"Yours very truly,

"CHAS. S. PARNELL."

The second was the celebrated facsimile epistle

purporting to be from Mr. Parnell to an unknown correspondent.

"15/5/82.

"DEAR SIR.—I am not surprised at your friend's anger, but he and you should know that to denounce the murders was the only course open to us. To do that promptly was plainly our best policy. But you can tell him and all others concerned that though I regret the accident of Lord F. Cavendish's death, I cannot refuse to admit that Burke got no more than his deserts. You are at liberty to show him this, and others whom you can trust also, but let not my address be known. He can write to House of Commons.

"Yours very truly,

"CHAS. S. PARNELL."

"Write down the words 'livelihood,' 'likelihood,' 'proselytism,' and 'hesitancy,'" was the sensational opening of Sir Charles Russell's cross-examination; and it appeared that by a curious coincidence his methods of orthography exactly resembled those of the letters. Then it came out that Pigott had written several letters to Archbishop Walsh, in which he offered to disclose the details of proceedings "that were in preparation affecting the Parnellite party in Parliament." The same immaculate person related that those proceedings consisted of "the publication of certain documents purporting to prove the complicity of Mr. Parnell and his supporters with murders and outrages in Ireland;" wherefore Pigott was prepared to point out to his Grace "how the designs might be successfully combated and finally defeated." Also there was a postscript—"I need hardly add that did I consider the parties really guilty of the things charged against them, I should not dream of suggesting that your Grace should take part in the endeavour to shield them. I only wrote to impress upon your Grace that the evidence would be sufficient to secure a conviction, if submitted to a British jury." Pigott had no recollection whatever what was in his mind when he wrote that letter. Was the design to which he referred the publication of the documents in "Parnellism and Crime"? If not, what could it have been? Pigott shuffled, was silent, declared that his memory was a blank, and that, assuming the documents were genuine, he could not conceive how the designs could have been defeated. His inability was equally remarkable, supposing them to have been forged. At last Sir Charles elicited that Pigott must have contemplated some great danger to the party and kept the secret locked up in his bosom. "And is it still locked up, hermetically sealed, in your bosom?" "No, because it has gone away out of my bosom." And the Court adjourned, amidst a burst of laughter, until the following day, when the hapless man was

reduced to a confession that his first letter to the Archbishop contained lies, or rather exaggerations. He also confessed that he had written to the Archbishop under the belief that some of the letters were not genuine." "Which of the Parnell letters did you believe were not genuine?" "All of them, because I could not recognise the handwriting of the body of them." "Not believing the letters to be genuine, did you say so much to Mr. Houston?" "I did not state that I believe they were not genuine. I said they might possibly be forgeries." Then Mr. Wemyss Reid, the literary executor and biographer of Mr. Forster, produced a series of begging letters from Pigott to the Chief Secretary, in which the former was convicted of shameless assurance and mendacity; the latter's charity and consideration proved to be almost inexhaustible, though even he grew tired at last of his impudent correspondent. Pigott, though never particularly at his ease, was most at sea when confronted by two letters of his to Egan, in which he declared that two mysterious strangers had offered him £500 if he would publish a statement in the *Irishman*, exposing the expenditure of the Land League Funds, but that, being in desperate straits, he would take £300 to be silent from the Treasurer of the Land League. "Bad as I am," ran his touching asseveration, "I have always trusted those who have trusted me." But as to the strangers, he seemed peculiarly hazy. Were they tall or short? what time of day did they call? did he offer them refreshment? He really had forgotten. Finally, some admittedly genuine letters of Messrs. Egan's and Parnell's were read, which contained some phrases remarkably similar to others occurring in the alleged forgeries. Pigott could not account for these coincidences, and, when interrogated as to the spelling of "hesitency" with an "e" instead of an "a" in Court on the day before by himself and in the forgery of the 9th of January, 1882, remarked that there was so much talk about the mis-spelling in the forgery that it had got into his brain. It was his most ingenious answer.

The Court made its usual adjournment from Saturday till Tuesday, and when it re-assembled Pigott failed to appear. Evidence was taken that he had not been seen at his hotel since Monday afternoon, and that on the Saturday he had come uninvited to the house of Mr. Labouchere, and there, in the presence of Mr. G. A. Sala, had signed a written confession that he had forged the letters of Messrs. Parnell, Egan, Davitt, and O'Kelly by the simple process of copying genuine

words and phrases, and tracing others against a window-pane. On Saturday night, however, he had made an affidavit to Mr. Shannon, a solicitor, that he had forged only four of the later letters, and that he firmly believed the first batch which he had received from Casey, *alias* Murphy, to be genuine. A warrant was issued for his apprehension, but, owing to the extraordinary laxity with which his movements were watched, he fled through Paris—whence he forwarded the original of his confession to Mr. Labouchere—to Madrid, and there committed suicide on the 1st of March, just after the police had arrested him on an extradition warrant. Upon the body was found a letter to Mr. Labouchere, in which he repeated the statement that the first batch of letters, including the *facsimile* letter and that beginning "What are these fellows waiting for?" was genuine. The reason for these lies is obscure; probably they sprang from mere force of habit. In the circumstances, all that remained for the Attorney-General was to request permission on behalf of the *Times* to withdraw from their lordships' consideration the question of the genuineness of the letters submitted to them, and to express, on the part of those he represented, his sincere regret that they had been published. Sir Charles Russell, in fiery tones, remarked that there was a conspiracy behind Pigott, and asked help from their lordships in the discovery whether the young man Houston, the alleged journalist and Secretary to the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union, had embarked on the adventure solely on his own account and responsibility. Then Mr. Parnell appeared, and swore that none of the letters were signed by him or written by his authority.

The condemnation of the *Times* was general, not only for the extraordinary want of precaution displayed in the paper's collection of evidence, but also because the letters were regarded as wholly beyond the province of journalism, which is primarily concerned in the reproduction of and comment upon news, not in its creation. As might well be expected, the interest of the case waned rapidly after the Pigott episode was over. The judges decided not to make a special report on the letters, and the weary reading of extracts from the *Irish World* and other papers was resumed and several outrage-mongers were examined, but their evidence added little to the familiar aspects of the case. By way of variety, one Coffey, who declared in the witness-box that certain statements he had made, implicating various persons in crime, were wholly false, was committed to Holloway

Gaol for gross contempt of Court. The last witness called by the *Times* was Mulqueeny, Captain O'Shea's acquaintance, who spoke of the methods of business in the Land League offices at Westminster, and declared that Frank Byrne, shortly before the Phoenix Park murders, showed him the knives with which the crime was supposed to have been committed. He also denied with some circumstance that he had communicated to the *Times* the fact that Mr. Parnell had given £100 to Frank Byrne to enable him to escape.

Then the Court adjourned for a fortnight, to enable the other side to prepare the defence. On April the 2nd Sir Charles Russell began his opening speech with a bitter attack on the Attorney-General's conduct of the case, which, said he, must be raised from the unmethodical and heterogeneous mass of detail with which it had been encumbered. What did Edmund Burke's saying that he was unable to draw up an indictment against a nation mean, except that when there was a great national upheaval the ordinary rules of judicature, as drawn from the Old Bailey or Nisi Prius, had no application or relation? He urged that the dealings of the Conservative party with the Parnellite Members, notably, Lord Carnarvon's interview with Mr. Parnell and Mr. McCarthy, held with the knowledge of the Prime Minister, proved that they could not believe that party to be directly concerned with crime. Nevertheless, the Commission was virtually a Government prosecution; for the gaols had been scoured for evidence—and Sir Charles drew a touching picture of the strong temptation to a man in Delaney's position to conjure up imaginary facts in the hope of obtaining his release. Then Sir Charles traced the history of Ireland from the days of Grattan's Parliament, and, with the aid of copious quotations from Dr. Johnson, Burke, and Mr. Froude, urged that combination and outrage had been forced upon the Irish people by misgovernment. This part of his speech was extremely eloquent, but was apparently dealt with by Sir James Hannen and his colleagues in the following passage of the report—"We were invited to take a political retrospect of the history of Ireland for the past century, and to criticise the land legislation during that period, and especially to pass judgment on the sufficiency or insufficiency of the Acts of Parliament that for the past twenty years have been enacted to ameliorate the condition of Irish tenant-farmers; but these subjects do not come within the scope of our inquiry." On the second day he reached the period

of the establishment of the Land League, and urged that it was not only justifiable, but necessary; and he gave a striking sketch of the characters of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt, and other leaders of the movement, in order to show that exceptional circumstances alone could have brought such various men together. Their public declarations were justifiable; for he considered that boycotting was justifiable up to a certain point, though he admitted that the No Rent Manifesto was a mistake. He earnestly dissociated the leaders of the Irish party from complicity in the Phoenix Park murders, and urged that whenever outrages had occurred they had been strongly condemned. His attempts to minimise the charges against Sheridan, Boyton, Brennan, and Egan must be pronounced ingenious rather than convincing, and he was on sounder ground when he contended that Mr. Parnell's association with Byrne had been of the slightest character. Still more specious was the gloss he put upon Le Caron's evidence on the ground that the man's life was "a living lie," that Devoy's letter was not the sort of epistle that he was at all likely to have written, and so forth. However, the learned advocate was well within his rights when he denounced the careless and reckless manner in which the forged letters had been produced; and he made a stirring appeal to the judges to aid him in unmasking the foul plot and conspiracy which led to the manufacture of those letters. On the last day, he classified the charges brought against the Irish leaders under nine heads, which, as we shall see, were afterwards adopted by the Commission in its report, and declared that since the trial had commenced the position of accuser and accused had been reversed. The inquiry, which was intended to prove a curse, had been a blessing, and in an eloquent peroration he expressed a hope that the effect of the Commission would be to hasten the day of a true union and real reconciliation between the people of Ireland and Great Britain. "I have spoken," said he, "not merely as an advocate; I have spoken for the land of my birth."

An adjournment over Easter caused the last day of April to be reached before the first witness entered the box, in the person of Mr. Parnell. After a good deal of somewhat unnecessary autobiographical reminiscences, he denied ever having belonged to any secret society; said that he had never heard of the dynamite party until 1883; that he did not know of the existence of the Invincibles until after the Phoenix Park murders,

which he had never endorsed ; and that he had never given assistance to crime and outrage. Mr. Parnell denied any recollection of the interview with Le Caron, though he might possibly have seen him, and said that the phrase attributed to him about the possible amelioration of Irish

from justice. Finally, he comprehensively denied that he at any time had sought to conduct the agitation by other than constitutional means. The Attorney-General's decidedly effective cross-examination was conducted with the view of convicting Mr. Parnell of a knowledge of the



SIR CHARLES RUSSELL, AFTERWARDS LORD CHIEF JUSTICE RUSSELL OF KILLOWEN.
(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

distress by force of arms was ridiculous, and also the message that he was supposed to have sent to John Devoy. The incident of the photograph, he admitted, might be true, as people frequently sent him his photographs, with a request that he would sign and return them. He denied Captain O'Shea's evidence about the relative order of the liberation of Brennan and Davitt, or that he had sought or obtained police protection. It was true that he had given a cheque for £100 to Frank Byrne, but for purposes of the Land League of Great Britain, not so as to enable him to escape

Clan-na-Gael, of Mooney or "Transatlantic," and Fenianism ; and curiously enough, the chairman of every reception committee during the American visits appeared to have been a Clan-na-Gael man. Of one of Mr. Davitt's speeches he was driven to acknowledge that it was not that of a person advocating constitutional means, but adroitly added that it was the speech of a person in a state of transition. He admitted having met several of the physical force party, Alexander Sullivan, Devoy, Finerty, and Breslin, but had very little personal contact with them, and frankly

avowed that he saw no reason for excluding anyone from the League because of his antecedents. With regard to the "last link" speech at Cincinnati, he believed that he did not use the words, and thought that they must have crept in from somebody else's utterances—an ingenious explanation, quite outdone by the translation of the words "five dollars for bread and twenty for lead" as five dollars for the Charitable Fund and twenty for the Land League Fund. Here the Court tittered, and positively laughed on the following day, when Mr. Parnell—the conversation having recurred to the strange sayings and doings of that American tour—said that his recollection was not very clear, as the mice had entered his portmanteau and eaten his papers! He admitted that some of his own denunciations of crime were insufficient, also that some of Mr. O'Brien's articles in *United Ireland* were objectionable; that one of them "might have a tendency" to induce violent men to shoot informers. He did not object to the Martyrs' Fund, raised for the families of the Phoenix Park murderers. The crowning point in a remarkable series of admissions came when Mr. Parnell, asked if his statement in 1881 that secret societies did not exist was true, calmly replied that he was endeavouring to mislead the House on that occasion, and to cut the ground from under the argument of the Government in support of the Bill. Nor did he mend matters by several varying explanations. The Land League books had disappeared, and could not be found, he said; whereupon the President, in grave tones, reminded him of the importance attached to them by the Court. Sir Charles Russell's re-examination terminated in a heated scene, which was led to by some severe remarks by two of the judges upon the conduct of Mr. Parnell's solicitor and counsel in not advising him to disclose certain documents relative to the case: *e.g.* a shorthand book of letters relating to the Land League. It terminated with Sir Charles's exit from the Court, and then the President extinguished Mr. Biggar: "Your observations have not assisted us."

Archbishop Walsh's evidence did not produce anything of moment, except that he did not approve of much in *United Ireland*, and thought that some of the extracts read from the *Irishman* were most abominable, though he justified boycotting unaccompanied by intimidation, and thought that the Plan of Campaign was defensible on the ground that it was a voluntary association. Then a number of parish priests and League officers

swore to the blameless character of that association, one gentleman ingenuously remarking that the League never did anything at all. A masterly cross-examination of the well-known Father Egan by Mr. Atkinson elicited that when Finlay was murdered he refused to help in getting a coffin, because he considered that he and his colleague, Father Cohen, had not been treated with proper respect by the police, and because Finlay was opposed to the tenants. One curious feature in the evidence of all these reverend gentlemen was their inability to account for the disappearance of the League books of their district. Mr. William O'Brien appeared on May 22nd, and denied having encouraged a policy of outrage, declaring that criminality was one thing, and illegality another. *United Ireland*, he maintained, had been conducted by him on strictly constitutional lines; and Mr. T. D. Sullivan gave similar evidence with regard to the *Nation*. Mr. Biggar admitted having been on the Supreme Council of the Fenian organisation, but denied that he had anything to do with outrages or crime, though he admitted there was a physical force party among the Fenians. He was peculiarly misty as to the Land League funds, of which he had been treasurer; for instance, he could not remember ever having drawn a cheque, and had not the slightest notion what had become of the books. Nor was much satisfaction on the point extracted from the next witnesses, Mr. A. O'Connor and Mr. Justin McCarthy.

After a fortnight's adjournment, the Court re-assembled on June the 18th, when Mr. E. Harrington, M.P., defended most of the articles that had appeared in the *Kerry Sentinel*, but admitted that one deploring the weakness of the Phoenix Park murderers who had pleaded guilty was written without his knowledge. Mr. T. P. O'Connor, when confronted with certain discrepancies in his "History of the Parnell Movement," remarked that the early part was written when the Government was in office, the latter under the *régime* of another Government. He followed Mr. Parnell in saying that if he had known a man to be a member of the Clan-na-Gael he would not have objected to his joining the constitutional agitation. Dr. Kenny, M.P., Egan's successor as treasurer to the Land League, emphatically denied that any portion of the funds had been devoted to criminal purposes, but was somewhat vague as to his acquaintance with Le Caron, and no information could be extracted from him as to the destination of the Land League books. He had no recollection of having given instructions to

Mr. Campbell that some of them should be taken to London. Mr. Sexton and Mr. T. Harrington gave somewhat similar evidence, the latter coming into frequent collision with the Bench for making personal observations on the state of Ireland. Unfortunately, public interest appeared to be well-nigh exhausted, and their story, which in the earlier stages of the Commission would have filled columns of the daily papers, was now relegated to the briefest space. Mr. Michael Davitt appeared on the 2nd of July, and claimed that he had always discountenanced outrage, though not opposed to physical force if there was a reasonable chance of success. He denied that the Clan-na-Gael was any more of a murder club than the Carlton. "I have met," said he, "a great many people both in Europe and America, and I have yet to meet a better man morally, both as a Christian and a philanthropist, than Patrick Ford. A few months after the establishment of the National League in Dublin, Mr. Ford's paper became hostile to Mr. Parnell, and shortly afterwards, I regret to say, he openly advocated dynamite. I wrote to him, reasoning with him on such a policy, and ultimately he came round again to our side, and is now honestly advocating constitutional agitation." He explained an old letter of his which apparently sanctioned assassination by saying that it was written in order to gain time until he could write to two superior officers of the Fenian body to dissuade the young man whose name appeared to be Forester from committing the crime. He wished to God he could get national independence for Ireland to-morrow, though, if Mr. Parnell's movement were to succeed, he was prepared to give it a loyal support. He owned to having sent arms from England on more than one occasion, and hoped that the day would come when every Irishman had a rifle by his side. Mr. Davitt considered that the Widow Walsh, who told him that she allowed her innocent son to be convicted of the murder of Constable Kavanagh rather than inform against the real assassin, was a noble woman, even though she knew that the criminal had gone to America. He thought that to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Joe Brady was wrong, but he would readily participate in a festival in honour of the Manchester "martyrs," Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien. Mr. John O'Connor declined to state anything regarding the Fenian organisation, and was rebuked by the President for asserting a common report that the Irish officials knew of the innocence of two men, Poff and Barrett, who were condemned for murder. He was severely

cross-examined by Mr. Atkinson as to payments from League funds for the defence of moonlighters; but here again account-books had unfortunately disappeared. On July the 12th an unexpected development occurred, owing to the refusal of Mr. Houston, who was recalled, to allow the books of the Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union to be examined by the Union's political opponents, though he would readily submit them to the judges. Sir Charles Russell's object was to verify the payments made by him to Pigott for the forged letters, his contention being that the dead man was used by that association to concoct the plot. Sir James Hannen ruled that the inspection insisted upon as a right could not be granted, because even if it was true that the Loyal and Patriotic Union had paid the money, the Commission was concerned only in the truth or falsity of the charges. Acting on the instructions of Mr. Parnell, Sir Charles Russell announced his withdrawal from the inquiry, and the other counsel engaged in the defence followed his example.

With the exit of Sir Charles Russell, Mr. Lockwood, and Mr. Reid, Mr. O'Kelly's frank admissions that in his early years he had taken part in the importation of arms in Ireland fell rather flat; and even Mr. Matt Harris created but little stir when he averred that if every landlord in Ireland came to his house one after another he would shoot them down. On July 23rd Mr. Parnell was recalled, and examined with regard to the missing Land League books. He declared that he had not taken any steps to ascertain what had become of them, nor did he intend to take any. In answer to the President, he declined to give any information which would disclose the nature and extent of the reserve resources at Paris. He believed that Egan took the Land League books to Paris, and he understood that Maloney, who had the documents, destroyed them. This statement, however, was denied by Maloney, and afterwards Mr. Phillips, an accountant who had formerly been employed in the offices, declared that when the Land League was suppressed there was about a ton of documents and papers in the rooms, of which two sacksful had gone to Maloney, while he, Phillips, had given to the *Times* solicitor a few that had been hidden from the detectives, and were accidentally discovered on top of a cupboard. In all, four account-books were produced, and in them, after professional examination, no less than £93,800 odd remained unaccounted for, of which £16,000 was for "organisation." On July the 25th the evidence for both sides closed, some five hundred witnesses having

been called altogether, and the Commission adjourned until October the 24th.

When the sittings began afresh, Mr. Biggar addressed the Court on his own behalf, denying that any proof had been given that the Irish Members had been connected with outrages. At the conclusion of a somewhat monotonous harangue, Mr. Davitt rose, and read a long statement, of which the main contention was that the Land League was a constitutional organisation. His former connection with the Fenians, he said, was justified by the circumstances of the time, and if the conditions recurred, he declared he would be a Fenian again. He repudiated the contention that he had acted with the party of dynamite and assassination in America, or that he had brought about a union between the Clan-na-Gael and the Parnellites at home. The evidence of such a junction rested entirely on that of Beach the spy, and the Clan-na-Gael had been wrongly represented as a murder club; it was, on the contrary, described by Mr. Davitt as "a revolutionary freemasonry." The President, who heard him with marked attention, curtailed somewhat his references to the ineffectual efforts of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland, and Mr. Davitt then proceeded to ascribe outrages to landlordism, and not the Land League; indeed, the latter organisation had habitually discouraged them. He concluded with an expression of regret for want of trained skill. That expression, the President said, was not necessary. He had put his arguments with great force and ability, and the judges were obliged to him for having given them assistance that had been withheld by others.

On October the 31st Sir Henry James began his reply with an argument that the Land League was Fenian in its origin; that Mr. Davitt, its founder, admitted that he was a Fenian; that Fenianism was a treasonable combination, and sought the separation between Ireland and England. Therefore, in order to further their own ends, the Fenians had allied themselves to the tenants, and organised the conspiracy against the payment of rent. Their ultimate aim, however, was to stir up rebellion; and Sir Henry James declared that he could find no difference, as Mr. Davitt contended, between his aims and those of John Devoy. The backbone of the League had been throughout a handful of men of strong wills—Davitt, Egan, and Brennan; and their object was to unsettle Ireland by physical force. After defending Le Caron, whom he declared to be simply a detective employed by the Government to thwart the

machinations of assassins, Sir Henry traced Mr. Parnell's connection with the extreme men in America, and declared that the American Land League, founded by him, was completely controlled by the Clan-na-Gael. He then reverted to Ireland, and declared that Mr. Parnell, on his return from America, at once had recourse to the members of the old Fenian party, choosing members of the Supreme Council to carry out his policy, with the full knowledge that that body countenanced assassination, and that the activity of his agitators, not distress, was responsible for crime. This, he maintained, was shown by the existence of crime where distress was least, if at all, felt. Mr. Parnell had sanctioned boycotting with a full knowledge of its terrible consequences, and abstained from any effort to check crime. The contention that crimes were committed not by members of the Land League, but of secret societies, he dismissed as totally novel; and taking Mr. Parnell's statement in the House of Commons to be true, his subsequent explanations in Court to be false, he asserted that, besides Fenianism, there were no secret societies in Ireland in 1880. The teaching of the Land League was: "You are poor, the law won't make you rich; then break it"; its attitude towards the moonlighters: "You know better than we what to do." Indecent homage, as evidenced by Mr. Davitt's knowledge of the Widow Walsh's case, was paid to assassins; execration heaped upon their victims, captors, and judges. Further, he found in some of the papers belonging to the respondents direct incitements to crime. He commented on the absence of the Land League books, said those that had been produced gave no information, except that large sums of money were unaccounted for. These sums, he maintained, were sufficiently indicated by Phillips' documents to have been expended in compensating criminals: among them, the Phoenix Park murderers. The National League had inherited the objects, methods, and victims of the Land League by an "apostolic succession." On the 22nd of November the speech came to an end with an eloquent peroration, to the effect that the Irish people must have bitter regret for the history of the last ten years; but that the result of the inquiry would be that truth would be told, that "they would seek new modes of action, with new men to guide them, and then it would be—God grant it!—that blessings would be poured upon a happy and contented people." The public proceedings concluded with a few words from Sir James Hannen. He congratulated the counsel on the completion of their arduous task, but the

Commission must bear their burden a little longer. "Conscious throughout this great inquest that we have sought only the truth, we trust that we shall be guided to find it, and set it forth plainly in the sight of all men." Before the publication of the report came, as we have already mentioned, the compromise of Mr. Parnell's libel action against the *Times*. The Government had offered to prosecute the *Times* for libel and pay expenses, leaving him

Special Commission, and our expression of regret that they had been published, it was clear that we had no legal defence to an action founded upon them, or upon statements connected with them; and we had therefore no alternative but to come to terms with our opponent, or to abide by such a verdict as a jury might think proper to award. As we had ourselves at the outset challenged such an action, with its consequences, in the event of



O'CONNELL STREET, DUBLIN. (From a Photograph by W. Lawrence.)

choice of counsel. He declined, however, and on February the 3rd, 1890, it was announced that a verdict had been taken "by consent," whereby the £100,000 damages originally claimed were compounded for £5,000. Mr. Parnell's motives were the subject of much speculation, which he, with his usual superb reticence, made no attempt to enlighten. No doubt he was influenced to a certain extent by his distrust of English justice and English juries. Partly, too, boredom may have counted for something in his determination; but magnanimity certainly counted for more. In any case, the *Times'* apology was generally considered to be wholly inadequate. It ran: "After our withdrawal of the letters from the purview of the

our being unable to make good that part of our case, we cannot complain of being taken at our word. The result, however, in no way affects the larger question, upon which the Commission may shortly be expected to report. It is most desirable that its report, when presented, may be placed in the hands of the public with as little delay as possible."

The public had not long to wait; nor when the blue-book appeared on February the 13th were its contents such as prohibited a prompt arrival at an opinion; for the report was surprisingly short, considering the wide range of the investigation, and its conclusions were stated in no dubious language. The charges and allegations were summarised

under nine heads, of which the first was that "the respondents were members of a conspiracy and organisation having for its ultimate object to establish the absolute independence of Ireland." Starting with the year 1877, the Commissioners traced the history of the Fenian organisation in Ireland and America under the names of the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Clan-na-Gael. Their members were interchangeable; their objects the separation of Ireland from England by insurrection; in Ireland the members swore to obey a call to arms, to obey their superiors implicitly, and were liable to capital punishment in cases of treason. Then Mr. Davitt's career was traced, from his imprisonment in 1870 for a conspiracy to depose the Queen and his liberation in 1877, when he received a public address, signed by Messrs. Parnell, Biggar, Dillon, D. Curley, Patrick Egan, James Carey, and Thomas Brennan. He immediately rejoined the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and became a member of the Supreme Council. In August, 1878, he visited the United States "for the purpose of making the Land question a stepping-stone to national independence," and his Reception Committee comprised many notorious Fenians and the trustees of the Skirmishing Fund, Breslin, Burke, John Devoy, and Luby. He voted for resolutions asserting Ireland's right to independence, and advocating the abolition of the landlord system; was present at a meeting held in honour of the Manchester martyrs; and, returning to Ireland with John Devoy, "became a Land Leaguer, and an advocate with him in endeavouring to persuade other Nationalists to join the movement, as a step towards the overthrow of the English dominion." The emissaries of the Clan-na-Gael were next traced at work: John Devoy, with his consignment of rifles, working to similar ends with Messrs. Matt Harris and John O'Connor; General Millen travelling as military organiser; Dr. Carroll, a trustee of the Skirmishing Fund, on a similar errand. Davitt and Devoy explained their views to the Fenian leaders in Mayo, and the agrarian agitation began, Mr. Parnell attending one of its earliest meetings at Westport, with full knowledge that Davitt and Devoy had been in communication. Then followed extracts from some of the speeches, in which Davitt avowed himself "an Irish Nationalist, who would not retreat one inch from the position he took up when he represented his right to independence"; and Davitt's request for assistance from America, and acceptance of money from the Skirmishing

Fund, which he was aware "had been started by O'Donovan Rossa to assist Ireland to strike England 'anywhere where she could be hurt.'" The League was started, its programme being issued on the 21st of October, 1879; and this, inasmuch as it did not contain a claim for self-government, was allowed both by Mr. Davitt and Mr. T. P. O'Connor not to be a complete recital of the whole principles on which the League was founded. Mr. Parnell and Mr. Dillon proceeded to America, and were welcomed by all sections of the Irish party, and amongst them by the Clan-na-Gael, though there was no proof that they knew their antecedents. At Cincinnati the "last link" speech was supposed to have occurred, concerning which the Commissioners remarked—

"Mr. Parnell will not undertake to say that he did not use the expression that he would not be satisfied till the last link between Ireland and England was destroyed, but says that it is improbable that he did so; and that if he did, it must have been largely qualified with other matter, as it is entirely opposed to anything he has ever thought or said. The evidence leads us to the conclusion that Mr. Parnell did use the words attributed to him, and they certainly are not inconsistent with some of his previous utterances."

After Mr. Parnell's return came the banquet at which Mr. Biggar said that if the present constitutional course failed, "he thought Ireland would be able to produce another Hartmann [a Russian Nihilist, who attempted to assassinate the Czar], and probably with much better result." Mr. Parnell's explanation of "five dollars for bread and twenty for lead" was rejected by the Commission; nor could they find any evidence for his contention that the Fenian party offered determined opposition from the first, but rather the contrary. Thus: "Mr. M. Harris told us that had it not been for the Fenian organisation the Land League never could have assumed the proportions it did, and he added, 'I know that what I am saying will tell a good deal against what has been put forth in the witness-box, but I want to tell the truth.' They considered that Mr. Davitt acted as the link between the two wings of the Irish party, and after citing numerous extracts from speeches, came to their first conclusion:—

"In our judgment, the charge against the respondents collectively of having conspired to bring about total separation is not established; but we find that some of them, together with Mr. Davitt, established and joined in the Land League organisation with the intention, by its means, to bring

about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation. We think that this has been established against the following among the respondents :—Mr. Davitt, Mr. M. Harris, Mr. Dillon, Mr. W. O'Brien; Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. J. O'Connor, Mr. Joseph Condon, and Mr. J. J. O'Kelly."

The second charge was, that one of the immediate objects of the conspiracy was, by a system of coercion and intimidation, to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents, for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords, who were styled "the English garrison." The Commissioners therefore recited numerous speeches by Messrs. Brennan, Boyton, P. J. Sheridan, and Biggar, denouncing the "land-shark," the "land-grabber," and the payer of rent, including the famous Ennis speech of the 19th of September, 1880, in which Mr. Parnell countenanced the system of boycotting previously advocated by Mr. Dillon at Maryborough on the 5th of October, 1879. After a sufficient number of extracts, they examined some typical cases: those of the eponymous hero, Captain Boycott; Richard Mitchell, a farmer who was ruined and driven into the Bankruptcy Court; Edward Herbert, a publican, who was boycotted on the advice of the *Kerry Sentinel*, and afterwards shot at and wounded by three men; and Jeremiah Heggarty, a merchant who was shot at, whose house was wrecked, his men driven away, and his customers maltreated, as the direct result of the action of the League. The system was characterised as of a most severe and cruel character; and that it worked as it was intended was proved by the evidence of the various devices to which tenants resorted who were willing to pay their rent. The finding was that the "combination of which boycotting was the instrument was illegal both in its objects and the means which were adopted. . . . In our judgment, the leaders of the Land League who combined together to carry out the system of boycotting were guilty of a criminal conspiracy, one of the objects of which was (as stated in the second charge) by a system of coercion and intimidation to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents for the purpose of impoverishing and expelling from the country the Irish landlords, who were styled the 'English garrison.'" The charge was considered established against forty-four of the respondents, of whom the first half-dozen were Messrs. Parnell, Dillon, Biggar, Sexton, T. P. O'Connor, and W. O'Brien.

The Commissioners held, however, that there was no proof that Mr. Parnell knew at the time of the Kilmainham negotiations that Sheridan or Boyton had organised crime, though he must have been aware of the inflammatory speeches they had made. They found that the Invincibles were not a branch of the Land League, and that the Land League did not organise or pay the Invincibles, nor did the respondents associate with any persons known by them to be employed in the Invincible conspiracy.

"We consider that there is no foundation whatever for the charge that Mr. Parnell was intimate with Invincibles, knowing them to be such, or that he had any knowledge, direct or indirect, of the conspiracy which resulted in the Phoenix Park murders; and we find the same with reference to all the other respondents."

The third charge was that "when on certain occasions the respondents thought it politic to denounce certain crimes in public, they afterwards led their supporters to believe that such denunciation was not sincere." This matter was discussed by the Commissioners very briefly, on the ground that it was based upon the "facsimile" letters, and that all the letters produced by Pigott were forgeries.

The fourth charge was that the respondents disseminated the *Irish World* and other papers tending to incite to sedition and to the commission of other crimes. Then followed a series of extracts from the *Irish World*, edited by Mr. Patrick Ford, including proposals for laying London in ashes in four-and-twenty hours and the letters of "Transatlantic," or Mooney, for instance—"Spread the light! My countrymen, spread the light! Better than dynamite, though a good 'factor' in our affairs—better still is the light of truth." In 1884 Ford wrote in his paper: "Success, say we, to the National League, and more power to dynamite!" Then followed passages from *United Ireland*, first published in August, 1881, under the editorship of Mr. William O'Brien, beginning with narrations of a series of outrages, under the headings of "The Land War," or "The Spirit of the Country," or "Incidents in the Campaign." The obvious intention of many of these extracts was to appeal to men of extreme views, though there were undoubtedly others of a more moderate character. The *Irishman*, during its existence as a Parnellite paper, contained among other items an obituary notice of Joe Brady, in which the assassin was contrasted with Carey:—"One was evidently a hypocrite and a cunning coward; the other was

evidently a sincere, lion-hearted enthusiast." As to Mr. Parnell's silence on the dynamite outrages, the *Irishman* regarded it as "a proof of his statesmanship, and one of the best evidences he could give of his sagacity." The Commissioners found upon this part of the case that the respondents did disseminate newspapers tending to incite to sedition and the commission of crime.

The fifth charge was that the respondents, by their speeches, and by payments for that purpose, incited persons to the commission of crime, including murder. The Commissioners were of opinion that none of the respondents intended to procure the commission of murder.

"But while we acquit the respondents of having directly or intentionally incited to murder, we find that the speeches made, in which land-grabbers and other offenders against the League were denounced as traitors, and as being as bad as informers—the urging young men to procure arms, and the dissemination of the newspapers above referred to—had the effect of causing an excitable peasantry to carry out the laws of the Land League even by assassination." A number of typical cases followed, and the Commissioners recorded their opinion that "outrages followed as a consequence in those districts in which the Land League was established, and that the rise of agrarian crime was coincident with its activity." They rejected the theories that crime was due to evictions, or to secret societies working in conjunction with the Land League, or to the rejection of the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. The sixth charge was that the respondents did nothing to prevent crime, and expressed no *bonâ fide* disapproval of it. Upon which the Commissioners remarked that:—"We find on this allegation that while some of the respondents, and in particular Mr. Davitt, did express *bonâ fide* disapproval of crime and outrage, the respondents did not denounce the system of intimidation which led to crime and outrage, but persisted in it with knowledge of its effect."

On the seventh charge the finding was "that the respondents did defend persons charged with agrarian crime and supported their families, but that it had not been proved that they subscribed to testimonials for, or were intimately associated with, notorious criminals, or that they had made payments to procure the escape of criminals from justice." This was an entire acquittal of Mr. Parnell from the charge of having helped Frank Byrne to escape to France. As to the charge that the respondents made compensation to persons who had been injured in the commission

of crime, it was considered proved by the documents produced by Phillips, the Land League clerk; and the Commission commented severely on the withholding by Mr. Parnell and the officers of the Land League of their help in the investigation of the accounts of the League.

The last charge (the ninth) was that the respondents invited the assistance and co-operation of, and accepted subscriptions from, known advocates of crime and dynamite. This necessitated an examination of the Land League movement in America, and its connection with the Clan-na-Gael. The Commissioners traced the history of the American branch of the Land League from the Buffalo Convention of 1881, dwelling incidentally on Major Le Caron's famous interview with Mr. Parnell and Mr. O'Kelly, down to the Philadelphia Convention of 1883, when it ceased to exist. "The Irish National League of America then took the place of the Irish National Land League of America, and by means of a committee of some of the Clan-na-Gael, as had been advised in a circular of the 19th of April, 1883, obtained the control over the entire Land League movement of America, and thenceforward retained it." While the Clan-na-Gael controlled and directed the Irish National League of America, the two organisations concurrently collected sums amounting to more than £60,000 for a fund called the Parliamentary Fund. "We find that the respondents did invite the assistance and co-operation of, and accepted subscriptions of money from, Patrick Ford, a known advocate of crime and the use of dynamite, but that it has not been proved that the respondents or any of them knew that the Clan-na-Gael controlled the League or were collecting money for the Parliamentary Fund. It has been proved that the respondents invited and obtained the assistance and co-operation of the Physical Force party in America, including the Clan-na-Gael, and, in order to obtain that assistance, abstained from repudiating or condemning the action of that party."

Such was the purport of this impressive examination, the effects of which upon party politics will be considered in the following chapter. But what, the reader naturally asks, were the costs of the protracted and wide-reaching investigation? They were never exactly stated; but the whole of the £42,000 collected for the defence was believed to have been absorbed, while the disbursement of the *Times* was reckoned quite at three times that amount, so that, to the newspaper at least, the game was not worth the candle.



CORK.

(From a Photograph by Guy and Co.)

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Influenza in 1890—The Eight Hours Question—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Labouchere—The Queen's Speech—The Facsimile Letter again—Amendments to the Address—The Report of the Parnell Commission—Debate on Mr. Gladstone's Amendment—The Jennings-Caine Amendment—Weakness of the Ministry—The Irish Land Purchase Bill—Mr. Parnell's Motion of Rejection—Speeches of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Goschen—An Autumn Session announced—The Tithes Bill—The Allotments Bill—The Hartington Commission—The Budget—The Licensing Clauses—The Bill in Committee—The Speaker's Ruling—The Clauses abandoned—The Barrow Election—Mr. Matthews and Mr. Monro—Strike of the Police—The Life Guards and the Letter-Sorters—Abandonment of Bills—Accusations of Obstruction—Sir William Harcourt's Reply—Mr. Stanley's Return—The Royal Military Exhibition—The Bisley Meeting—The Naval Manœuvres—The Trades Union Congress—The Southampton Strike—Railway Strikes—The Agrarian Campaign in Ireland—New Tipperary—The Court-house Riot—Partial Failure of the Potato Crop—The Trial at Tipperary—Flight of Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien—Political Speeches—The Parnell Divorce Case—Committee Room No. 15—Mr. Gladstone's Letter—Mr. Parnell's Appeal to the Irish People—Mr. Gladstone's Reply—Mr. Parnell and Mr. Morley—The Struggle in the Committee Room—Progress of the Session—The Tithes Bill—The Land Bill—Relief of Irish Distress—The Kilkenny Election—"In Darkest England"—Criticisms on the Scheme—Mr. Loch's Pamphlet—The Baring Crisis—Opening of the Forth Bridge—The Scottish Railway Strike—Its Collapse—Obituary of the Year.

THE year 1890 opened gloomily, owing to the ubiquitous presence of the influenza epidemic, which, after travelling across Europe, had made its appearance in England during the previous autumn. As to the origin of this illness, the doctors appeared by no means agreed, and the epithet "Russian" seemed to have been bestowed by popular consent rather than on scientific authority.

The number of its victims was certainly much exaggerated, since many of the supposed sufferers were attacked by nothing worse than the colds incident to the season of the year. It was noticed also that the influenza was especially apt to prostrate people with fixed incomes, who could afford to take a holiday, especially clerks in Government offices. Nevertheless, there was a recognised form

of the complaint, of which the symptoms were a high temperature, violent pains in the head and limbs, shivering, and a period of considerable weakness and depression previous to recovery. Nor were the consequences of neglect other than serious, since they frequently resulted in pneumonia or pleurisy, and there was always danger of a relapse. The sickness undoubtedly caused a rise in the death rate, and was especially fatal to the aged; even persons of strong constitutions did not always rally immediately from its effects. It also caused a certain dislocation of business, and the postponement or abandonment of social gatherings throughout the length and breadth of the country. The worst of it was that the foul fiend's first visit was by no means his last; in fact, his attentions became annual.

In the circumstances, politics were somewhat at a discount: partly because people were occupied with their own real or imaginary sufferings, and partly because so much was expected to result from the Parnell Commission's report. Sir M. Hicks-Beach spoke at Leamington without telling his hearers any Government secrets; Mr. Asquith at Leeds repeated his request that the leaders of the Liberal party would take their followers into their confidence with regard to their Home Rule scheme; but none of them showed any inclination to accept his challenge. Lord Dunraven, something of a Conservative, but more of a Socialist, delivered a well-considered defence of the Eight Hours movement both at Liverpool and Bermondsey, while Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden warned the farming classes against the pernicious doctrines of land nationalisation, and looked to an extension of garden cultivation to check the migration into the towns. Lord Randolph Churchill, on the other hand, while speaking at St. James's Hall in support of a Polytechnic Institution for North-west London, dwelt upon the deficiencies of the metropolis in all the necessities of urban life. He, too, was called upon to pronounce an opinion upon the Eight Hours question by the Miners' Federation, which, in spite of the opposition of Mr. Pickard, M.P., had passed a resolution in favour of the enforcement of that maximum by Parliamentary legislation. He replied that eight hours a day was quite enough for mining occupations, and that, if the men were of one mind on the subject, he thought it was a case for Parliamentary interference. Mr. Gladstone, to whom an appeal was also made, expressed a doubt whether Parliament could or should pass such a Bill, and preferred to look to the independent action of the

men. The question was destined to come into yet more prominent notice as the year advanced, and to disarrange somewhat the ordinary divisions of party politics. Meanwhile, Lord Derby and Mr. T. W. Russell were arguing the Home Rule question from the Liberal-Unionist point of view; while Mr. Gladstone, in a brilliant speech at Chester, made one of his formidable attacks on the administration of the Crimes Act. His most trenchant passage was that in which he declared his opinion that the proceedings, taken as a whole, towards Mr. Parnell, beginning with the forgery of the letters, and carried on by the Government and the majority of the House of Commons, in defiance of all precedent and usage, constituted a case of oppression practised upon an individual which had no parallel in the conduct and proceedings of Parliament since the evil reign of Charles II. But neither this polemic nor the reply of Sir M. Hicks-Beach could be said to have invested a battered theme with novelty; and perhaps of all the utterances before the meeting of Parliament the most significant were those of Mr. Labouchere. At West Ham, and again at Northampton, he declared that the advanced Radicals would attack the Ministry at every point, and harass them by every possible means. These remarks were held to be indicative of obstructive tactics, and it was thought might have at least been postponed until the production of the Government programme. Some hints on the point had been expected from Mr. Goschen; but in addressing his constituents in Prince's Hall, he confined himself to a well-considered defence of Government, and urged his hearers to moderate their expectations of a surplus, as he was moderating his own. "Ministers," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "were literally steeped in Bills."

When Parliament met, on the 11th of February, the list of Government measures proved long and various. The Irish proposals included measures "for increasing under due financial precaution the number of occupying owners, for extending to Ireland the principles of local self-government which had been already adopted in England and Scotland, so far as they were applicable to that country, and for improving the material well-being of the population in the poorer districts." A Land Transfer Bill, a Tithes Bill, a Scottish Private Legislation Bill, an Employers' Liability Bill, a Bill for the consolidation and amendment of the laws with respect to Public Health in the metropolis, and to the dwellings of the Working Classes; also a Bill for the regulation of Savings Banks and Friendly

Societies, and another for the improvement of Barrack Accommodation, were all promised. The earlier proceedings of the Session gave little prospect of many of these schemes being carried through their necessary stages, though the House of Lords disposed of the Address with the despatch usual when the Conservatives are in power. In the House of Commons Sir William Harcourt interposed with a question of privilege turning on the publication and commentary in the *Times* on the facsimile letter. It seemed rather late in the day to raise the question, but Government, instead of putting forward Mr. Smith to make prompt explanation, entrusted the moving of a negative amendment to Sir John Gorst. He made a somewhat halting reply to Sir William's slashing onslaught, which urged that the publication of the facsimile letters had been no hasty and inconsiderate action by an obscure libeller which the House of Commons could afford to pass over in silence. "This is no hasty action of some inexperienced person, which might be passed over and forgotten. In the cases to which I have referred, where the breach of privilege was not insisted upon, an apology was made in this House by the persons who committed the offence. There has been no apology made by the *Times* newspaper to the House of Commons. There has been what is called an apology made to the member for Cork. Are we to pass over this in silence? It is not a thing which has been done in a corner. It is a thing which is known in every part of the civilised world. It cannot be passed over and forgotten; it will never be forgotten; and in my opinion it cannot be passed over." Sir John Gorst had argued that nearly three years had elapsed since the publication. "Yes," said Mr. Gladstone, "the three years which he and his friends have contrived shall elapse." Mr. Balfour argued that the notice before the House should have been made when the *Times* acknowledged the libel by paying 40s. into court, and maintained that to say that the paper had used letters which they had good reason to think were forged was as bad a calumny as any that had been mentioned in the debate. Whereupon Mr. Labouchere told a curious story of notes that had been traced from the *Times* to Pigott within ten days of his flight from the country. Mr. Parnell, in a scathing speech, justified his conduct in asking for a Select Committee rather than a Judicial Commission, on the ground that the former tribunal would have unmasked the forgeries within forty-eight hours, whereas the latter had been deliberately devised

to divert the inquiry into subsidiary matters. Then he attacked the Attorney-General, and concluded: "Leader as I am of a party in a minority, of a party which, as an Irish party, has always been in a minority, I should be sorry to treat my powerful opponent with the depth of incredible meanness and cowardice with which I have been treated." At length, the leader of the House mollified the temper of the Opposition by accepting Mr. Parnell's demand that "forged" should be inserted before "letters," and by expressing Government's satisfaction at the Irish leader's complete exoneration. Nevertheless, Sir William Harcourt's resolution was put to the vote, and defeated by the comparatively narrow majority of 260 to 212.

The debate on the Address was not more pertinent than usual, though Mr. Parnell introduced an amendment condemnatory of the Crimes Act and advocating the ordinary code. It was defeated, after a vigorous passage-of-arms between Mr. Shaw Lefevre and Mr. Balfour (of whom the former was angry because he had not been arrested during his visit to Ireland; while the latter declared that the Member for Bradford had carefully kept out of the disturbed districts), by 307 to 240. Dr. Clark's amendment in favour of Home Rule for Scotland was defeated after Mr. Gladstone had announced his intention of giving an adverse vote, on the ground that the question was not yet ripe; and a similar amendment on behalf of Wales was withdrawn. Mr. Arthur Acland's amendment in favour of free education was remarkable for producing a declaration from Mr. John Morley in favour of State support for Catholic and Jewish schools, which was at once accepted by Mr. Sexton, and appeared to cause a certain amount of dismay among the Nonconformists. This "*concordat*" was denounced by Mr. Chamberlain in the *Times*, who accused Mr. Morley and his friends of "being willing that the Roman Catholics should have the fullest measure of State support without any corresponding obligation to accept local representative control, provided that they were allowed to destroy the schools at present under the control of the Church of England, the Wesleyans, and other Protestant sects." It is obvious that this was not the true interpretation of Mr. Morley's *obiter dictum*; nevertheless, its meaning was never exactly explained, and the declaration was generally regarded as a little unfortunate. After lasting for eight nights, the debate on the Address came to an end on the 24th of February.

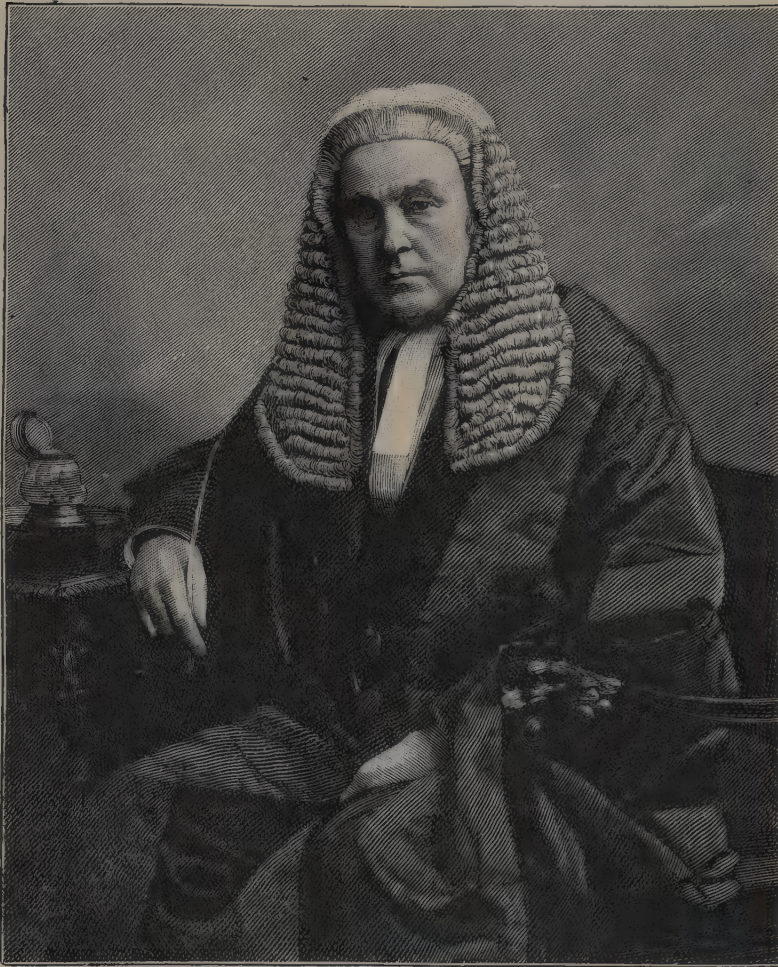
The discussions had been vapid, the interest of Members being absorbed by the publication of the report of the Parnell Commission, which was eagerly read and vigorously criticised. Its effects can hardly be said to have been very apparent, since both sides appeared to claim its findings as satisfactory. Thus, the two divisions of the Opposition, Irish and English, urged that Mr. Parnell and his associates were pronounced guiltless of any connection with the Invincibles, of helping criminals to escape from justice, and even of having collectively conspired to establish the independence of Ireland. The Conservatives, on their side, pointed to the proved allegations which ascribed to the respondents a conspiracy to promote an agrarian agitation by coercion and intimidation; which convicted them of having aided in the defence of persons charged with crime and outrage; and of having accepted money from Patrick Ford and other known advocates of dynamite and outrage. What steps were Government going to take? In answer to Mr. Parnell's inquiry, Mr. Smith said that he intended to move that the report be adopted, and the Commissioners thanked for their just and impartial conduct. Mr. Morley then gave notice, on behalf of Mr. Gladstone, of an amendment recording the House's reprobation of "the false charges of the gravest and most solemn description, based upon calumny and forgery, which have been brought against Members of this House, and particularly against Mr. Parnell; and, while declaring its satisfaction at the exposure of these calumnies, the House expresses its regret for the wrong inflicted and the suffering and loss endured through a protracted period by reason of these acts of flagrant iniquity." Sir Charles Lewis announced a rider, deploring that seven Members of the House had been found guilty of a treasonable conspiracy, and forty-three parties to a criminal conspiracy, and expressing the opinion of the House that the conduct of such Members was deserving of severe condemnation. In the interval before the debate was reached Mr. Labouchere was suspended for accusing Lord Salisbury of falsehood in his denial that he had connived at the escape from justice of Lord Arthur Somerset, one of the persons implicated in the unsavoury Cleveland Street case. The Premier's explanation, made at the next meeting of the House of Lords, was of the most complete and satisfactory character, proving that his supposed warning to Sir Dighton Probyn that a warrant was about to be issued had never been uttered. The heat engendered by this incident

pervaded to a certain extent the seven nights' discussion on the findings of the Commission. Mr. Smith's opening speech was somewhat colourless, for while expressing his satisfaction that the personal charges against the Irish Members had been disproved, he pronounced the other charges to be of a serious nature; and then, somewhat illogically, proceeded to justify Government for not attempting to punish the Members on the general ground that the object of the Commission was simply the discovery of truth. Mr. Gladstone, who followed with a fervent appeal to the Opposition, attacked the competence of the judges, while acknowledging their zeal and good faith, declaring that their report bristled throughout with contested and disputable matter, and that it was a disproportionate and ill-balanced judgment. Then came a glowing peroration:—"And now, Sir, as a Member of the House, to whom am I to appeal? I appeal from the party opposite as a party; I appeal to them as individuals. I ask you as citizens—I will not say as Christians—and as men, to consider this case. I ask you to acknowledge the law of equal and reciprocal moral obligation; I ask you to place yourselves for a moment, not as the mass, among whom responsibility is diffused and severed till it becomes inoperative and worthless; but I ask you individually, man by man, to place yourselves in the position of the hon. Member for Cork as the victim of this frightful outrage. Is it possible in doing this that, after all his cares, all his suffering, all he has gone through—and I believe that there is no parallel to it for two hundred years—that you can fail to feel that something remains due to him, or that you can bring that something lower or make it smaller than the amendment I am about to move? No, Sir. Then give your judgment as men; but do not be satisfied with giving a judgment that may be sustained by the cheers of the majority of this House upon a victorious or favourable division. Give such a judgment as will bear the scrutiny of the heart and of the conscience of every man when he betakes himself to his chamber, and is still. Of such a judgment I have no fear. For such a judgment, I ask you, I entreat you, I might almost say—in the name of that law of universal obligation—I respectfully demand it of you. Give such a judgment in the terms of the amendment, concur in declaring that which is, after all, but a part, and feebly represented part, of the wrongs that have been inflicted—give that judgment, accede to our demand, accede to our prayer; and grant this late, this

miserable, this perhaps scanty reparation of an enormous and unheard-of wrong."

After Mr. Gladstone came speakers of the recriminatory sort: Sir M. Hicks-Beach so taunted Sir William Harcourt for his "calumnious" assertions that the latter flounced out of the House

James, however, was theatrical when, pointing to Irish benches, he said, "The Irish agitation is doubtless the result of tyranny and oppression, but the tyrants sit there!" By far the ablest speech from that quarter was Mr. Sexton's, who, nevertheless, declined to read a supposed letter



SIR JAMES (AFTERWARDS LORD) HANNEN.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

with: "I will not stay here to be abused in this way!" Equally acrimonious were the exchanges of personalities between Sir Charles Lewis and the Home Rule Members, of whom Mr. John O'Connor gloried in his past career as a Fenian; while Mr. Henry Campbell denied on his honour that he had taken any part in the hiding of the Land League books. Sir Charles Russell and the Attorney-General made long and legal discussions, which were, in substance, reproductions of their arguments before the Commission. Sir Henry

from Lord Salisbury to Pigott, though challenged to do so on authority by Mr. Balfour. Sir William Harcourt wound up the debate in a bantering speech, which dwelt *inter alia* on the efforts of the *Times*' solicitor to obtain the evidence of P. J. Sheridan and General Millen when Mr. Parnell's libel action against the *Times* was pending; and, with some exaggeration, termed Mr. Soames's telegrams to those worthies "more infamous than the forged letters." Mr. Gladstone's amendment was defeated by 339 votes to

268, several Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists abstaining from voting; and with it Sir Charles Lewis's rider collapsed.

Nevertheless, yet another rider was moved by Mr. Jennings, a follower of Lord Randolph Churchill's, committing the House to a record of "its condemnation of the conduct of those responsible for accusations of complicity in murder brought against Members of this House, based mainly on forged letters, and declared by the Special Commission to be disproved." Lord Randolph supported his henchman in a tirade against Government, which he had warned, on the first proposal of the Commission, by a letter addressed to Mr. Smith, against its espousal of causes that had produced as their one great result—Pigott. After Mr. Chamberlain had come to the rescue of Government, Mr. Jennings expressed himself as embarrassed by Lord Randolph's speech, and desirous of resuming independence of judgment, he withdrew his amendment. It was, however, moved afresh by Mr. Caine, a Liberal-Unionist, after Mr. Goschen had taunted Mr. Gladstone for confessing that the Land Act of 1881 was not a great act of Liberal statesmanship, but was wrung from the Prime Minister of England by agitation and outrage. Mr. Gladstone demurred to this interpretation of his words, and limited them to a statement that it would have been impossible to pass the Act but for the agitation. "What a lesson," retorted Mr. Goschen, "to teach to the subjects of this great Empire." After Mr. Smith had moved the closure, Mr. Caine's amendment was rejected by 321 votes to 259, and the original motion of Government was then carried without a division.

The Ministry was undoubtedly weakened by this debate, since everyone asked if the Parnellite Members were guilty, why were they not prosecuted in a court of law? If innocent, why had not some responsible person the decency to make an acknowledgment of the fact? The *via media* actually adopted was to the taste of but few, and the bye-elections about this time showed a considerable decline in the Conservative vote. Further, the debate on the report had consumed an enormous quantity of time, and Easter was close at hand before any of the principal Government measures were fairly under weigh. The most fortunate of the Conservative legislators was Mr. Stanhope, who carried his useful Bill for providing additional Barrack Accommodation, at the cost of £4,100,000, through its various stages. Meanwhile, the House of Lords was idle, save

for an interesting debate on the Commission report, after which Lord Granville did not venture to challenge a division, though nineteen peers who had been absent were afterwards allowed to enter their protest. Lord Salisbury endeavoured to revive the zeal of his followers by convoking them to the Carlton Club, where he expressed his strong desire to see the Irish Land Purchase Bill and the Tithes Bill passed during the present Session; and four days afterwards (March 24th) Mr. Balfour proceeded to explain the former measure.

The Chief Secretary's extremely complicated Bill was explained in an admirably lucid statement. A new Land Department was to be created, instead of the five courts now concerned with Irish land; and to this tribunal tenants were to apply who wished to foreclose their holdings. Application to the department must be the result of voluntary agreement between landlord and tenant, and the whole of the purchase-money would be advanced, provided that it did not exceed twenty years' purchase of the net rental. Under a vesting order from the department, the tenant would immediately become the possessor of his holding, subject to an annuity of 4 per cent., payable for forty-nine years, after which the payments would cease. In addition, he would have to pay for the first five years a sum amounting, with the 4 per cent. annuity, to 80 per cent. of the net rental, and this was to be kept in bond as a tenants' insurance fund, to make up for any default in the payment of the instalments. For further security, the funds contributed by the Imperial Exchequer for local purposes in Ireland were to be held as a guarantee fund—namely, the £40,000 which would go to Ireland in lieu of licence duties, and the Irish portion of the probate duties, amounting to £200,000. As a third security, the Irish local authorities were to be held responsible for default, each county to be liable for its own default. The guarantee fund, as a whole, would amount to £33,000,000, and to this amount the sum advanced for land purchase was to be limited. In addition, there were to be three collateral securities—namely, the landlords' fifth, the tenants' insurance fund already mentioned, and five years' accumulations of the £40,000 in lieu of licence duties. But the contingent portion of the guarantee fund was not to be approached until the landlords' fifth, the tenants' reserve, and the local rate had all been exhausted. Under this arrangement of checks and balances Mr. Balfour conceived that the Treasury would never

be impoverished. Landlords were to be paid off in Government Stock at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or, if they wished, in Consols. Finally, the congested districts were to be dealt with by a Congested Districts Board, for which £1,500,000 was to be advanced from the Irish Church surplus, in case of default. This Board would have power to provide for emigration, the amalgamation of holdings, and the encouragement of fisheries.

Despite its alarming cleverness and complexity, the Bill received a fairly favourable reception from the newspapers, though some doubts were expressed as to the validity of its supposed guarantees. But its second reading was not reached until April the 21st, when Mr. Parnell moved the rejection of the measure, on the ground that it exhausted Irish credit, left three-fourths of the land question absolutely untouched, and simply enabled a small number of large absentees to realise at exorbitant prices, while the smaller and resident landlords were left face to face with continued strife with their tenantry. He again proved how, under the Ashbourne Act, thirty-four owners had received £2,250,000 out of £3,792,000 advanced to 530 owners. In other words, 6 per cent. of the owners who sold had got off with 57 per cent. of the whole amount of the purchase-money. The Duke of Abercorn had received £267,000, the Marquis of Bath £270,000, the Duke of Leinster £244,000, the Marquis of Waterford £124,000, the Salters' Company £230,000, the Fishmongers' Company £118,000, the Skinners' Company £103,000. He preferred a measure by which all rents under £50 a year should be reduced by 30 per cent., while the landlords should be appeased by so many years' purchase until their encumbrances were paid off. No speech of any moment was made until Mr. Gladstone expressed his four objections to the Bill: (1) Irish opposition; (2) the use of their national credit in opposition to the verdict of the last election; (3) the evils of State landlordism; (4) the pressure which a landlord could bring to bear upon a tenant in order to extort from him the benefits conferred by Parliament. Mr. Goschen, in a vigorous reply, pointed out in particular that the principle of State landlordism was embodied in Mr. Gladstone's Purchase Bill of 1886; and after Mr. Dillon had warned Government that the present measure would lead to a more dangerous insurrection than had been known, Mr. Chamberlain made an effective speech, of which the gist was that the leading principles of Mr. Balfour had practically been accepted by Mr. Parnell. On the other

hand, the Chief Secretary's plans reminded Sir William Harcourt of "the advertisement of a patent medicine or the prospectus of a bubble company." Mr. Balfour's elaborate reply was characterised by some shrewd strokes, particularly at the expense of Mr. Knox, who acknowledged that he was making preparations to sell to his tenants, and, therefore, said the Chief Secretary, in Mr. Parnell's phrase, to "abscond with the plunder." He denied that his Bill would drive out the landlords, or that it could be met by wholesale repudiation. Finally, Mr. Parnell's amendment was rejected by 348 votes to 268.

Accompanied by copious criticism out of doors, the Land Purchase Bill made but slow progress in the House, though the Speaker came to the aid of Government by ruling an instruction of Mr. John Morley's out of order, on the ground that it was vague, and that its objects could be accomplished in Committee without any instruction at all. This was on June the 9th, and there was clearly no prospect of carrying so complicated a scheme in the present Session. Lord Salisbury called a meeting of his followers, and urged that the Bill must either be kept alive until another Session or it would be necessary to hold an autumn Session. Which of the two alternatives was to be adopted did not appear until the 17th, when Mr. Smith announced that Government would ask the House to assent to a new standing order, enabling the suspension and carrying over of a Bill in the Committee stage to the next Session, as if the prorogation had been merely an adjournment. Mr. Gladstone declined to accept the proposal unless so grave a breach of precedent had been investigated by a Select Committee, and a body, of which Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt and Mr. Balfour were members, proceeded to deliberate the matter. Before their report was presented, however, Mr. Smith announced another change of plan, whereby an autumn Session was to begin in November, at which the Land Purchase Bill and the Tithes Bill were to be reintroduced.

The latter measure, after expressions of disapproval from the Farmers' Alliance and a certain "Tithe Question Association," of which Lord Brougham appeared to be the guiding spirit, had passed its second reading by 289 votes to 164 on March the 27th. Sir M. Hicks-Beach, in explaining its scope, answered the contention of the Welsh Liberals that tithe was national property by describing the tax as the property of the Church and her ministers, held by them in return for

religious observances performed for the benefit of the nation at large. The result of the Welsh agitation had been that of some £39,000 due in two years for ecclesiastical tithe, no less than £10,000 was unpaid, and £3,000 had been spent in compelling payment. To remedy this state of affairs, it was proposed to transfer the liability for payment of tithe from the tenant to the landlord. Distraint for non-payment would be abolished, and instead, the payment, in case of non-compliance, would be enforced by a receiver appointed by the county court. The assessment would be made by the assessment committee for the union, and the security would consist in the net rent. There were to be facilities for redemption of tithe, but no revaluation; nor was the question of corn averages to be reopened. Many of these provisions, as Mr. Raikes showed, embodied the suggestions of Sir William Harcourt for the Bill of the previous year; accordingly, the criticism of the front Opposition bench was not unfavourable. The Radicals, however, led by Mr. Picton, and supported by a compact phalanx of Welsh Members, complained of the narrowness of the Bill, and, in the words of Mr. Osborne Morgan, its aim—namely, “to accomplish little short of a miracle: the setting of the Church of England in Wales on its legs again.” Some ridicule was also cast on the statement that many of the Welsh clergy were starving. The Bill did not get into Committee until June 5th, when Mr. Stevenson’s instruction for an equitable revision of tithe in accordance with the changed conditions of agriculture was negatived, after an application of the closure, by 240 to 197 votes. These new instructions were ruled out of order by the Speaker; but at this point the Tithes Bill shared the fate of the Irish Land Purchase Bill.

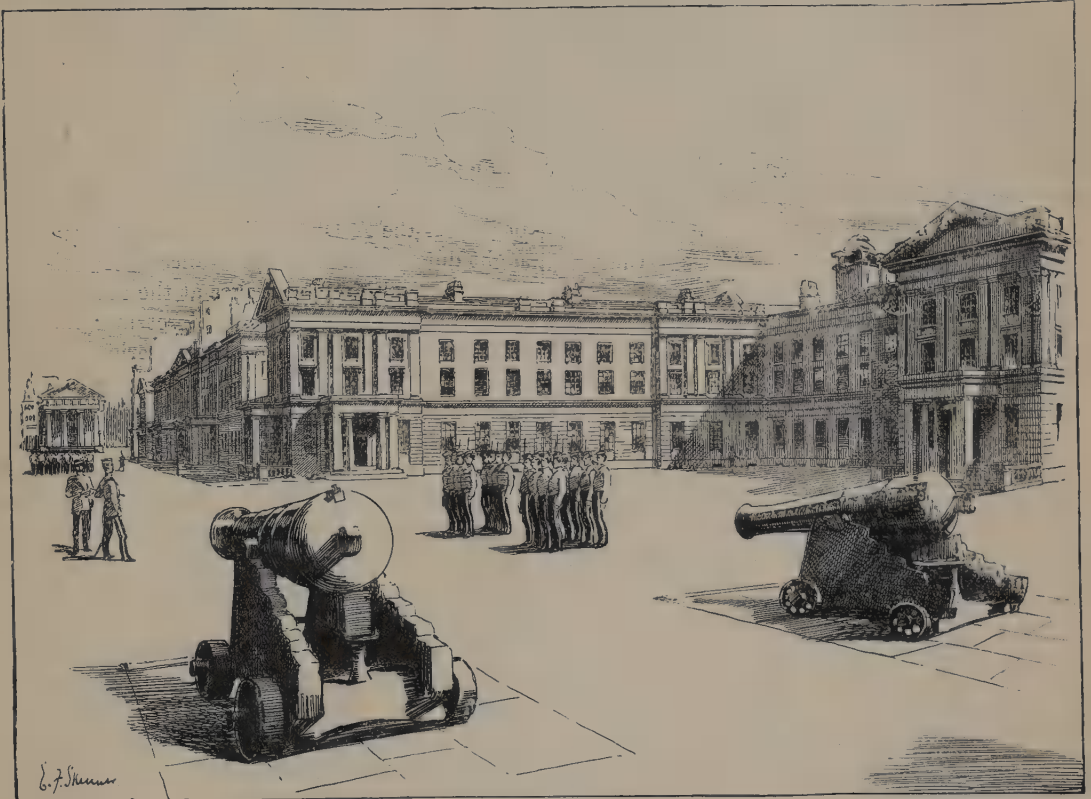
How far Radical obstruction was responsible for the deadlock in the legislative machinery, and how far Ministerial mismanagement, was a matter concerning which opinions were somewhat evenly balanced. The Allotment Acts Amendment Bill had a more successful career than its companions, although the second reading was not carried until March the 24th, and it was not read in the House of Lords for the third time until the 1st of August. The object of the measure, as explained by Mr. Ritchie, was to obviate the non-exercise of their compulsory powers by the sanitary authorities by providing an appeal to the County Councils on the representation of six qualified persons. Ministers persisted in adhering to the principle of mutual agreement between labourer and landlord; and Mr. Cobb’s instruction for the creation of

local authorities by popular election in smaller areas than those of the sanitary authorities was negatived by 249 votes to 210. Sir Walter Foster also was unsuccessful with his amendment that two persons, instead of six, might appeal to the County Council when a licence had been refused. On the other hand, Sir E. Hamley defeated Government in a motion which called attention to the defective equipment of the volunteers, and the debts incurred on that ground by the various corps. Nor, though Mr. Stanhope’s army estimates were generally regarded as fairly satisfactory, did Government show any inclination to act upon the elaborate report of Lord Hartington’s Commission on the National Defences which had been appointed in 1888. On some points this document gave forth a rather uncertain sound, but the Commissioners were agreed upon the imperative necessity of common action on the part of the naval and military authorities, to be effected by a Council of Defence; also that the War Office needed a thorough reorganisation in order to fix responsibility on the heads of departments. The abolition of the Commander-in-Chief, and the creation instead of a Chief of the Staff, seemed favoured by the majority. Eventually, Mr. Stanhope announced the appointment of a Cabinet Committee, with the Prime Minister at its head, which should form a naval and military council to decide unsettled questions between the two departments, and a War Office council to advise the Secretary of State without detracting from his responsibility.

Mr. Goschen’s budget showed a realised surplus of over £3,000,000, of which sum he devoted £300,000 to barrack accommodation, and made some popular remissions of 2d. in the pound on the tea duty and 5s. per cwt. on currants. Besides, he proposed to relinquish the new duty of 3d. per barrel of beer. This duty, amounting to £386,000, and an additional tax of 6d. per gallon on home and imported spirits, estimated at nearly £1,000,000, he proposed to assign to the local authorities. The revenue would amount in all to £1,305,000, of which England was to receive £1,043,000, Scotland £144,000, and Ireland £118,000. The English portion was to be assigned as follows: the Metropolitan Police Superannuation Fund, £150,000; County Police Fund, £150,000; the County Councils, £393,000; and the remaining £350,000 to the buying-up of licences by the local authorities, introducing at the same time a compensatory measure of a temporary character, to prevent the issue of further licences.

Mr. Goschen claimed for the licensing clauses of his Local Taxation Bill the support both of the licensed victuallers and the temperance reformers. Signs of opposition, nevertheless, were developed during the discussion of a Bill for amending the licensing laws, introduced by Lord Randolph Churchill, when Sir Wilfrid Lawson and Mr. Caine both pronounced against all compromise in the principle of compensation. The contentious

though Mr. Goschen announced that Ministers were absolutely determined on carrying a Bill which Sir William Harcourt stigmatised as an insult to the constituencies. The third reading of the Budget Bill was carried on May the 23rd, Sir Wilfrid Lawson's motion of rejection being defeated by 141 votes to 67. In ordinary circumstances the subsidiary Local Taxation Bill would have been considered safe, but the Whitsuntide



WELLINGTON BARRACKS, LONDON.

clauses were for a time postponed; but when the Bill came on for its second reading (May the 12th), a pitched battle was fought over Mr. Caine's amendment, directed against the extinction of licences by public moneys. His argument was that the principle of compensation gave a publican a vested interest in his licence, and so amounted to an endowment of public-houses; in fact, that it was a renewal in another form of the Licensing Proposals of 1888. In this view he was supported by Mr. Gladstone, who explained away with considerable ingenuity his previous declarations in favour of compensation, which had been read to the House by Mr. Ritchie. In spite of an all-night sitting, the Opposition fought the measure tooth and nail,

recess gave occasion for the gathering of an opposition against which the Ministerial denunciations of obstruction were of little avail. A huge temperance demonstration was held in Hyde Park on June the 7th, and petitions against the obnoxious plan began to pour in. Hitherto the bye-elections had gone fairly well for Government, for if the Liberals had won Carnarvon by the aid of Mr. Lloyd George, and held St. Pancras by the aid of Mr. Bolton, Mr. Somervell had regained the Ayr Burghs for the Conservatives. But their hopes of recovering East Bristol—a seat vacated by the death of Mr. Handel Cossham—were singularly foiled, as Sir Joseph Weston increased the majority, despite the appearance of a Labour

candidate in the field in the person of Mr. J. H. Wilson. The Opposition might have been even more encouraged had it known that Mr. Smith, whose health was very precarious, had made yet another offer of resignation, but was told once more that he could not be spared. On the 10th the Bill went into Committee and a fierce struggle began, particularly over Mr. Arthur Acland's motion to devote the money allotted to the extinction of licences to purposes of agricultural, commercial, and technical education in England. The promise of a Select Committee, on the demand of Lord Randolph Churchill, to consider the whole question of compensation by no means mollified the Opposition, and majorities dwindled steadily, particularly on June 19th, when, owing to the absence of their supporters at Ascot, Ministers escaped defeat by a bare majority of four. This was in spite of a meeting at the Carlton Club, at which Lord Salisbury and Mr. Smith had urged the party to stand firm, and the latter's announcement in the House that all measures would be postponed until the licensing clauses were carried. Finally, Mr. Smith intimated that Government were going to abandon the licensing clauses, and then ask the House to "ear-mark" the funds derived from the new spirit duties, so that they might accumulate until Parliament had decided to deal with the whole question. In reply to Mr. Gladstone's strong remonstrance, Mr. Smith flatly refused to abandon the Bill, but its course was cut short by Mr. Healy, who obtained an opinion from the Speaker that there was no precedent for the imposition and non-appropriation of a tax. The withdrawal of the licensing clauses on June the 26th, and the application of the money, as originally proposed by Mr. Arthur Acland, to technical education, naturally did not redound to the credit of Government; however, it had a curious and not uninteresting sequel. Before their abandonment, Mr. Caine abruptly resigned his seat for Barrow and stood for re-election. In the circumstances, Lord Hartington sanctioned the starting of a Conservative candidate, while the Liberals, thinking Mr. Caine's pronouncements on Home Rule none too satisfactory, also brought forward a formidable rival in Mr. Duncan, a noted advocate of local option. The result was that Mr. Caine found himself at the bottom of the poll, and Mr. Duncan at the top. Stranger still, Mr. Caine announced his accession to the party of Mr. Gladstone, almost immediately upon the declaration of his defeat.

Furious debates on the "shadowing" of Irish

Members by the police occupied many nights during this sterile session, and Mr. Matthews was once more called over the coals for his quarrel with Mr. Monro, the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan force, which ended in the resignation of the latter. Their bone of contention was the provision to be made for superannuation, and though the Home Secretary was solemnly arraigned by Sir William Harcourt, the terms of his Police Bill, which were shortly afterwards announced, were generally felt to justify his position, altogether apart from questions of discipline. They gave a constable a pension of half-pay after fifteen years' service if physically disabled, and one of three-fifths' pay after twenty-five years without a medical certificate. Nevertheless, the discontent of the force culminated in the refusal of a number of men of the A Division at Bow Street to go upon night duty unless their grievances were redressed. There were also minor strikes at the other stations, and on July the 7th Bow Street and its neighbourhood were the scenes of serious disorder on the part of the malcontent "coppers," which had to be suppressed by the Life Guards, who cleared the thoroughfare of the assembled crowds. Nevertheless, the general strike that was threatened did not take place, and presently the agitation died away. Almost simultaneously the second battalion of the Grenadier Guards, at the Wellington Barracks, refused to parade at a kit inspection ordered by their colonel. Eventually they appeared, but not in heavy marching order. So grave a breach of discipline could not be overlooked; six ringleaders received sentences of eighteen months' imprisonment, which however were subsequently reduced, and the refractory battalion was ordered off to Bermuda "to recover its character," after a most severe censure from the Duke of Cambridge. Lastly, Mr. Raikes found himself at loggerheads with his employés, owing to the suspension of a large number of letter-sorters. Supernumeraries were engaged, and between these "blacklegs" and the regular hands a serious scuffle took place in the Central Parcel Post Office, Clerkenwell, on July the 9th, with the result that the recruits were driven from the building. Further dismissals ensued, to the number of some 250 in all, and the utmost confusion prevailed in the various departments owing to the unpopularity of the Postmaster-General, who certainly appeared in the unenviable light of a martinet. Discussions on these matters diversified the closing days of the Session, which were further characterised by the abandonment of an

extraordinary number of Bills. More than one Minister hinted at the necessity of drastic remedies for Parliamentary obstruction, but obviously none such could be adopted at that advanced date; and the Irish Members joined issue with Mr. Balfour over their country's Estimates with copious supply of words. The Chief Secretary's Light Railways Bill was a useful measure which was hardly discussed on its merits, and was still in an inchoate state, when Parliament was prorogued on the 8th of August. Two days before, Lord Salisbury had made an emphatic declaration that no nation could flourish if it allowed "the unrestricted exercise of the powers of the Parliamentary bore;" and Lord Hartington followed him in a severe comment upon the tactics of the less responsible members of the Opposition, which had never been wholly disavowed and discouraged by the more responsible leader. Sir William Harcourt, on the other hand, laid the blame upon Mr. Smith, whom in a letter to the *Times* he compared to "a clumsy jockey," a "lubberly steersman," an "ungainly lover," and "a raw angler." He prophesied that the autumn session would be a complete failure, and piously invoked Heaven to defend him from being the member of a Cabinet which had deserved and would experience the fate of Orpheus, meaning, apparently, Actæon. From a passage from Sir Richard Temple's diary, quoted by Sir Herbert Maxwell, it may be gathered that the Opposition was also disposed to find fault with Mr. Smith's leadership, on the ground that he exercised no restraint over "his ambitious colleagues in the Cabinet," who were responsible for the Licensing Bill.

The lion of the London season, which died its natural death about the time of the prorogation of Parliament, was certainly Mr. H. M. Stanley, who returned to England on April the 26th, on the conclusion of his expedition for the rescue of Emin Pasha. His reception, both at Dover and in London, was of the most enthusiastic description. The traveller became the guest of royalty, which also attended a reception held in his honour at the Albert Hall by the Royal Geographical Society. An audience with the Queen at Windsor, the freedom of the City of London, and an honorary degree at Oxford followed, while the necessary touch of the romantic was given by the announcement of his engagement to Miss Dorothy Tennant, the well-known artist. The wedding took place at Westminster Abbey on July the 12th, and was attended by an enormous number of people of rank and fashion, though the

bridegroom was unfortunately so ill that, at the last moment, a postponement seemed by no means improbable.

The popular resort, on the other hand, was the Royal Military Exhibition held in the gardens of the Chelsea Hospital. The object of this display, which was backed by a distinguished committee, including the Commander-in-Chief, was to provide soldiers' institutes, and it was opened by the Prince of Wales on the 7th of May. From the first the grounds were crowded every afternoon and evening, partly no doubt because they gratified the taste for open-air bands and fireworks which had been cultivated by the successive exhibitions at the Horticultural Gardens, South Kensington, but chiefly because of the interesting quality of the objects displayed, which included relics of bygone veterans, a gallery of military art, and specimens of every conceivable kind of death-dealing weapon. Musical rides, tent-pegging, and other soldierly exercises were also to be seen in the open space beyond the buildings, though the skill exhibited was inferior to that usually in evidence at the annual Military Tournament at the Agricultural Hall, Islington. Equally interesting, though of necessity appealing only to the educated few, was the Tudor Exhibition which, owing to the favour with which its predecessor, the Stuart, had been received, was opened, earlier in the year, in the New Gallery, Regent Street. The collection of heirlooms relating to the dynasty was perhaps hardly equal in romance to that which had illustrated the history of the Jameses and Charleses; but the pictures, which included a number of famous Holbeins from the Windsor collection lent by the Queen, were remarkable indeed.

While on the subject of entertainments, we may mention that Londoners suffered this year the removal of the object of one of their annual outings, in the shape of the meeting of the National Rifle Association upon Wimbledon Common, to Bisley Heath, near Woking, the former site having become somewhat dangerous, owing to the rapidly increasing number of houses in the neighbourhood. The indefatigable Prince of Wales was present at the opening on July the 12th, together with the Princess, who fired the first shot, which proved to be a bull's-eye. The Naval Manœuvres were a far more realistic presentment of war, and their moral was much discussed. The idea was that a hostile fleet, under Sir Culme Seymour, should rendezvous at a distance of about 1,500 miles from the British coast and then proceed to seize

the trade-routes, while Sir George Tryon, with British men-of-war, should protect commerce. The former accomplished his malign mission only too well. Thanks to a start of four-and-twenty hours, Sir Culme Seymour completely hid his whereabouts from the gallant defender, with the result that the merchant-vessels along the ocean highway lay completely at his mercy. The result seemed to show that outlying portions of the Empire were more liable to be seized and held to ransom by the enemy than the stay-at-home citizen had imagined. A descent upon English shores was also made by the German fleet, with the much-travelling Emperor, who paid a brief visit to the Queen at Osborne, on board the *Hohenzollern*.

These comings and goings in a measure distracted attention from the labour movement, which, nevertheless, made important progress. "Eight hours" was kept well in the foreground, not only by the curious revival of Anti-Corn Law methods in a set discussion of the pros and cons at St. James's Hall, between Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Hyndman, but also by a monster meeting held in Hyde Park on the 4th of May, at which some 200,000 persons according to one account, some 80,000 according to another, attended. Mr. John Burns was a prominent speaker on this occasion; he was also chief orator at a meeting held in the same place on August the 16th, to celebrate the anniversary of the Dockers' Strike. He there claimed that by striking, the working-man had increased his wages by nearly £700,000; at the same time he warned the unskilled labourers that they would get neither short hours nor high wages unless they entered the Unions of their respective trades. The New Unionism—which proposed a vague if comprehensive platform, consisting of a compulsory eight hours, the interdependability of labour, workshops under municipal control, and the return of labour candidates for Parliament and the local governing bodies—proceeded to try conclusions with the Old at the Trades Union Congress, which was held at Liverpool shortly after the rising of the House of Commons. After a Socialistic speech from the president, Mr. Watkin, who advocated *inter alia* the nationalisation of land, and the federation of Trades Unions, so that if one trade struck the others would find employment for the men out of work, the New Unionists, headed by Mr. Pickard and Mr. John Burns, proceeded to move a vote of censure on the Parliamentary Committee, because their efforts in favour of an Eight Hours Bill for miners were not considered

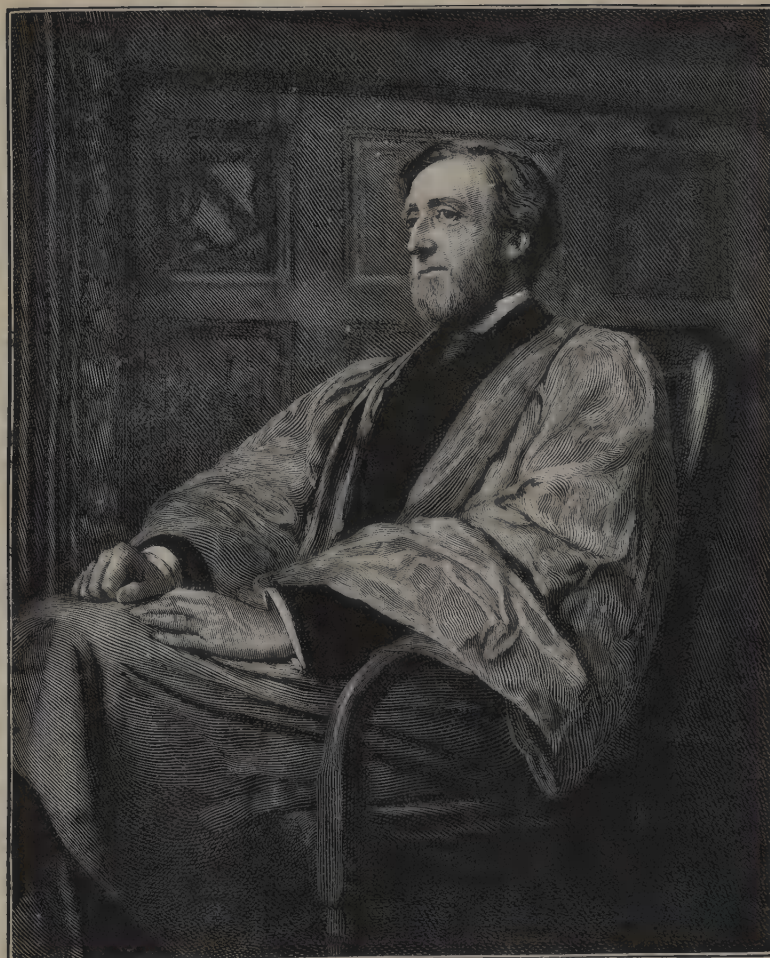
to have been sufficiently enthusiastic. Mr. Broadhurst and his friends were acquitted by a sufficient majority, but a motion that the Miners' Eight Hours Bill should be decided by the Unions was lost by six votes only, and a motion that Parliament should be asked to establish an eight hours' day for all trades was carried by thirty-eight. How momentous was the decision appeared when Mr. Birtwhistle, the representative of the textile industry, resigned his seat on the committee and Mr. Slatter, the nominee of the printers, refused to take his place. Other members, notably those elected by the cotton-trade, followed their example, and the capture of the Congress by the New Unionists and the unskilled labourer in general was consummated by the election, instead of Mr. Birtwhistle, of the redoubtable Burns.

Fresh from his triumphs at Liverpool, Mr. John Burns repaired to Southampton, where the dockers, on September the 8th, struck against the employment of non-Unionists, and for increased pay, and enforced their decision by stopping the unloading of vessels, and barring the gates against the "blacklegs." The police were completely overpowered, and for four days business was at a standstill. The coal-porters and labourers joined in, and riots broke out which threatened to become violent. The magistracy, however, acted with decision; the Riot Act was read, and 500 soldiers were drafted into the town. On the 9th the mayor's place of business was attacked, and the soldiers had to clear the streets by a series of bayonet charges, in which the harmless bystanders suffered most. At last the shipping companies threatened to remove their trade to other ports; whereupon the Southampton dockers were disavowed by the Central Union, Mr. John Burns being remarkably outspoken on the folly of striking without adequate funds. For some time they showed a disposition to kick against the pricks, but the hopelessness of their position being borne in upon them, they resumed work on the old terms. The shipping companies, in alarm, discussed the possibility of a Federation which should protect "blackleg" labour and indemnify owners whose cargoes could not be discharged owing to a strike. The multiplicity of the interests involved prevented the project from coming to immediate maturity. Nevertheless, its moral effect was, perhaps, to be traced in the failure of some partial strikes in the port of London and at Devonport, though the permanent relations between capital and labour showed little, if any, signs of improvement.

Wales, too, enjoyed the expensive luxury of a

strike, in the shape of a refusal to work during the best part of a week of 1,800 railway servants, which led to the stoppage of the collieries and docks connected with the Taff Vale. The result was that some 50,000 men were thrown out of work; nevertheless, the higher wages and fairer

the mediation of Archbishop Walsh and Mr. Davitt. During the strike, the employés of the Cork Steam Packet Company, the Clyde Shipping Company, and the Bandon Railway Company came out "from sympathy," and as abruptly resumed work on the following day. But the



MR. SPEAKER PEEL. (After the Portrait by Professor Herkomer, R.A.)

hours, which had been the object of the movement, were said to have been gained. Further, in Ireland the men on the Great Southern and Western line suddenly left work on the 25th of April, in consequence of alleged dismissals and the employment of "blackleg" porters at a low rate of wages. The conduct of the signalmen was particularly culpable, as they left their boxes at a moment's notice, and in utter disregard of consequences. The company absolutely declined to give them employment again, but guards and porters finally obtained forgiveness on the directors' terms, through

agrarian agitation threw these efforts into the shade, until Mr. Balfour effected a *coup d'état*, by the arrest, on September the 18th, of Messrs. Dillon, O'Brien, Patrick O'Brien, Condon, Sheehy, and Father Humphreys. The cause of their attachment is to be found in the progress of the Plan of Campaign upon the Clanricarde, Smith-Barry, Ponsonby, and other estates. In many cases it was asserted that the unfortunate tenantry were coerced into eviction against their will; and Dr. O'Dwyer, the Bishop of Limerick, in consequence of the proceedings on the Glensharrold

estate, took the important step of forbidding his clergy to give absolution to participators in boycotting and the Plan of Campaign. Thereby he drew upon himself the violent denunciations of Mr. Dillon and Mr. T. Harrington, and retorted in kind that the latter's statements were "shockingly and disgustingly untrue." Archbishop Walsh prudently retired from the controversy at an early stage, but Archbishop Croke threw himself into the lists as a supporter of the Plan; and the majority of the prelates, though somewhat alarmed by an onslaught of Mr. Dillon's on the Pope, followed suit. But, meanwhile, the most characteristic state of affairs existed in Tipperary, where Mr. Smith-Barry owned a considerable amount of property. He was admittedly an excellent landlord, but came under the ban of the National League for backing Mr. Ponsonby in his fight with the Plan of Campaign. His tenants were advised to refuse to pay rents, and wholesale evictions were in consequence decreed. The dispossessed people, shopkeepers for the most part, were accommodated in "New Tipperary," in a collection of wooden shanties and huts erected, curiously enough, upon land belonging to Mr. Smith-Barry. The gangway between them was termed the "Mart," and Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien, supported by several English sympathisers, assisted at the inaugural banquet held on April 12th. However, the curious settlement never throve, despite the vigorous boycotting of those who refused to deal with "New Tipperary," and an attempt on the part of Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien to hold a mass-meeting in the town, which had been forbidden by Colonel Caddell, resulted in a collision between the constabulary and the Parnellite mob. The sequel was that, owing to the dissensions that broke out towards the end of the year in the Home Rule Party, funds for the evicted tenants were altogether withheld, and after suffering considerable privations, they were glad to make their peace with Mr. Smith-Barry. In May, 1892, the evicted shopkeepers returned to their homes, and in June there appeared a placard with the legend—"New Tipperary. To be sold by private treaty, in lots to suit purchasers, four streets, one mart, and one weighing-machine."

This and other crusades made it clear, to Conservatives at least, that Government could afford no longer to disregard the taunt that they were afraid to lay hands on the chief instigators of resistance. Making the Smith-Barry affair his pretext, and selecting—so the Nationalists

asserted—a moment when Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien were about to replenish the League's exchequer by a tour in the United States, the Chief Secretary caused his prisoners to appear before the resident magistrates at Tipperary on September the 25th. Proceedings were prefaced by a riot, as to the origin of which the evidence was somewhat conflicting. According to Mr. John Morley, who was present, an orderly procession escorted the prisoners to the court-house—in no sense a multitude or a formidable crowd. Against it were arrayed constables, outnumbering the people by three to one, arranged in an attitude by their officers which was well calculated to produce disorder. They drew their truncheons without a shadow of justification or provocation, and violently beat the civilians outside the gate. Mr. Harrison, M.P., was struck, and "went all dripping with blood." A reporter, Mr. Keating, was "struck a murderous blow across the mouth," and, "from time to time, 'men dripping with blood' were pushed inside the gates." The account read like the somewhat exaggerated impression of a man of peace suddenly plunged into unaccustomed and turbulent scenes; besides, its accuracy was impugned by Colonel Caddell, who stated in a letter to the *Times* that the crowd had forced the gates, and stoned the police, who struck in self-defence; that Mr. Harrison and Mr. Keating both attacked the constables, who only returned blow for blow. Mr. Harrison and Mr. John O'Connor entirely denied the truth of this version, while Mr. Butcher, an officer of constabulary, gave his evidence on behalf of Colonel Caddell. Finally, Mr. Balfour, who certainly possessed the virtue of standing by his subordinates, paid at Newcastle-on-Tyne a high tribute to Colonel Caddell, whom he declared to have behaved in the midst of all possible discouragements as a gentleman, a man of honour, and a man of courage. A platform controversy of some acrimony ensued. How many days had Mr. Morley spent in Ireland during his term of office? According to Mr. Balfour, at whom his predecessor girded for devoting his time to golf and not to government, the Liberal Chief Secretary had himself passed about five days in the country. Another *tu quoque* argument was, of course, Mr. Morley's suppression of the Belfast riots by "bayonets, buckshot, and bullets." Sir Michael Hicks-Beach also joined issue with Mr. Morley, a disputant quite competent to hold his own, by accusing the latter of having allowed some £20,000 to be wasted during the distress of 1886, under the Act relaxing the conditions of outdoor

relief, by largesses to prosperous farmers, shopkeepers, and even money-lenders.

The last item in an acrid disputation was more pertinent than most, because of the bad reports that were circulated concerning the potato-crop in the western districts of Ireland. The first person to call serious attention to the matter was Sir Henry Roscoe, who, in a letter to the *Daily News*, reproduced the report of Mr. Southern of Manchester, the Chairman of the Connemara Industries Company, that the tuber in that district was seriously diseased, and that provisions must be promptly laid in against the coming winter. Mr. John Morley, before repairing to Tipperary, also travelled through the west and inspected the affected region. Several Unionist politicians next proceeded to take personal observations, among them Mr. Leonard Courtney, who, after a visit to West Donegal, Connemara, Roscommon, and Kerry, pronounced that there had undoubtedly been a great failure in the yield, but only in parts. There was no fear of a famine, and local organisation, supported by local voluntary action, would meet the crisis. This somewhat severe economist differed from Mr. Jackson, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, who, though he derived encouragement from the fact that the potato was becoming less and less the main food of the peasantry, pledged Government to give assistance to the sufferers of short crops. Lastly, Mr. Balfour travelled about the affected districts and made personal inquiries from the parish priests, and other competent persons, as to the method of meeting the disaster. He journeyed without escort, and was everywhere received with the traditional courtesy of the Irish. In fact, the tour made an excellent impression and was productive of beneficial results.

Meanwhile, the trial at Tipperary was dragging on, to the considerable detriment of the majesty of justice. Mr. Healy and Mr. Harrington, the counsel for the defendants, began by attacking Mr. Shannon, one of the resident magistrates, on the ground that while engaged in executive functions in connection with the police, he had displayed prejudiced opinions. Their application to the courts at Dublin for his disqualification was overruled by Judge Holmes, after which a further wrangle ensued on the composition of the bench, which was eight strong. Frivolous objections on the part of the Parnellite counsel threatened to protract proceedings into the Greek Kalends; nor did the conduct of the case by the Crown Prosecutor, who, although the defendants were only charged

with conspiracy to intimidate between March and September, insisted on investigating the affair *ab ovo*, tend to shorten the hearing. Mr. Patrick O'Brien further confounded confusion by taking snap-shot photographs of the witnesses with a detective camera, though ordered to desist by the court. The bench displayed the utmost patience in the face of interruptions, bickerings, insults, and delays, until at last Mr. Harrington was ordered to resume his seat. During one of the adjournments, Mr. Dillon and Mr. O'Brien disappeared, and their bail to the amount of £2,000 was estreated. They had made their way to Dalkey, where, on October the 9th, they were picked up by a yacht, and after several days' tossing in the Channel, reached haven at Cherbourg, whence they eventually repaired to the United States. The trial continued in their absence, and on the 19th of November the magistrates sentenced Mr. Dillon, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Patrick O'Brien to six months' imprisonment without hard labour for conspiracy, and four other defendants to four months' imprisonment. They failed to agree concerning Father Humphreys and Mr. Sheehy, who were in consequence acquitted.

In Great Britain the Conservatives had sustained a severe defeat in the Eccles division of Lancashire, where Mr. Roby was returned by a majority of 205 in preference to Mr. Egerton, the brother of the late Member, mainly through his endorsement of the miners' demand for eight hours. Mr. Gladstone, also, had carried out a successful campaign at Edinburgh, West Calder, and Dalkeith, in which he had shown his determination not to be seduced into a premature divulgence of his Home Rule scheme, and had practically expressed his intention to support Scottish Disestablishment. Upon the momentous question of eight hours he preserved an "open mind" with regard to the miners' demand, regarding the question as one for free and unprejudiced consideration. "With respect," said he, "to the Bill for restricting labour generally to eight hours, I will now say that I do not give that Bill, and I will not give such a Bill, however long I may live, any consideration until I see the Bill before me, for I have very grave doubts whether a man should put such a Bill into form." The ex-Premier's speeches were evidently regarded as likely to influence votes by the Conservative managers, for there was a prompt immigration of the supporters of Government into Scotland. Sir M. Hicks Beach tackled the Eight Hours question at Kilmarnock, pointing out that a man who wished to work for a



THE PRINCESS OF WALES FIRING THE FIRST SHOT AT BISLEY. (See p 395.)

longer time would have to be protected, whether prohibition came from the Unions or from Parliament. At Edinburgh and Greenock Lord Hartington delivered sober defences of the Scottish Establishment and Mr. Balfour's Irish administration. Mr. Goschen followed on his heels, and traversed much the same ground, while Mr. Morley replied at Scarborough to one of his earlier speeches at Halifax. The Member for Newcastle was constant in his objections to the Eight Hours Bill; he requested that the topic should be argued and not rushed, and declared that if it was imposed by any authority other than that of the trades concerned, he should think of betaking himself to Turkey or Russia. Otherwise, opinions were sharply divided, and everything pointed to an acrimonious session. "I will not," said Sir George Trevelyan, "if I can possibly help it by any constitutional means, allow a moribund Parliament to saddle the country with £150,000,000 for the purchase of Irish land."

Suddenly, as a bolt from the blue, came the verdict in the divorce case of O'Shea v. O'Shea and Parnell. This momentous decree was pronounced on November the 17th, when the adultery between the Irish leader and the wife of his *quondam* friend was decided as conclusively proved. To the last his friends had believed in Mr. Parnell's assertions that he would emerge triumphantly from the ordeal. Not only, however, did he offer no defence whatever, but he failed to appear in court at all. What was to happen next? The opinion of Ireland seemed clear: Archbishop Walsh wrote a letter, declaring that moral questions were not to be considered by a political party in its choice of a leader; and the Irish Members, in full conclave at Dublin, on November the 20th, passed a vote of unabated confidence in Mr. Parnell, an opinion in which they were at first supported by the branches of the National League, and by various Boards of Guardians and Town Councils. In England the Conservative newspapers and the *Times* rejoiced over the fall of the Uncrowned King, and made merry over the comic incidents of the trial. The Liberal organs seemed sorely perplexed, some arguing that it was not for the English to decide who was to be the Irish leader; others that Mr. Parnell would do well to step aside—at all events for the time being. The latter opinion rapidly gained ground, not only with the Scottish Presbyterians, but also with the English Nonconformists, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and Mr. W. T. Stead being especially energetic representatives of the "Nonconformist conscience."

It was in these circumstances that the Irish Members met, to elect their sessional chairman, in the historic Committee Room No. 15, on the opening day of Parliament (November 22nd). The unknown factor in the situation was Mr. Gladstone, though it was whispered abroad that he was strongly of opinion that Mr. Parnell ought to resign the leadership. In point of fact he had sought to discover from Mr. Justin McCarthy what Mr. Parnell's intentions were; and Mr. McCarthy professing himself unable to give any information, had administered a strong hint that "notwithstanding Mr. Parnell's splendid services to his country, his continuance in the leadership at the present moment would be productive of consequences disastrous in the highest degree to the cause of Ireland." This step was followed by a letter to Mr. John Morley, dated November the 21st, in which Mr. Gladstone added, "The continuance I speak of would not only place many hearty and effective friends of the Irish cause in a position of great embarrassment, but would render my retention of the leadership of the Liberal party—based, as it has been, mainly upon the prosecution of the Irish cause—almost a nullity." Mr. McCarthy had been begged to consider the expression of Mr. Gladstone's views as confidential, if he thought that Mr. Parnell contemplated spontaneous action; but he was also requested to communicate Mr. Gladstone's message to his colleagues when they met. Regarding his mouth as closed, and believing that Mr. Parnell intended to resign as soon as a vote of confidence had been passed, Mr. McCarthy kept silence, though he handed the Morley letter to his leader, to whom, according to one account, a communication to the same effect was made by Professor Stuart. The third mediator, Mr. John Morley, had been vainly endeavouring to place himself in communication with Mr. Parnell. The latter's secretary, Mr. Campbell, could not discover that mysterious personage; nor could Mr. McCarthy or two other members of the party, supposed to be in the leader's confidence. It was not until the meeting was over that Mr. Morley found the object of his search, and communicated to him Mr. Gladstone's letter. Mr. Parnell flatly declined to resign, and later in the day was informed that the epistle would be made public—a course to which he raised no objection. Meanwhile, Mr. McCarthy's tactics and strategy were mistaken, as Mr. Parnell was unanimously placed in the chair, and he used his authority with relentless vigour. After a stormy meeting an adjournment was carried, in

order that the situation, as defined by Mr. Gladstone's letter, should be considered. But already it was clear that he would be deserted by the majority of his followers.

Mr. Parnell used the interval, with desperate skill, in an appeal to the Irish people "against the English wolves now howling for his blood." Then he proceeded, with cynical disregard of the ordinary considerations of honour, to disclose a conversation with Mr. Gladstone which occurred during the visit to Hawarden in November, 1889, and another with Mr. Morley shortly before the beginning of the session. His version of the first was that in a talk of two hours, "mainly monopolised by Mr. Gladstone," the following points were laid down by the latter as details of the intended proposals with regard to Home Rule:—(1) The reduction of the Irish Members in the Imperial Parliament from 102 to 32 or 34. (2) The Land question "must be reserved from the control of the Irish Legislature, but at the same time Mr. Gladstone intimated that, while he would review his attempt to settle the matter by Imperial legislation on the lines of the Land Purchase Bill of 1886, he would not put any pressure upon his own side or insist upon their adopting his views." (3) The constabulary must be kept under Imperial control for an indefinite period. (4) Judicial appointments were to be retained for ten or twelve years by the Imperial authority. Mr. Parnell represented himself as having replied that, "with the concession of full powers to the Irish Legislature equivalent to those enjoyed by a state of the American Union, the number and position of the members so retained would become a question of Imperial concern, and not of pressing or immediate importance for the interests of Ireland. With regard, however, to the all-engrossing subjects of agrarian reform, constabulary control, and judicial appointments, left either under Imperial control or totally unprovided for, it would be the height of madness for any Irish leader to imitate Grattan's example, and consent to disband the army which had cleared the way to victory." Mr. Parnell declared that he had undertaken to use every legitimate influence to reconcile Irish public opinion to the gradual coming into force of the new privileges, and to the postponements necessary for English opinion with regard to the constabulary control and judicial appointments; but "I strongly dissented from the proposed reduction of Members during the interval of probation, and I pointed to the absence of any suitable prospect of land settlement by either Parliament as constituting an overwhelming drag

upon the prospects of permanent peace and prosperity of Ireland."

For the sake of clearness, Mr. Gladstone's answer, which appeared in the evening papers, may be placed in juxtaposition to Mr. Parnell's indictment. Much of it naturally dealt with Mr. Parnell's breach of faith, but as to the four points, Mr. Gladstone wrote—"The purport of the conversation was not to make known 'intended proposals.' No single suggestion was offered by me to Mr. Parnell as formal, or as unanimous, or as final. It was a statement perfectly free, and without prejudice, of points in which either I myself, or such of my colleagues as I had been able to consult, inclined generally to believe that the plan of 1886 for Home Rule in Ireland might be improved, and as to which I was desirous to learn whether they raised any serious objection in the mind of Mr. Parnell. To none of my suggestions did Mr. Parnell offer serious objection; much less did he signify in whole or in part that they augured the proposal of 'a measure which would not satisfy the aspirations of the Irish race.' I deny that I made the statements which his memory ascribes to me, or anything substantially resembling them, either on the retention of the Irish Members, or on the control of the constabulary, or on the appointment of the judiciary. As to land in particular, I am not conscious of having added anything to public declarations, while as to county court judges and resident magistrates, I made no suggestion whatever."

Mr. Parnell's disclosures relating to Mr. Morley purported to give the pith of two conversations: one on the 14th of April before the introduction of the Land Bill; the other on the 10th of November, five days before the proceedings in court. Mr. Morley and his colleagues were represented as extremely embarrassed by the attitude of the extreme section of the party, led by Mr. Labouchere, with regard to the principle of State-aided land purchase. Mr. Parnell was in favour of an oblique method of procedure, instead of a direct attack on the Bill, and argued that their joint efforts should be directed to the assertion of the principle of local control. On the first occasion Mr. Parnell agreed, though he thought it false strategy, to meet the second reading by a direct negative; on the second it was decided that on the first reading he should move an amendment in favour of this local control, and if it were rejected the Radicals should be left to oppose the principle of the measure on the second reading. Mr. John Morley, however, denied altogether that he made

any attempt to fetter Mr. Parnell's action with regard to the Land Bill. He had proposed on April 14th, and Mr. Parnell had assented to, a motion for rejection *simpliciter*; further, when, two days later, Mr. Parnell had explained his alternative plan of fining down rents, it was referred to Mr. Gladstone, who felt that the Irish leader was free to propound it on his own responsibility. Then Mr. Morley was accused by Mr. Parnell of having made the "remarkable proposal" that in the event of a Liberal victory at the polls, Mr. Parnell should assume the office of Chief Secretary, or allow another member of his party to take the position; also that one of the law offices of the Crown should be filled by a legal member of the party. This Mr. Morley denied; all that he had endeavoured to find out was whether Mr. Parnell still held to his self-denying declarations of 1880. Further, the Member for Newcastle characterised as "wholly incorrect" the description of himself as having said, that if the Liberals returned to power, it would be impossible to do anything for the tenants on the Campaign estates by direct action, and as exclaiming with his hands flung up with a gesture of despair, "Having been to Tipperary, I do not know what to propose in the matter." "I did say," he wrote, "that, whether by direct or indirect action, the evicted tenants ought not to be allowed to suffer. As to Tipperary, there is all the difference between the sensible perception of difficulties and the despair which Mr. Parnell ascribes to me."

The moral of these perplexing assertions and denials was that in Committee Room No. 15 would be fought out the battle of supremacy between Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone. From the first the Irish leader adopted Fabian tactics in order to give Irish opinion time to declare itself on his side, and against the majority of the party; but when the hierarchy, after sore hesitation, threw its influence into the scale of his opponents, his reign was clearly at an end. As the bitter contest progressed, the mask was withdrawn from his usually impassive demeanour, and he met personality with personality. "Pitiful little scoundrel," as applied to Mr. Healy, was one of the amenities he was reported to have used; while Dr. Tanner encountered in him a chairman far more imperious than Mr. Courtney. Proceedings were begun by Mr. Abraham's amendment declaring Mr. Parnell's leadership at an end being ruled out of order from the chair, and then the amendment of Colonel Nolan proposing that the meeting should adjourn to Dublin, so that the verdict of the

constituencies might be taken, came on for discussion. This was rejected by 44 votes to 29—a significant trial of strength—after able, if bitter, speeches from Mr. Sexton and Mr. Healy against Mr. Parnell, who distinguished himself by a Machiavelian promise to lay down his leadership if Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt would agree in writing to "the vesting of the control of the Irish Constabulary in an Irish Executive responsible to an Irish Parliament, and the concession to the Irish Parliament of power to deal with and settle the Irish land question." Those two statesmen, however, declined to be drawn into negotiations. Nevertheless, on the following day, Mr. Clancy proposed that an attempt should be made to obtain from Mr. Gladstone his views on the land question and the control of the constabulary. Mr. Parnell now flatly declined to resign, but consented to bring matters to a crisis by the following resolution:—"That, in the opinion of the Irish Parliamentary party, no Home Rule Bill would be satisfactory or acceptable to the Irish people which will not confer the immediate control of the Irish police on the Executive responsible to the Irish Parliament; and, secondly, which does not confer upon the Irish Parliament full power to deal with the land question." This proposal was carried with only two dissentient votes, and after sundry ineffectual attempts to extract from Mr. Gladstone, Mr. John Morley, and Sir William Harcourt a definite statement of their views—not as to the leadership, but as to the Hawarden proposals—a sub-committee was appointed, on the motion of Mr. John Redmond, consisting of Mr. Healy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Leamy, and himself, to tackle the ex-Premier on the land question and the constabulary. The "old Parliamentary hand," however, was not to be diverted from the main issue of the leadership, and declined a personal interview while adopting Sir William Harcourt's statement that "no party and no leader could ever propose or hope to carry any scheme of Home Rule which had not the cordial concurrence and support of the Irish nation as declared by their Irish representatives in Parliament." After the negotiators had returned, a series of oratorical pitched battles occurred in the Committee Room. Mr. Abraham attempted to move his resolution, and handed the paper to Mr. Justin McCarthy, when Mr. Parnell snatched the missive from his hand, crying, "I will not receive it." He refused to hear Mr. Abraham, and called upon Mr. John O'Connor with a resolution, drawing the attention of the Irish people to the fact that Mr.

Gladstone had declined to enter into negotiations, though the original resolution as proposed by Mr. Clancy had been especially altered to meet his views. When matters had reached a complete deadlock, owing to the chairman's refusal to allow the vote to be taken, Mr. Justin McCarthy and forty-four supporters withdrew, leaving Mr. Parnell and his twenty-two adherents in possession of the field. The majority repaired to the Conference Room, where, on the motion of Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Justin McCarthy was elected chairman for the session by a unanimous vote.

This momentous schism of the Irish party naturally reacted upon the business of the session. The calculations of the Opposition were completely overthrown, and—as an earnest of what was to follow—the Queen's Speech, of which the main proposals were the Tithes Bill, the Land Purchase Bill, with hints at Free Education and Irish Local Government, and measures for alleviating the distress caused by the partial failure of the potato crop, was disposed of in less than three hours. The Tithes Bill was given precedence, and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach carried the first reading without a division. On the second reading (December the 1st), the President of the Board of Trade explained that, as a concession to various objections, he had dropped the redemption clauses, relegating the consideration of the subject to a Commission. He had also modified the Bill by prohibiting the owner of titheable land from contracting himself out of his liability, and by providing that the rent-charge should never exceed the profits, the latter to be fixed by Schedule B of the income-tax returns. These alterations were generally regarded as improvements, and Mr. Stuart Rendel's amendment that no Bill could be considered satisfactory which did not recognise the fact that tithes were national property was defeated by 224 votes to 130. In Committee Mr. Stevenson's amendment that an equitable revision of tithes should be effected in accordance with the altered conditions of agriculture was rejected by the decisive majority of 203 votes to 68, and progress was then reported.

Mr. Balfour was equally fortunate with his Land Bill. He early announced that he intended to divide the measure in twain—a Land Purchase Bill and a Congested Districts Bill. Various concessions, he explained, had been made to meet the ideas of Mr. Parnell, particularly the withdrawal of a uniform rate of purchase at twenty-five years of the judicial rents. A division was taken on the first Bill, after a remarkably brief debate, when,

owing to the support of the Parnellites and the withdrawal of the Opposition leaders, it was read a first time by 268 votes to 117. Upon the second reading the Opposition rallied slightly round Mr. John Ellis, who moved an amendment complaining that the local authorities were deprived of their legitimate control of the purchase funds, and reprobating the pledging of English credit. Mr. Gladstone's criticism, however, was studiously moderate, though he characterised as inadequate the amount of control that had been given to the local authorities, inasmuch as it was exercised by *plébiscite*, and could therefore only effect a general negative of purchase in a particular district. After Mr. Haldane had separated himself from his party by supporting the Bill, the closure was carried by 242 votes to 172, and the second reading, thanks again to Parnellite support, by no less than 268 votes to 130. On the measure for the creation of a Land Department to deal with the Congested Districts, Mr. Healy had a difficulty in getting somebody to move its rejection. Mr. Seymour Keay declined, but Mr. Maurice Healy came to the rescue, and after a sharp debate the second reading was carried by 191 votes to 129. At this point the further consideration of the twin schemes was postponed until after the meeting of Parliament on January 22nd.

Mr. Balfour's measures for the relief of Irish distress consisted of a Bill providing for the supply of seed potatoes to the peasantry and a temporary vote of £5,000. He explained that the latter provision was a stop-gap to tide over the holidays, but made no attempt to conceal the serious character of the dearth, and the necessity for immediate action on the part of Government. His plans were that the interest of the money devoted to the purchase of the tuber should be defrayed from the Irish Church surplus, and 20 per cent. discount should be given for payment in cash. The administration of relief, was to be kept in the hands of Government, though the Poor Law Boards were not to be superseded. In addition, he proposed to start relief works—for instance, railways to the extent of 280 miles, to be constructed under the Act of 1890, or authorised separately by Government, the making of roads where the county authorities were willing to agree to their maintenance, a limited amount of drainage, and reafforestation. He hoped that labourers employed on these undertakings would receive at least 7s. a week. Mr. John Morley gave his general approval to the proposals, and the Seed Potatoes Bill became law before the end of the session.

Thus in less than a fortnight the debates, which were to have been so protracted and embittered, for the most part came to a prompt and peaceful end. In England the Opposition maintained an embarrassed silence; nor were their spirits raised by the results of the election for the

opposition candidate was found in Mr. Vincent Scully. The leader of the minority rushed into the fray, and as a preliminary proceeded to take possession of the Dublin offices of *United Ireland*, dispossessed the editor, Mr. Bodkin, destroyed the issue about to appear, and installed a sympathiser



JUSTIN MCCARTHY.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

Bassetlaw Division of Notts, at which Sir Frederick Milner defeated Mr. Mellor, despite two brief speeches on his behalf by Mr. Gladstone at Retford and Worksop stations, by an increased majority of 728. The great question which of the two parties should prevail in Ireland was, however, decided, greatly to their comfort, before the close of the year. The death of Mr. Marum had created a vacancy at North Kilkenny, and when Sir John Pope Hennessy, who had originally been brought forward by Mr. Parnell, decided to stand as an Anti-Parnellite, an

as the new editor. A counter-raid was made by the Anti-Parnellites during the night, but Mr. Parnell, Mr. John O'Connor, and a crowbar brigade, were soon on the scene of operations, and after a siege of an hour's duration forced an entrance. The expelled party made no attempt to recapture the position, but contented themselves with issuing a *Suppressed United Ireland*, until funds could be procured for a new paper. On December the 12th Mr. Parnell betook himself to Cork, meeting on his way with receptions sometimes favourable, sometimes the reverse. The

contest in North Kilkenny was, as might be expected, most acrimonious in temper. Every village was canvassed, and after a while blows were freely exchanged. Indeed, had it not been for the admirable conduct of "the minions of bloody Balfour," who kept the two factions apart, there must have been considerable loss of life. As it was, Mr. Davitt was smitten over the head by a blackthorn, and Mr. Parnell's eye injured by a substance represented by his adherents to be quicklime, by his enemies nothing more damaging than flour. In the end the steady influence of the priesthood entirely discounted the effects of Mr. Parnell's acrid invectives against Mr. Gladstone and his passionate appeals to the "hillside men," or old Fenian faction. Sir John Pope Hennessy was declared on the 19th to have defeated his opponent by no less than 2,527 votes to 1,356. The undaunted demagogue thereupon betook himself to Boulogne, where Mr. O'Brien, who had been recalled from America, was living in enforced exile beyond the reach of the law. There a protracted series of negotiations began, of which the professed object was the reconciliation of the two parties, but which, so far as Mr. Parnell was concerned, were certainly insincere.

Next to Mr. Parnell the most prominent person to the public eye during the closing months of the year was probably "General" Booth of the Salvation Army. In collaboration, it was understood, with Mr. W. T. Stead, this well-known religious leader published a gigantic scheme for the rescue of the destitute poor of London, under the title of "In Darkest England and the Way Out." The purport of the volume was that the "submerged tenth" should be rescued from its present deplorable condition in three stages. The first he called the City Colony, which was to consist of the following branches: (1) Shelters where a night's lodging could be procured, and in connection with which were (2) Yards or Labour Factories in which the "dosser" would pay for his bed by fourpennyworth of work at wood-chopping or mat-making, and then, if he pleased, look for employment elsewhere; (3) a Refuge for fallen women; (4) a Household Salvage Brigade to collect broken meat and old clothes from street to street; (5) a Labour Bureau for the registration of unorganised labour in the district connected with the shelter. The second stage was to be the Farm Colony, whither, after a period of probation, the most satisfactory characters would be transferred to prepare themselves for agrarian life by making their own houses with their own bricks and mortar,

and by working for their board and lodging with the implements and seeds supplied them for purpose of farming or market-gardening. Finally would come the Over-Sea Colony, situated by preference in South Africa, whither the most satisfactory members of the Farm Colony would be transferred—so far as possible in families—to estates made ready for their reception. In brief, the project amounted to a system of pauper emigration supported by voluntary contributions, the "General's" first appeal being for a million pounds. Eventually he determined to make a start with £100,000, and an income of £30,000 a year. The demand was taken up with some zeal. Thus, a popular actor promised £1,000 provided that a certain number of other persons did the same. Before the close of the year it was estimated that three-fourths of the amount had been pledged, and nearly one half had been actually subscribed. Nevertheless, "In Darkest England" was subjected to some very searching criticism, of which the purport was that charity on so large and indiscriminate a scale would inevitably attract large masses of people from the agricultural districts to the already overcrowded parts of the East End. Again, it would tend, said its opponents, to pauperise a large section of the community, whose earnings were small, no doubt, yet sufficient to keep them out of want. Others remarked that there were admirable organisations already at work which had the same aims as "General" Booth's, though less prone to advertisement, and which would be starved by the withdrawal of their usual supporters in favour of the more sensational scheme. Objections as to detail were to the effect that a block would inevitably occur at the City Colony, under which the whole system would break down, more especially as the British dependencies had set their faces against pauper immigration, and some had legislated against it. Amongst the "General's" most strenuous antagonists were Professor Huxley and Mr. Loch, the Secretary of the Charity Organisation Society. Much of the former's vigorous letters to the *Times* was mere *argumentum ad hominem*, and but little concerned with the question at issue, though the description of the Salvation Army as "corybantic Christianity" was an effective stroke of controversy. Mr. Loch published a pamphlet the aim of which was to prove that the "General" looked to State assistance, so that in the end there would be three systems at work for the pauperisation of the community and the encouragement of mendicancy—the Poor Law, supported by compulsory rates; voluntary charity;

THE FISH MARKET BRIDGE, THE GREAT EAST



and the Boothian, half voluntary and half rate-supported. Besides, he asserted that "In Darkest England" was based on Mr. Charles Booth's work on "The Labour and Life of the People," though the facts had been altered and overcoloured. Thus "Very Poor, Class A—the lowest class of occasional labourers, loafers, and semi-criminals," had been converted into "Homeless—loafers, casuals, and some criminals"; and "Very Poor, Class B—casual earnings," into "Starving—casual earnings between 18s. a week and chronic want." The "submerged tenth," said Mr. Loch, did not exist; there was only a submerged seventy-seventh.

At the opposite end of the social scale the waves of adversity threatened "submergence" to several great City houses, notably that of Baring. The cause of the financial crisis was a rapid downfall in Argentine securities, owing to the corruption and disorder prevalent in that Republic. Now the enterprises in Argentina had been largely floated by Messrs. Baring, and in consequence they were responsible for large payments towards concerns from which the public held aloof. The panic began in New York, where South American Bonds had been eagerly snapped up, and spread to Berlin; but the firmness of the Paris Exchange averted a catastrophe through the summer. Still, rumours of the unsoundness of Messrs. Baring, who had been hard hit by the state of the American market, began to leak out, and on November 18th matters were brought to a crisis by the Bank of England raising its rate of discount to 6 per cent. at the very moment when Messrs. Baring had to meet certain outgoing payments with regard to the Buenos Ayres Harbour and Water Works. The firm was in consequence compelled to apply for assistance to the Bank of England, and fortunately the Governor, Mr. William Lidderdale, was the man for the emergency. His first step was to prevent a widespread commercial disaster, and to that end, having secured the approbation of Government, he proceeded to place the Bank in command of an extra four and a half millions sterling by the sale of Exchequer Bonds to the amount of one million and a half to the Bank of Russia and three millions by a timely and generous loan from the Bank of France. Mr. W. H. Smith, who in Mr. Goschen's absence carried through the final negotiations, also offered to place £100,000 at the disposal of the Bank. After a careful examination of Messrs. Baring's affairs, extending over four days, the Bank authorities were satisfied as to the ultimate solvency of the

firm; at the same time its liabilities were ascertained to exceed twenty-one millions. As they rightly considered that the responsibility did not rest with themselves alone, the leading banking institutions were invited to form a guarantee fund, which should justify the Bank in providing the money required. The response was remarkable enough; in a few hours the Governor was able to announce that £17,250,000 had been subscribed, so that even if the ultimate liquidation were disappointing, the loss to individual guarantors would hardly be serious. It is not too much to say that Mr. Lidderdale saved thousands from ruin by his masterly resource, and a seat in the Privy Council and the freedom of the City of London were his just rewards.

Three weeks' frost and a railway strike in Scotland gave a melancholy finish to the year. On March 4th the new Forth Bridge, one of the most stupendous engineering works of modern times, had been opened by the Prince of Wales. The event excited no small amount of local and general interest. A party of distinguished engineers, which included M. Eiffel, was present from the Continent, while spectators assembled at all convenient points to watch the passage of the royal train across the bridge, and underneath it cruised numerous steamers. There were few attempts at decoration, as any efforts in that direction would have been dwarfed by the gigantic structure. A strong wind was blowing, but the upper tiers and girders did not move in the slightest. On its arrival from Dalmeny the royal party was found to consist of the Prince, the Duke of Edinburgh, Prince George of Wales, Lord Rosebery, the Duke of Buccleuch, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, and one or two more. It was received by Sir John Fowler, Mr. Benjamin Baker, Mr. William Arrol, and others connected with the undertaking. The train steamed very slowly across, that the Prince might be able to examine every detail. Then the steam-launch *Dolphin*, accompanied by the *William Muir*, took the company out into the Firth and gave them a view of the bridge from the sea. On the return journey the royal train stopped in the middle of the north connecting girder to allow the Prince to perform the ceremony of driving in the last rivet. At the south great cantilever pier he again left the train to declare the bridge open. So strong was the gale that His Royal Highness could with difficulty keep his foothold, and a speech was out of the question. However, at the banquet held later in the day he drew a happy comparison between the

Forth Bridge and the Victoria Bridge at Montreal, which he had opened thirty years previously. Sir John Fowler's undertaking had, it appeared, nearly eight million rivets, whereas Robert

throughout the year strikes were planned and only with difficulty averted. For their stubbornness in refusing to listen to reasonable demands the directors were universally blamed, and they had



OPENING OF THE FORTH BRIDGE BY THE PRINCE OF WALES. (See p. 407.)

Stephenson's had only one million. Shortly afterwards Sir John Fowler was created a baronet, and Mr. Benjamin Baker received the honour of knighthood.

Unhappily the bridge caused a temporary dislocation of traffic, and a spirit of unwholesome rivalry was engendered between the North British and Caledonian Railway Companies. Prospective expenditure implied longer hours for the men, and

only themselves to thank when, on December 22nd, engine-drivers, brakesmen, and porters left the Hamilton, Glasgow, and Motherwell stations without a word of warning. The movement spread rapidly, and by the end of the year some 7,000 or 9,000 men were facing the bitter winter without work rather than submit to periods of toil that rendered their existence little better than slavery. The worst of it was that others suffered as well;

many hundreds of poor travellers could not reach their homes in time for the Christmas dinner; while, owing to the stoppage of the goods traffic, coal ran short. Factories, in consequence, were closed, and the fire on many a humble hearth went out. On January 5th, 1891, there was a severe riot at Motherwell, near Glasgow, in consequence of some attempted evictions of workmen on strike by the manager of the Caledonian Railway. The military quelled the disturbance, but the men, reinforced by the miners from Hamilton, had in the meantime wrecked the stationmaster's house.

An explosion in the Glasgow gasworks, thought to have been effected by design, and other outrages upon property followed, while the Lord Provost of Glasgow, who attempted mediation, was denounced as "a dilly-dallying, shilly-shallying nincompoop." At length, on the 29th of January, 1891, the strike, despite the intervention of Mr. John Burns, ended in the general surrender of the employés, those of the North British Company being the last to give in. They were promised certain relaxations of hours, together with sleeping cabins and cooking depôts, but there was some difference of opinion as to the manner in which the pledge was fulfilled.

Lord Napier of Magdala died this year, the gallant chief of the staff to Sir James Outram,

and later the conqueror of Theodore of Abyssinia; and another man of action who passed away was the great traveller, Sir Richard Burton, of whom it could hardly be said that his country had adequately rewarded his services. Three Conservative politicians were missed—Lord Carnarvon, a man of real ability, whose temperament was perhaps too sensitive for the wear and tear of public life; the genial and sober-going Lord Lamington, better known as Mr. Baillie-Cochrane; and Lord Magheramorne, whose services at the Metropolitan Board of Works had been dimmed by the corruption of some of his subordinates. Lord Hammond was an untiring Foreign Office official, and Sir Louis Mallet a clear-headed diplomatist and economist. Full of years, Sir Edwin Chadwick lived into a generation which had well-nigh forgotten his indefatigable efforts as an Assistant-Commissioner of the Poor Law and member of the Board of Health. Three illustrious Churchmen created gaps in the Establishment—Dr. Thompson, the moderate and tactful Archbishop of York, the serene and various scholar Dean Church, and the silver-voiced preacher Canon Liddon. The greatest name of all, however, was that of an illustrious seceder—we have named, of course, John Henry Newman.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Brussels Conference—The French and German Conventions—The Witu Expedition—The Emin Relief Expedition—Tippoo Tib—Arrival at Lake Albert—Emin appears—His Officers mutiny—The Rear Column—Evacuation of Equatoria—Selim Bey's Treachery—Geographical Discoveries—Sequel of the Expedition—Lord Salisbury and the Portuguese—The Ultimatum—Surrender of the Portuguese Government—The *Modus Vivendi*—Occupation of Mashonaland—Capture of Massikessé—The Swazi Convention—Lord Salisbury on Egypt—India—The McKinley Tariff—The Melbourne Conference—The West Australian Constitution—Strikes in Australia—France and Italy—The German Emperor and Labour—Bismarck's Resignation—Austria and Bulgaria—Turkey and Armenia.

AFRICA continued to occupy the attention of the Powers. The labours of the Brussels Conference were concluded in June, and resulted in the confirmation of a sort of international charter for the civilisation of Africa. The importation of arms was to be strictly prohibited; that of liquor to be restricted within the narrowest limits. The slave-trade was to be rigidly suppressed, and with a view to its final extinction the signatories agreed to construct roads and railways as substitutes for human portorage—all of which appeared very

beautiful on paper, but in practice the convention was little better than a dead-letter. Traders were not long in discovering that the only merchandise which the negro potentates cared to sample was rifles and liquor. Besides, without impressed labour, caravans stood motionless, and roads could not be made; therefore slavery was winked at. A slight falling-off from former professions was observable in the case of the Congo Free State, which, originally founded on Free Trade principles, now obtained authorisation to impose import and

export duties on the plea that a revenue could not otherwise be raised. In consequence the Dutch representative declined to sign the General Act, while the Portuguese held off until they had packed their frontier with enormous quantities of guns and ammunition. Thus, even at the outset of the crusade, a certain division of opinion was manifest. Nobody, however, thought of suggesting that the black should be left to himself.

Lord Salisbury's great argument, as explained at Guildhall on November 9th, was that with so many hostile tariffs against Britain in so many directions, she would have to rely for the vital force of her commerce on the trade she could carry on within the Queen's own empire. Hence the necessity for acquiring new territories; while, as he set forth on August 6th at the Mansion House, conventions between the Powers were valuable as removing all causes of possible quarrel between nations which ought always to be at peace. The year was accordingly marked by two agreements of magnitude—the Anglo-French and the Anglo-German. By the former the division between the spheres of influence of the two nations was fixed by a line running from the northern corner of Lake Tchad to Say on the Niger, while the French protectorate over Madagascar was recognised by Great Britain. Thereby sundry Protestant missions which had been established among the Hovas were imperilled by Catholic intolerance, but with regard to Africa Great Britain had the better of the bargain, for while the Republic acquired merely the arid sands of the Sahara, to Britain was assigned the district occupied by the powerful Haussa States, with some of whose rulers, notably the Sultans of Borgu and Sokoto, the Niger Company had established excellent relations and a lucrative trade in palm oil. Nevertheless, the Parisian newspapers were hardly complimentary when Lord Salisbury, in the House of Lords, described the new French territory as "light land." The Anglo-German agreement was a more complex document, and embraced the respective spheres of influence on both sides of the Continent. In South-West Africa the Germans were given free access to the Zambesi by a strip of territory which at no part should be less than twenty miles in width; in West Africa the boundary was delimited between Togo and the British Gold Coast Colony. The most important provisions, however, were connected with East Africa, and their purport was that the Sultanate of Witu was ceded to Britain, and Somaliland was declared to be within the sphere of British interest, together with a huge district

extending past the Italian territory up to the confines of Egypt. Britain also assumed a protectorate over Zanzibar and the island of Pemba. In return Germany was to be facilitated in acquiring the Sultan's possessions on the mainland, whilst she was also assigned a district embraced by a coast line stretching from the river Umba on the north to the Rovuma on the south, and penetrating across Victoria Nyanza to the Congo Free State. In addition the Empire became mistress of the island of Heligoland, though all persons who chose to do so were allowed to opt for British citizenship before January, 1892. The cession of this long-coveted possession was highly popular in Germany; in Britain, though the tiny dot off the mouth of the Weser was acknowledged to be valueless, and defenceless in the event of war, there was some grumbling at the surrender of a conquest dating from the beginning of the century. By a subsequent agreement the indemnity to the Sultan of Zanzibar for the loss of revenue resulting from the cessions to Germany was fixed at four million marks. The Anglo-German agreement came on for discussion in the House of Commons on the 24th and 25th of July, when the debate was chiefly noticeable for Mr. Gladstone's argument that the submission of a treaty to Parliament, instead of its enforcement by the royal prerogative, was a most unconstitutional measure. If Government were somewhat nonplussed by these high monarchical theories, still more so were the Opposition, and in consequence the Bill passed through its stages without much opposition.

As a *damnosa hereditas* from the Germans came a petty war with the Sultan of Witu. In spite of the transference of authority, one Küntzel, a German, attempted to settle in the district without the necessary permission from the British consul. His behaviour being insolent, the Sultan ordered his arrest, whereupon the man proceeded to utter volleys of abuse, which he supplemented by firing upon the natives. They replied by cutting him down, and then, their savage instincts being thoroughly roused, proceeded to kill all the Europeans who were unfortunate enough to come in their way. An English missionary escaped, but his house was burnt. As the Sultan refused all amends, there was nothing for it but his chastisement. Accordingly, on October 27th, a naval force, about a thousand strong, under Admiral Sir Edward Fremantle, bombarded and utterly destroyed Witu, with the trifling casualties of thirteen wounded. The Sultan fled, and the somewhat unheroic expedition came to an end.

It was through German territory that Mr. H. M. Stanley had returned to civilisation, bringing with him the sorely reluctant Emin Pasha. Ever since the outbreak of the Mahdiist movement that officer of the Khediye had succeeded in holding his own on the southern strip of the Equatorial Province, though the enemy's emirs raided the remainder at their leisure, and his troops were frequently in open mutiny. From time to time his letters reached the outer world through Uganda, and the celebrated traveller, Doctor Junker, who arrived in Egypt in January, 1887, brought home the most vivid details of his perilous situation. Public sympathy was strongly roused on his behalf, and there was a feeling of satisfaction when it was announced that an Emin Pasha Relief Committee had been formed, and that Mr. H. M. Stanley had volunteered his invaluable services. But, curiously enough, the names of the Committee were identical with those of the chief promoters of the British South Africa Company, and it was afterwards asserted that its foremost object was to push the interest of the Company, and in particular to purchase ivory. Nevertheless, the objects of the expedition were in themselves praiseworthy, though unfortunately, after it had started, further intelligence arrived from Emin to the effect that he had no wish to be rescued and was determined to remain at his post. Mr. Stanley left London on the 21st of January, 1887, and proceeded *via* Egypt, where he obtained the necessary instructions from the Khedive. There he had an interview with the notorious slave-dealer, Tippoo Tib, and concluded an agreement for a supply of 600 bearers to carry Emin's ivory, though how they were to be obtained was not exactly clear. In order to secure his fidelity this miscreant was created Governor of the Upper Congo, at a monthly salary, on condition that he would defend the Falls against the Arabs, and himself abstain from slave-raids, or "confine them within certain limits." Journeying around the Cape, Mr. Stanley entered the Congo on March 18th and proceeded up the river to Yambuya, some 1,300 miles from the Atlantic. There a rear-guard was left, with Major Barttelot in command and Mr. Jameson as his second. The remainder, consisting of Mr. Stanley, Captain Nelson, Lieutenant Stairs, Mr. Mounteney Jephson, and Surgeon Parke, entered the primeval forest with 389 men and 257 rifles. Their journey through the untrodden jungle on the banks of the Aruwhimi and thence to Lake Albert, their privations, the strange tribes of dwarfs they encountered, all read in Mr. Stanley's book, "Through

Darkest Africa," like a page of romance, in which the indomitable pluck of the explorer and his brave men extorts unstinted admiration. After a series of fights with the chief Mazamboni's people, Albert Nyanza was reached, but no Emin was there. He knew of Stanley's impending arrival, and was undoubtedly malingering in hopes that the expedition would depart and leave him behind. He had, however, mistaken his man, for Mr. Stanley, establishing himself in an entrenched camp, promptly sent Lieutenant Stairs to the settlement of the Arab ivory-hunter and slave-dealer, Kilonga-Longa, where the steel boat, *Advance*, had been left, who brought her to the Lake in order to sail to Wadelai and discover the missing Pasha's whereabouts. On Mr. Stanley's second arrival (April 29th, 1888), Emin and his officer, Captain Casati, did put in an appearance, and, after spending twenty-five days together, during which the Pasha was exceedingly oracular as to his future plans, it was arranged that Mr. Stanley should go back and meet the advancing rear-guard, while Emin and Mr. Jephson should tour through the province and consult the Egyptian officers as to what was to be done.

The experiences of the Pasha and his companion were decidedly unpleasant. At first the officers seemed complaisant enough, but the first battalion early showed signs of mutiny, and the men were readily induced to believe that Stanley was an impostor, the story of the capture of Khartoum a lie, and the whole affair a plot to carry off the garrisons and sell them as slaves to the English. After one partial revolt had collapsed, the Governor of Fabbo placed himself at the head of the insurgents, and on August the 18th Emin and Mr. Jephson were made prisoners on their arrival in that town. A Mahdiist attack under the emir, Omar Saheh, damped the ardour of the mutineers, and after three months' close imprisonment the captives were set free and sent to Wadelai. Further alarms caused affairs in that town to become entirely chaotic, and eventually Emin, disgusted with the faithlessness of his men, betook himself to Tunguru, where with a few Egyptian troops and their families he awaited the return of Stanley. So stood affairs in Equatoria at the close of 1888.

Mr. Stanley, meanwhile, had failed to meet the advancing column until, on the 17th of August, he arrived at Banalya, only ninety miles from Yambuya. There he discovered a miserable remnant of 101 out of the original roll of 271. The others had deserted or succumbed to disease and

privation. Major Barttelot was dead, shot by one of Tippoo Tib's men; Mr. Jameson was dead, killed by fever and anxiety; Mr. Troup had been invalided home; Mr. Ward dispatched down the river. The main cause of this deplorable breakdown was undoubtedly the scoundrel Tippoo Tib, who failed to perform his contract for the supply of carriers, though visited no less than six or seven times by the Major, and after a delay of eleven months sent only 600 men just before the unhappy man was murdered. Mr. Stanley, however, in his instructions had advised the rear column that if the Arab proved false, they should move onwards by slow stages, making trips backwards and forwards until all the essentials had been removed from camp to camp. Major Barttelot's defence in his diary was that the force was altogether too weak, as Mr. Stanley had taken with him all the best men. Clearly the officers possessed a certain lack of initiative; but on the other hand the explorer's lamentations over his clothes and canteen, which had been dispatched down the Congo, on the ground that they could not be forwarded, appeared somewhat petty. Anyhow, the story of the rear column was dismal enough in itself without the additional horrors with which it was subsequently invested.

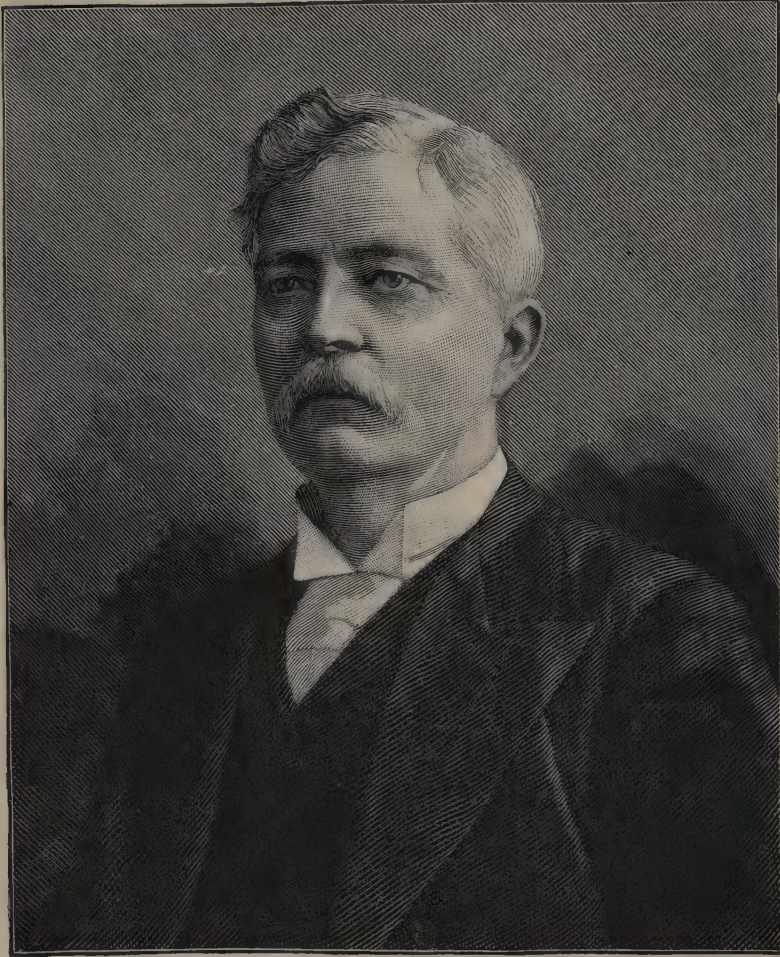
Collecting the poor remainder under Mr. Bonny, the sole surviving officer, Mr. Stanley once more retraced his steps, and, after toiling for some five months through the forest, met Mr. Jephson at the town of the chief Kavalli, and was thus made acquainted with Emin's situation. Meanwhile the news of Stanley's approach had created consternation in the breast of the rebel officers, who appeared under Selim Bey in a condition of professed penitence, and were by Emin restored to favour. On the arrival of Stanley a council was held, and it was decided to evacuate the province, the 10th of April being fixed as the date by which the wives and families must be collected. Treachery was suspected on the part of Selim Bey, and when Emin demanded a four months' extension of time Mr. Stanley refused. The wisdom of his determination was shown when a partial outbreak occurred in the camp, which Mr. Stanley quelled by forming the troops in square and telling them that anyone who disobeyed orders would be shot. On the appointed day the multitude of 1,500 persons, including some 600 Egyptians who had decided to return to civilisation, started for Zanzibar. Selim Bey and the other officers at Wadelai sent numerous messages of their impending arrival, but so notorious was their contemplated

treachery that Mr. Stanley declined to admit them armed into the camp. Ample opportunity was given them for rejoining the march, which owing to Mr. Stanley's illness and other causes was at first exceedingly slow; but though lying messages were sent in abundance, not a man appeared. The expedition made its way to the coast, where it arrived on December 6th, 1889. On his way the explorer made discoveries even more important than those which had signalled his journey along the Aruwhimi. Among them were the mighty mountain of Ruwenzori, in whose snowy beds are to be found, he believed, the true sources of the Nile, Lake Albert Edward, and the Semliki river, by which it is connected with Albert Nyanza. However the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition may be regarded as to its inception and aims, it will always remain a marvellous instance of British pluck and daring; nor is it easy to overestimate its services in the causes of geographical and ethnological research.

The sequel was curious and in some of its aspects unsavoury. The Egyptians were duly transported to Cairo. Emin Pasha fell out of window during an entertainment given by the officers of the German East Africa Company, and was dangerously ill for several weeks. He next entered the German service, but for his habitual disobedience to orders was recalled by his superior, Major Wissmann. Finally, in 1892, having possessed himself of a considerable supply of firearms, he made his way through British territory in the direction of Equatoria. This was the comic side of the story; the tragedy concerned the luckless rear column. Mr. Stanley's book had dealt out free censure upon the officers left at Yambuya with the exception of Mr. Bonny; and the survivors, Mr. Ward and Mr. Troup, published ample vindications of themselves, and apparently of Major Barttelot. Nevertheless, shortly before his departure for America, Mr. Stanley made public an amended version of the Major's conduct on the authority of Mr. Bonny. Therein he was described as a violent madman, who beat and wounded the men, who tried to poison one of Tippoo Tib's headmen, and was finally killed out of revenge for a brutal assault on a native woman. The poor man's diaries, on their appearance, discredited the greater part of this hideous legend, as they had evidently been written by a sane and gentlemanly man, while leaving a certain amount of doubt whether Barttelot, on account of his hot temper, was well qualified to command native troops. Even more horrible was the story connected with Mr. Jameson,

who was accused of having purchased a girl and handed her over to Tippoo Tib's cannibals, to be killed and eaten, in order to satisfy his taste for the nauseous. This gruesome anecdote rested on the authority of a Syrian interpreter, Assan Farran,

In his diary Jameson asserted that "up to the last moment he could not believe that they were in earnest"; yet later in the day he tried to make some sketches of the scene. Thus, though his share in the foul performance was clearly



HENRY MORTON STANLEY.

(From a Photograph by T. C. Turner and Co., Barnsbury Park, N.)

and, though countenanced by Mr. Stanley, was generally disbelieved until Mr. Jameson's diary was published. Then it appeared that it had a grim and substantial basis in fact. Mr. Jameson related that while returning with Tippoo Tib from Stanley Falls he witnessed at Riba Riba some native dances, and was informed by the slave-dealer that these entertainments usually concluded with a feast of human flesh. Jameson did not believe him, but gave the performers, nevertheless, six handkerchiefs. The present appears to have been construed into a challenge; the girl was brought, killed, and then and there dismembered.

unpremeditated, he cannot be absolved from the most culpable levity and recklessness.

Farther south the conduct of the Portuguese in defence of their "historic rights" would have embroiled Britain with her old ally had not Lord Salisbury dealt gently but firmly with Lusitanian pretensions. Early in the year matters were brought to a crisis by the proceedings of Major Serpa Pinto, who had not only attacked the Makololo tribe, which had placed itself under British protection, but had molested British steamers and hauled down the Union Jack. Lord Salisbury thereupon telegraphed a very vigorous

remonstrance to Mr. Petre, the British representative at Lisbon. "Her Majesty's Government," ran the message, which was dated January 6th, "have not asked any apology for what has taken place, and they are quite willing to leave to the Portuguese Government the right which they claim—to judge of the proceedings of the Portuguese officers after they have received a full account of the facts; but they must insist upon having a prompt and distinct assurance that there will be no attempt to settle the territorial question by acts of force, or to establish Portuguese dominion over districts where British interests predominate. If Her Majesty's Government cannot obtain any such assurance from the Portuguese Government, it will be their duty to take measures which they consider to be necessary and adequate for the protection of those interests. I am therefore instructed to report to your Excellency the categorical request for an immediate declaration that the forces of Portugal will not be permitted to interfere with British settlements on the Shiré and Nyassa, or with the country of the Makololo, or the country under the government of Lobengula, or any other country declared under British protection; and further, that there will be no attempt to establish or exercise Portuguese jurisdiction over any portion of those countries without previous arrangement between the two Governments." The Portuguese Ministers returned a general promise to observe the *status quo* until an international understanding had been effected, either by direct negotiation or by arbitration under Article 12 of the Berlin General Act. Lord Salisbury, however, insisted upon a more definite assurance that the Portuguese expeditions would be withdrawn; and failing to obtain a specific undertaking, an ultimatum was telegraphed on January 11th, of which the important sentences were—"Her Britannic Majesty's Government desires and insists that the following telegraphic instructions shall be sent immediately to the Governor of Mozambique: 'Withdraw whatever Portuguese forces actually on the Shiré and the territories of the Makololo and Mashonaland.' Her Britannic Majesty's Government understand that without this the assurances given by the Portuguese Government are illusory." As Mr. Petre was directed to leave Lisbon for Vigo in the *Enchantress*, failing a satisfactory answer within four-and-twenty hours, the Council of State decided that a virtue should be made of necessity, and the orders "exacted by Great Britain" were sent to the Government of

Mozambique. This was sagacious on their part, as the East African squadron had been ordered to proceed to Mozambique, while the Channel squadron, under sealed orders, was despatched to the mouth of the Tagus and the Azores. Nevertheless the temper of the mob was displayed in a dangerous riot, during which the windows of the British Consulate were broken, an insult for which the Portuguese Minister promptly tendered an apology.

Lord Salisbury's strenuous diplomacy had at least this result: that no further aggressions were made upon the British sphere of influence north of the Zambesi. And when a convention was, after tedious delays, signed on August 13th, everybody hoped that the matters in dispute had been happily disposed of. The agreement was, however, rejected by the Portuguese Parliament, though it gave the colony of Mozambique a considerable tract of "hinterland," especially to the north of the Zambesi, even if the preposterous claim embracing the whole width of the continent went unrecognised. The British Government, however, allowed the lapsed convention to have the force of a *modus vivendi* for six months, beginning on November 28th, and again matters seemed in a fair way of settlement. Meanwhile, however, a Cabinet crisis had placed General d'Abreu y Sousa at the head of a new Ministry, and he, alarmed by the progress of Republican doctrines throughout the country, and the strength of the anti-English feeling in the capital, announced that the *modus vivendi* would be disregarded. He was promptly taken at his word by Mr. Cecil Rhodes and the officers of the British South Africa Company. Already the defeat of Sir Gordon Sprigg had been followed by the acceptance by Mr. Rhodes of the Premiership of Cape Colony, with the pledged support of the Afrikaner Bund, and he had formulated a wide-reaching programme which included the unification of Africa south of the Zambesi, by railways and a customs-union. Already the Company's pioneers had advanced, under Colonel Pennefather and the celebrated hunter, Mr. F. C. Selous, into Mashonaland, and, having passed the kraals of the Matabele without any hostile demonstration, proceeded some 2,000 miles from Cape Town to Mount Hampden, where the British flag was raised at 3,000 feet above the sea. Signs of surface gold were plentiful, and the country was pronounced to be suitable for European colonisation. After establishing a station at Fort Salisbury, Mr. Colquhoun, the administrator of Mashonaland, proceeded to Manica, a district nearer the eastern coast, and concluded

a treaty with the chief Mutassa, whereby the latter ceded his mining rights to the British and placed himself under their protection. The proceeding was none too scrupulous, inasmuch as Mutassa's territory lay within the Portuguese sphere; and at Massikessé, one of his townships, Baron de Rezende, a Portuguese official, was established, who protested against the Company's action. He was speedily reinforced by the African explorer, Colonel Paiva d'Andrade, accompanied by a body of some 300 men under the command of Gouveia, a native of Goa and a notorious slave-dealer. They occupied Massikessé and tore down the British flag, while the handful of Englishmen retired. But a week later (November 15th), Colonel Forbes of the Company's police appeared on the scene with a troop, some eighty strong, at the moment when Mutassa was about to make public recantation of the Colquhoun treaty and all its provisions. The little band reached the town before the gates could be closed, took Colonel d'Andrade and Gouveia prisoners, and deported them to Fort Salisbury, whence they were allowed to make their way to the coast. As an offset to these excursions and alarums, a convention was concluded and ratified in August between Great Britain and the South African Republic with regard to Swaziland. The independence of the country was recognised, and its government placed under the control of Mr. Shepstone as representing the Swazis, Colonel Martin the British Government, and Mr. Esselen the Transvaal. In return for this concession, and the abandonment of all claims over Mashonaland and Matabeleland, the Transvaal was allowed to acquire a strip of land for railway purposes through Swaziland and Amatongaland to the sea.

There is little to chronicle with regard to Egypt, except that the French Government showed a genuine disposition to consent to the conversion of the debt, to the greater stability of Egyptian finance. Reforms seemed generally in progress, except with regard to the administration of justice, of which the abuses were vital and of long standing. Accordingly Mr. Justice Scott was summoned from Bombay, and his inquiry resulted in some considerable ameliorations, of which the abolition of torture in the preparation of evidence was the most conspicuous. Nevertheless, Lord Salisbury at the Mansion House (August 6th) declined to fix a date for the evacuation of Egypt. Sir Evelyn Baring and his subordinates had, said the Premier, effected the most magnificent achievement in national regeneration that had been seen for many

years. But the view that Egypt was so flourishing that she could dispense with British care resembled that of people who found beautiful flowers in their garden and thereupon dismissed the gardener.

Turning to India, we find that the year's record was one of peaceful prosperity. The north-east frontier gave little cause for uneasiness, while the scheme of defence was further advanced by the permanent occupation of the Zhob valley with the object of its eventual connection with the Indian railway system at Lahore. The peace prevalent on the borders was chiefly due to the strenuous administration of Sir Robert Sandeman, who by a system of local levies had succeeded in acquiring control over the most turbulent hill tribes, whereby order was established in the marches under his administration. Burma gave little trouble except in the Chin-Lushai district, where kidnapping and depredations once more necessitated the despatch of an expedition. In India proper the year was marked by the visit of the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, who made an extensive tour through the country and enjoyed some excellent sport; his example being followed later by the Czarewitch. The new feudatory contingents, one of the most satisfactory outcomes of the Jubilee, were rapidly being made serviceable by the British officers who had been lent for that purpose to the native princes. Several reviews of these auxiliary bodies were held by Lord Lansdowne during the year, and in every case he was able to report that the troops were of a high order of efficiency. In the same spirit the native army was rapidly reorganised by Sir Frederick Roberts, who disbanded many of the old Hindoo regiments and replaced them by better fighting material recruited from the Pathans, Sikhs, and Beluchistanis. For the rest there is little to record, except that a sudden rise in the rupee affected finance in a manner both surprising and agreeable; while the proposed legislation with regard to the age of consent for Hindoo marriages caused a considerable agitation throughout Bengal, which the native congress held at Calcutta ignored, despite its supposed reforming tendencies.

The Dominion of Canada, and in a less degree the export trade of Great Britain, was severely hit by the McKinley Tariff, which became law in September. This measure was fathered by a prominent statesman, the representative in the United States Senate for Indiana, and embodied the principles of Protection pushed to an almost absurd extreme. A partial reaction against its effects was undoubtedly seen in the "fall" elections for the Congress, which resulted in a crushing defeat for

the Republicans. Nevertheless, President Harrison, in his message to Congress, asserted that criticisms from foreign sources might well be rejected, and declared that the question had better be regarded as closed until the tariff should have had a fair trial. Among the comments apparently resented by the President were some studiously moderate remarks made by Mr. Gladstone at Dundee on October 29th. The great economist pointed out

The temper of Canada was not equally calm, and Sir John Macdonald, in particular, was most outspoken in his denunciation of McKinleyism. He regarded the increase of steamer communications with Britain, the establishment of commercial agencies in South America and the West Indies, as the true reply, not commercial reciprocity with the States, which would inevitably end in a political union. "Canadians," said he, "are not



THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY'S PIONEERS IN MASHONALAND. (See p. 414.)

that what Britain would lose in one way under the tariff would be gained in another. Some articles of British manufacture would doubtless be excluded from the United States, but, on the other hand, prices would be generally raised, while in the European markets there would be less to fear than hitherto from American competition. He still regarded a protective tariff as wasteful, and said that America had grown rich, despite her extravagance, because of the country's enormous resources. Retaliation on the part of Britain would be suicidal, for, though an Imperial Zollverein might strengthen the British colonies to a certain extent, it would contract to a much greater extent Britain's trade with the rest of the world.

so mean, sordid, traitorous, and unworthy of their ancestors as to sell their heritage for a mess of pottage or a pot of gold. What can Canada gain by joining the United States with their mass of foreign ignorance and vice?"

In Australia federation projects appeared to be progressing towards solution. A Conference met at Melbourne on February 6th, and sat until the 14th, the delegates being fairly representative of their various colonies. Nevertheless, considerable doubt was expressed in the press whether the scheme was not altogether premature, and, though the delegates were enthusiastic, public opinion was more or less apathetic. Enthusiasm was the order of the day at the inaugural banquet

given by the Victorian Premier, Mr. Gillies, at which Mr. Service, while proposing the toast of "United Australasia," made some cautious remarks as to the difficulties, chief of which were those of tariff, which must be faced before their aspirations were realised. Sir Henry Parkes, on the other hand, was extremely sanguine. Becoming poetical, he exclaimed that "the crimson thread of kinship runs through all," and asserted that the question of

Victoria, owing to the height to which her industries had been nursed under a protectionist system. In short, the line of cleavage seemed to be between the backward and developed colonies, while New Zealand declined to have anything to do with the project because of her distance from the other communities. The word "Australia" was accordingly substituted for "Australasia," and the right of admission at a later period was



SYDNEY HARBOUR, FROM THE SOUTH HEAD.

a common tariff was a trifle compared with the question of national existence. At the close of his speech the company rose and sang the National Anthem. Nevertheless, at the Conference Sir Henry Parkes's resolution advocating a union of the colonies under one legislative and executive Government on principles just to the several colonies was vigorously opposed. For instance, Mr. Playford declared the cry to be not popular but political, and said that South Australia had not been educated up to federation. A Tasmanian speaker dwelt upon the impossibility of adequately distributing the colonial debts, and in many quarters there was an evident fear of

reserved for the remoter colonies. It was also agreed that the colonial legislatures should be requested to appoint delegates to a national convention for the consideration of an adequate scheme for a federal constitution. Most of the legislatures accepted these resolutions without much demur, though the debate in the New South Wales Parliament displayed a strong under-current of disapproval, and New Zealand rejected them outright by a majority of twelve. Subsequently, however, the matter was reconsidered, and it was ultimately agreed that three representatives—the other colonies had seven—should attend the conference with limited powers. Meanwhile, the

young generation as represented by the Australian Natives' Association, for whom these proceedings were too slow-going, had convoked a convention of its own at Melbourne, at which sweeping resolutions were passed and remarks indulged in by no means complimentary to the mother country.

To Western Australia was granted after many delays a constitution, the Imperial Government relinquishing the right to regulate the sale of the Crown lands except to the north of the 26th Parallel. As the population of the colony was little over 40,000, and its territory a million miles square, the Home authorities had certainly not erred on the side of severity, though reserving the right to veto any legislation which prohibited immigration. From the Liberal side of the House of Commons, and notably from Professor Bryce, came a well-considered protest against the squandering of unoccupied lands. However, after a Select Committee, with Mr. John Morley as chairman, had reported favourably on the measure, there was nothing for it but to pass it in the form which, after all, was most in keeping with Australian feeling. The State thus ennobled was almost the only part of Australia which was free from the labour complications rampant in other parts of the dependency. Australia is the working-man's paradise, and it cannot be said that he has invariably shown himself duly grateful for his privileges. Indeed, a more wanton disturbance of trade has seldom been witnessed than that which, owing to the combination of the unions, was inaugurated in July, and lasted for some ten weeks. Which of the industries was the first to "come out" is not exactly clear, but the initiative was generally ascribed to the Marine Engineers of New South Wales. They demanded higher wages and an increased scale of payment for overtime, and, failing to exact satisfactory terms, went on strike, and were speedily joined by other branches of the shipping trade. The Amalgamated Shearers struck earlier in the year from a grievance of their own—namely, the employment of non-union men, particularly in Queensland, and, as their manœuvre was well planned, they gained their point. The dock movement, however, was too multiform to have much chance of permanent success, though, thanks in part to subscriptions from England, there was a moment when it appeared as if the men would win the day. At the ports of Melbourne and Sydney commerce of all kinds was at a complete standstill; while the former city was for several days plunged in Egyptian darkness owing to the refusal of the

stokers to work. The general deadlock, which embraced sawyers, butchers, omnibus-drivers—in fact, every sort of wage-earner—reacted on the Gillies Ministry, believed to be exceptionally strong. By a vote of non-confidence it was suddenly hurled from power on October 29th, owing to the defection of the labour representatives. This was its reward for a firm attitude towards possible disturbance, illustrated in particular by the enrolment of special constables—a device also adopted at Sydney, where, in addition, all the rifle ammunition was purchased by the Government. In fact, both democracies were determined that no unlawful coercion should be used towards the masters, who, at a conference held on September 12th at Sydney, announced their determination to employ free labour and abide by their contracts. Their steadfastness had its reward in November, when the unionist executive declared the strike to be at an end, the alleged cause of the collapse being that the English unions had not responded to requests for aid with the liberality that had been expected of them. The statement was generally held to be a mere excuse put forward to cover a retreat.

Europe continued at peace, the nations having plenty of occupation in their own affairs without worrying their neighbours. France was slowly recovering from the nightmare of Boulangism, owing in great part to the energy displayed by M. Constans, still Minister of the Interior, though M. Tirard had been replaced as Premier by M. de Freycinet. M. Constans dealt very rigorously with a recrudescence of the ex-General's party, which threatened, in conjunction with the wilder Socialists, to throw Paris into confusion by a May-day demonstration, and rioting was reduced to contemptible proportions by his masterly arrangements. In Italy Signor Crispi continued to court defeat by his heavy taxation and strong military policy, but still escaped overthrow. He continued to advocate a policy of advance from Massowah, and even desired to take Kassala from the Mahdists, but was unable to obtain the consent of the British Government, by whom the town was regarded as an integral part of the Khedive's dominions. A curious Parliamentary incident was connected with Lord Salisbury's negotiation with the Vatican through Sir Lintorn Simmons with the object of obtaining the validity of Protestant marriages in Malta. The object of the mission was gained; but Mr. Gladstone denounced the arrangement on the ground that Protestants thereby were placed in bondage to the Church of Rome, a thing unknown either before or after the

Reformation. The ex-Premier was naturally reminded of Sir George Errington's dealings with the Pope, but the dialectician was quite equal to the occasion. It appeared that there was no mission, but merely a taking advantage of Sir George's residence in Rome. He bore no diplomatic character whatever, though he undoubtedly conveyed and received information.

The centre of interest, however, was still the young German Emperor, concerning whom people were beginning to inquire with some anxiety, "What will he do next?" Early in the year there were rumours that he was at issue with his Chancellor, and, when Prince Bismarck resigned the Ministry of Commerce in the Prussian Cabinet, the explanation that stress of work was the only reason was regarded as more plausible than probable. Indeed, it was immediately discounted by the appearance of two Imperial decrees, the first directing the Chancellor to convoke an international conference on labour, the second directing Prince Bismarck's successor as Minister of Commerce to proceed with workmen's insurance legislation and similar measures. Remarkably enough, neither of these pronouncements bore the Minister's signature, so that he was evidently at issue with his master upon an important point of policy. Eventually the Conference met in March, the first English representative being Sir John Gorst.

After some brief sittings, the delegates formulated some sensible but hardly novel suggestions with regard to the employment of juvenile and female labour, both in mines and above ground, and on the value of the Sunday's day of rest. In England these aims had long ago been enforced by the Factory Acts, and though the Governments taking part in the Conference bound themselves to exchange annual reports and hold further deliberations, the whole affair was felt to be academic. Its entire failure as a sedative to Socialism had already been demonstrated at the general election, at which the Socialist deputies had increased from 11 to 35, while the Government majority of Conservatives and National Liberals suffered severely. Prince Bismarck resigned, but was induced to reconsider his proceedings. However, an after-dinner speech of the Kaiser, menacing those who opposed him with the fate of "being ground to atoms," was followed by a second resignation of the Chancellor, and this time (March 17th) he was taken at his word. Sorely unwilling to be laid on the shelf, the chief artificer of united Germany retired to his estates, and vented his wrath and indignation in sundry

communications to the press of characteristic cynicism and bitterness. His successor was General von Caprivi, whose training had been chiefly military, but who created, nevertheless, an excellent impression in Great Britain by his able negotiation of the Anglo-German agreement and general goodwill towards the British Empire. The Emperor, meanwhile, gave food for gossip by his rapid and somewhat eccentric proceedings. His travels were as extensive as ever, embracing England, Russia, and Austria; while at the beginning of December he delivered a philippic against high-school education, which insisted, according to him, too much on Latin and "home-work."

The foreign policy of the Austrian Empire during this year was marked by more continuity of purpose than its internal relations, as exemplified by the unsatisfactory compromise effected between the German and Czech nationalities in Bohemia and the fall of the Hungarian Premier, M. Tisza, on account of some contemptuous expressions towards the aged exile Kossuth. The relations between Vienna and Berlin continued excellent; and the Russian war scare having in a measure abated, Count Kalnoky was free to turn a benevolent eye towards the development of Bulgaria, though he still regarded the recognition of Prince Ferdinand as premature. That Principality continued to play its hazardous game against Russia with courage and success, the first point being M. Stambouloff's detection of a conspiracy headed by Major Panitz, a trusted adherent of Prince Alexander, who had been won over by Pan Slavist emissaries. The next step was a direct application to the Porte for the recognition of Prince Ferdinand. The note presented by the Bulgarian agent, Dr. Vulkovitch, was, however, discovered to have been mainly composed with the object of securing the Bulgarian Exarch's right to appoint Bishops in Macedonia. The question, apparently narrow, in reality involved very wide issues indeed: no less than the question whether Bulgaria, Greece, or Servia could claim the greatest influence in Macedonia, and therefore the right of succession to that portion of the sick man's property. After a diplomatic trial of strength in which Russia backed Servia, and Germany for the first time supported Bulgaria, the Sultan ended by confirming the appointments. The effect of this stroke of policy was considerable. Prince Ferdinand and M. Stambouloff became immensely popular in Bulgaria, while Russian prestige was severely shaken throughout the Balkan Peninsula.

But if the Sultan could lend a helping hand to

the fortunes of his vassal, he showed less skill in managing his own. In Armenia the position of the Christian population continued to be most uncomfortable, and in May a series of riots occurred embracing several portions of the Empire, of which the most serious was at Erzeroum, where blood was shed and the house of the British Consul attacked. Sir William White, the British Ambassador, made the usual remonstrances, and, as usual, the Porte promised every redress in its

power. Nevertheless little was done beyond the despatch of a Commission of Inquiry, the only result of which was that the Armenian patriarch, who had resigned, was induced to resume his office. The *Daily News* waxed eloquent over the wrongs of the Christians in Armenia, and during his Midlothian campaign Mr. Gladstone excepted Lord Salisbury's handling of the question from the general commendation he bestowed on the Prime Minister's foreign policy.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Beginning of 1891—Mr. Parnell at Boulogne—Versions of the Negotiations—Conservative Jubilations—The Hartlepool Election—Mr. Morley at Newcastle—The Tithes Bill—Party Strife in Ireland—Irish Distress—Strikes—The Factories and Workshops Bill—The Labour Commission—Futile Debates—Remedial Measures for Ireland—The Irish Land Bill—The Bill in the Lords—The Budget—"Free Education"—A "Small General Election"—Sir W. Hart-Dyke's Resolution—Mr. Acland's Amendment—The Bill in Committee—Its Progress in the Lords—The Dynamiters—The Baccarat Scandal—A Question of Discipline—Lord Salisbury at the Union Club—The German Emperor's Visit—His Speech in the City.

THE enigmatic figure of Mr. Parnell dominated the political situation as the year 1891 opened gloomily enough under the combined influences of frost and snow and sickness. Would he continue his desperate struggle for the Irish leadership, or would he yield to the imperious force of circumstances? Mr. Gladstone made clear that he at least was disposed to no compromise in a letter which explained that "the retirement of which I spoke to Mr. Morley was not retirement for the present, but retirement now"—and, apparently, for ever. Meanwhile the ex-dictator, as we have already mentioned, had repaired to Boulogne, where he proceeded to hold conference with Mr. William O'Brien, who was promptly visited by Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mr. Sexton. To them was shortly added Mr. John Dillon, hastily summoned from America. The conferences oscillated for several weeks between Boulogne and Paris, and at first matters seemed to proceed smoothly. The subjects under consideration, if not under actual discussion, appeared to be two in number—Mr. Parnell's continuance in the leadership, and the disposal of the Paris funds. Upon the latter point Mr. Parnell held an important advantage, inasmuch as the bankers, Messrs. Munro, declined to release the money for the benefit of the evicted tenants so long as the split continued. He used his power with great

astuteness in order to extort concessions from the opposite side. According to his followers' subsequent report, his terms were that his retirement should be of a temporary character, and he was to retain a complete veto on any Home Rule Bill that he did not consider adequate. They also declared that he demanded a written promise from Mr. Gladstone and Sir William Harcourt that the Irish Parliament should have immediate control over the constabulary. Mr. O'Brien's version was that Mr. Parnell was to be compensated for his abdication by the Presidency of the National League, that an expression of thanks should be rendered him by the Catholic Bishops and by the Irish party, and explicit assurances should be obtained from Mr. Gladstone as to the land question and the control of the police. According to the same authority, Mr. Parnell demanded that Mr. McCarthy should retire from the Chairmanship of the Parliamentary party, and that he (Mr. O'Brien) should take his place. He consented with extreme reluctance to Mr. O'Brien's suggestion that Mr. Dillon had superior claims to the position, and finally the idea was abandoned when it appeared that Mr. Dillon entertained a strong *nolo episcopari*. Apparently the point upon which the negotiations nominally broke down was the assurances that were to be obtained from Mr. Gladstone, but as to their exact

purport the evidence was very conflicting; nor was it clear what communications, if any, passed between Mr. McCarthy and the Liberal leaders. But whatever Mr. Parnell's original conditions were—according to Mr. Dillon, he would have postponed the settlement of the constabulary question for ten or twelve years, whereas neither of the negotiators was willing to agree to the slightest delay—he craftily modified and enlarged them when Mr. O'Brien's diplomacy appeared likely to result in a definite understanding. Twice if not thrice were the negotiations broken off, and finally the conferences were abruptly closed by Mr. Parnell in a letter to Mr. O'Brien, which threw the responsibility for the rupture upon the Irish episcopacy. It was dated the 11th of February, and alluded to a spirit existing “in some quarters, and those quarters from which such a spirit might be least expected, breathing the deadliest hostility to that of peace.” Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon also published manifestoes, the purport of which was that a substantial agreement had been established upon the main points, but that the treaty had been wrecked by personal feeling and private animosity. They also censured the acrimonious articles of a certain section of the English press, and deplored the mutual exasperation of both sections of the Irish party. So hopeless did the prospect appear that on the following day they crossed the Channel and surrendered to the police for a six months' period of imprisonment.

These comings and goings naturally infected the oratory of the latter end of the recess, which seldom strayed from the Irish question. The Unionist spokesmen urged that, in the words of Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule policy was “smashed, pulverised, and destroyed,” though Lord Derby seemed less certain that “Home Rule was dead” than that no draft constitution existed. Mr. Goschen and Sir M. Hicks-Beach dwelt upon the supposed agreement at Hawarden that the Irish members should be retained to the numbers of thirty-two or thirty-four. This, according to the latter, meant “an Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament large enough to do mischief in England, but not large enough to do good to Ireland.” Lord Salisbury at Cambridge dwelt upon the evils of priestly rule, and looked on emigration and the establishment of a peasant proprietary as a cure for the restlessness of the country. Lord Hartington at Rawenstall decided that the land question could be solved and a measure of local government

extended to Ireland such as the people of England and Scotland already enjoyed. The Hartlepool election afforded a curious commentary to the Unionist jubilations, for the Liberal candidate, Sir William Gray, gained the seat by a large majority—a result that was, however, affected to a considerable extent by Trades Union considerations. Nevertheless, the victory greatly invigorated Mr. Gladstone and his followers, of whom Mr. Morley, in an outspoken speech at Newcastle, had explained that he considered that the land question ought to be dealt with at Westminster, not by an Irish legislative body. Later, Mr. Justin McCarthy, addressing the Anti-Parnellite members at Westminster, submitted a report upon Mr. Gladstone's views as to the land and police questions. The statesman intended that the constabulary should be converted, within a period of five years, into a civil force under the control of the Irish Parliament. But upon the agrarian difficulty he was somewhat vague—it must either be settled by the Imperial Parliament simultaneously with Home Rule, or within a limited period after the passing of the Bill, or it must be left to the Irish Parliament. This much was clear: that the Opposition had no intention of dropping Home Rule. “We Liberals,” said Mr. John Morley, “have entered into a solemn engagement with Ireland; we have bound ourselves to take the first opportunity—ay, and not only to take the first opportunity, but to do the very best we can to create and make that opportunity—of once more pressing upon Parliament such a scheme for the better government of Ireland as we believe will be safe for the British Empire, will be just and wise for Ireland, and will be rightly calculated to secure the free assent both of England and of Ireland. Do you suppose that when they come to us and talk of dropping Home Rule that all we have said during the last five years has been mere smoke in the air and foam upon the water? No, gentlemen, we mean what we have said, and I for one believe that the Liberal party stand as firm as they ever did to the convictions, to the principles, and to the professions which have been growing and strengthening for five years in their hearts, their minds, and their consciences.”

The House of Commons reassembled on January 22nd, and proceeded to discuss the Tithes Bill in Committee, together with the second reading of the Scottish Private Procedure Bill. Though the Lord Advocate and Lord Salisbury professed to be mightily anxious that the latter measure should pass, it was ultimately dropped,

while the former occupied a time out of all proportion to its intrinsic importance. The Welsh members, led by Mr. Samuel Evans, succeeded in depriving the County Courts of the power of imprisonment in the case of non-payment of tithe, and Sir M. Hicks-Beach partially met their views as to damages by undertaking that a scale of costs should be added to the Bill. Mr. Gray's attempt on behalf of the Essex farmers to reduce the amount of tithe from two-thirds to one-half the annual value of the land was resisted by Government and defeated by 178 votes to 124. As the Bill made slow progress, Mr. Smith obtained precedence for it over the other orders of the day by a majority of sixty-three, with the result that the report stage was passed and the second reading set down for February 12th. Sir William Harcourt then conducted a grand assault upon the general effects of the Bill, which he asserted to be a prospective increase rather than a decrease of agitation, but was defeated by 250 votes to 161. In the House of Lords the Marquis of Salisbury moved the second reading in a speech which excused the abandonment of tithe-redemption because the report of the Commission had not been presented, and deprecated Lord Brabourne's opposition in the interests of the landowners on the ground that it was a "throwing of the sword into the scale." In the face of Lord Brabourne's solitary dissent, the Bill passed its second reading, and was amended in Committee with the double object of relieving tithe-owners whose lands were occupied at a nominal rent and in preventing vexatious litigation. Some of these amendments were rejected by the House of Commons, but after a week's deliberations all differences were smoothed away, and the Bill became law on March 26th.

So passed the nights until the eve of the Easter recess, politics outside the House being much livelier than within its walls. In Ireland Mr. Parnell was conducting a furious campaign against the opposite faction and against Mr. Gladstone, whose "dictatorship" was the theme of numerous harangues up and down the country. He was opposed with equal rancour by Mr. Timothy Healy, who permitted himself some remarkably unchivalrous observations at the expense of Mrs. O'Shea. The Anti-Parnellite party proceeded on March 10th to found an Irish National Federation in opposition to the Land League, whose machinery and funds could not be loosened from Mr. Parnell's grip. The leader of the minority retaliated by a manifesto to his "fellow-countrymen" across the

Atlantic, appealing to them against the mutineers through a deputation of "patriotic and experienced men." But very little money was forthcoming from America, and meanwhile the warfare grew in acerbity. Speaking at Cork on St. Patrick's Day, Mr. Parnell committed himself to an unwise promise that he would resign his seat if Mr. Maurice Healy, his colleague, would do likewise. The challenge was promptly accepted, and repeated in the House of Commons, but Mr. Parnell's discretion had the better of his valour. At length a vacancy in North Sligo gave an opportunity for a trial of strength. After a brief tourney of mutual recriminations, Mr. Parnell's candidate, Alderman Dillon, was defeated by the Nationalist nominee, Alderman Collery, though the majority of 768 was somewhat narrow. The influence of the Catholic priesthood was conspicuous throughout the contest, and they marshalled the illiterate voters to the number of 1,700 to the poll. Mr. Parnell professed to be little dismayed at the result, and continued his abuse of Mr. Gladstone, whom on one occasion he termed a "Grand Old Spider." Meanwhile the evicted tenantry were entirely neglected, and Irish distress was left to the care of Lord Zetland and Mr. Balfour. They were equal to the emergency; in answer to their appeal £25,000 was collected within a week from all classes and parties; while the Countess of Zetland and Miss Balfour visited the western counties to satisfy themselves that the funds and clothing were being properly distributed. Everywhere they were received courteously. When the fund was closed, it amounted to over £50,000, and donations of clothing, representing about 14,000 children's garments, were forwarded to Lady Zetland. An official report was published in May, which gave a clear idea of the *modus operandi*. The office of the fund was established at Dublin Castle, and the administration of it was placed under the supervision of three chief inspectors and their assistants—one for the north-west district, including the counties of Donegal, Mayo, and Sligo; one for the western district, including Galway and Roscommon; and one for the south-western district, including Clare, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary. Thus, nearly one-half of the total area of the country was embraced, and it was found that everywhere from a half to three-fourths of the potato crop had failed. The plan was to make out provisional lists, which were revised by the chief inspector aided by local committees, so as to eliminate the professional beggar. The relief was given in kind, Indian

meal, flour, or oatmeal being purchasable from any local trader by relief cheques, and the Irish Constabulary assisted in making out the provisional lists and keeping an eye on the operation of the fund, their work being done gratuitously. The statements of accounts appended to the report showed that the total net amount of the fund was £49,000, of which £2,700 remained as unspent balance. The rest was laid out as follows:—£40,000 in relief to helpless families and in food and clothing for schools; £335 in supplemental miscellaneous grants; £3,000 in the development of industries and in relief works, and the balance in the cost of administering the fund.

We must pass over the speeches outside Parliament, since they had little immediate effect, to turn to the labour disputes, which certainly exercised some influence on the debates. In January occurred a strike of the Post Office clerks against overtime and the somewhat capricious rule of Mr. Raikes, which broke down after a week, owing to the failure of funds and the lack of sympathy on the part of the public at large. More serious was the struggle at the Cardiff docks between the representatives of the Marquis of Bute and those of the Seamen and Firemen's Unions, reinforced by Messrs. Mann, Tillett, and J. H. Wilson. Here the question was the employment of non-union hands, and, after Mr. Mann had failed to arrange a compromise with Sir William Lewis, the London Dockers' Union and Labour Federation promised their assistance. In the west of Scotland the ironmasters were at issue with the blast-furnacemen; near Sunderland the colliers were at loggerheads with Lord Londonderry, and the movement threatened once more the London docks. Mr. Wilson, however, failed to stir the Federation to declare itself, and repaired to Cardiff once more, though he had already been committed for trial on a charge of riotous assembly. Could the Legislature repair this disastrous state of affairs? Mr. Channing addressed himself to the overwork of the railway men, but was defeated on a division after he had declined Sir M. Hicks-Beach's offer of a Select Committee to inquire into their grievances. A Commission was, nevertheless, appointed; and, following in the lead of Sir Henry James, the Home Secretary, Mr. Matthews, introduced a Factory and Workshops Bill to provide for cleanliness and ventilation, and to regulate the employment of women and children, of whom the former were limited to twelve hours' work a day, with an hour and a half for meals. This useful measure became law after Mr. Sydney Buxton had carried

against Government a clause raising the age of "half-timers" from ten years to eleven. Mr. Randell's clause, extending the provisions of the Bill to women working in laundries, was defeated in spite of an indignation meeting of those ladies held in Hyde Park. Finally, Mr. Smith announced the appointment of a Royal Commission on Labour to consider the relations "between employers and employed and the conditions of labour which had been raised by recent trade disputes," and to report whether legislation could be directed to the remedy of the evils that might be disclosed. Lord Hartington accepted the Presidency, and the list of his fellow-commissioners, embracing, as it did, Mr. Ismay, the Chairman of the White Star Steamship Company, Mr. Tom Mann, and Mr. Marshall, Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge, was recognised as thoroughly comprehensive and judicious.

Otherwise the debates were futile. Mr. Gladstone was beaten by 256 to 223 in an attempt to remove the religious disqualifications attaching to the offices of Lord Chancellor and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland after some curious cross-voting. Mr. Morley, after many delays, moved one more vote of censure on Mr. Balfour's Irish administration, but Government had a majority of 75. Mr. Stansfield's motion in favour of "one man one vote" was defeated by a big majority (291 to 189), but Mr. Pritchard Morgan's resolution for the disestablishment of the Welsh Church showed the significant figures—203 for and 235 against. A Welsh Temperance Bill passed its second reading, but progressed no farther; but the cause was advanced by the decision of the House of Lords in the case of *Sharp v. Wakefield*, that the magistrates had absolute discretion as to renewal of a licence. Then the Army and Navy Estimates were disposed of, with the usual chorus of complaint from generals and admirals that the services "were going to the dogs," and in Supply Mr. Balfour explained his measures of Irish relief. It appeared that 8,000 men had been employed on light railways at the expenditure of over £40,000, and 7,400 on road-making at the cost of over £21,000. Wages had been given on the liberal scale of from 11s. to 14s. in the first instance, and 7s. was the normal payment in the second. But, though care had been taken to employ only the most indigent, strikes had been not unknown, and in many cases the men threw up their work after a few days. The evidence, therefore, seemed to be that acute distress was less widespread than was popularly imagined. The islands on the western

coast had been provisioned, and there was a plentiful supply of seed-potatoes, though both the contractors and recipients had not been absolutely guiltless of fraud. An experiment had been tried in forestry, but the reclamation of land had to be abandoned, chiefly through the existence of subsidiary rights-of-way and grazing. Mr. John Morley expressed his general approval of Mr. Balfour's enterprises, and the sense of the

towards the Liberal leaders, and on one occasion indulged in the curt remark that it was useless to wait for Land Purchase until the Opposition were in a position to grant the boon. Mr. Labouchere's attempt to negative the principle of a State guarantee for loans was defeated by a large majority, and Mr. Morley's amendment, amended by Mr. Parnell, whereby the county councils must give their consent to the issue of guaranteed stock,



MISS BALFOUR'S VISIT TO IRELAND: A MISSION OF MERCY. (See p. 422.)

House was, on the whole, favourable to his schemes of State philanthropy, though exception was taken to the inordinate advantages secured by the contractors.

Meanwhile the Irish Land Bill, which went into Committee on April 9th, was exciting comparatively little interest, as the public was entirely bewildered by its complicated details. It did not emerge from that stage until May 22nd, when barely a sixth of the members were present. During the progress of the debates but little alteration was effected by the attitude of qualified approval adopted by Mr. Parnell. That politician lost no opportunity of displaying his resentment

suffered a similar fate. The debate lasted for two nights, considerable dissatisfaction being expressed, amongst others by Mr. Chamberlain, that the principle of local control was not extended further. The most dry and technical debates then ensued relating to the landlords' fifth and the guaranteed fund, and after Mr. Pierce Mahony had raised the question of local control afresh by an amendment forbidding a levy upon a county without the consent of the ratepayers, came a trenchant attack by Mr. Morley upon the clause enacting that the purchasers' insurance and the reserve fund should be liable to be drawn upon in cases of agricultural distress. After various amendments by Mr. Sexton and Mr. Knox had been sufficiently discussed,

Mr. Balfour accepted an important amendment from Mr. T. Healy, admitting pasture land and non-residential holdings to the privilege of advances, though a proviso was added by the Chief Secretary that the money should be chiefly spent on holdings under £30. By the 18th of May the original clauses of the Bill had been discussed, but Mr. Sexton insisted upon the full examination of certain new clauses, to the curtailment of the

the landlord's point of view, gave it a very faint approval. Lord Londonderry spoke in a similar sense, reserving to himself the right to move amendments in Committee. The Duke of Argyll, however, was brilliantly oratorical in its behalf; Lord Camperdown spoke with common-sense; Lord Kimberley, now raised by Lord Granville's death to the leadership of the Opposition, and Lord Herschell were not unfavourable. Finally,



MEETING OF WASHERWOMEN IN HYDE PARK. (See p. 423.)

Whitsuntide holidays. Mr. Balfour's new clause relating to the £30 holdings produced a fresh encounter between Mr. Parnell and Mr. Healy, and eventually, on the suggestion of Mr. Lea, the limit was raised to £50. One of the objects of Mr. Sexton's solicitude proved to be a provision that landlords of "Campaign" estates should not sell if they had refused to submit their case to arbitration. It produced a fierce debate on the morality of the Plan, and was finally rejected by 62 to 29. In the House of Lords, after a debate of two nights, the Bill was read a second time without a division on June 26th. In an able speech Lord Waterford criticised the measure on the ground of its extreme complication, and, from

Lord Salisbury urged that a peasant proprietary which would be created by the Bill was invariably a thrifty and law-abiding class. Certain amendments were carried, but they were, for the most part, rejected by the Lower House, and the Lords gave way. Upon the third reading (July 14th) Lord Spencer made a valedictory speech in which he admitted that Mr. Balfour's scheme, despite its involved construction, possessed many merits, but hinted that legislation of another sort would be necessary if Ireland was to become peaceful and prosperous.

Long before the Land Purchase Bill had ceased to "block the way" Mr. Goschen had made his Budget speech (April 23rd). It had been

anticipated with more than ordinary curiosity, because upon the amount of the Chancellor's surplus depended the question whether Government would fulfil their somewhat indefinite pledge in the Queen's Speech of "alleviating the burden which the law of compulsory education has in recent years imposed upon the poorer portion of the community." The House was therefore crowded when Mr. Goschen proceeded to make the cheerful statement that, whereas the estimate had been £87,610,000, the actual receipts amounted to £89,489,113, so that, even though the actual expenditure was heavier than had been foretold, there remained a surplus of £1,756,000. On alcohol the revenue was £900,000 above the previous year; on tobacco, £456,000; and on tea, £209,000, notwithstanding the reduction of duty. The National Debt had been reduced by £6,112,000, making a total decrease of £30,900,000 during the past four years. For the current year he anticipated a revenue of £90,435,000, an expenditure of £88,440,000, giving a probable surplus of some two millions. Then came the revelation that he was not going to lower the income-tax or make sundry other remissions, but the pledge in the Queen's Speech would be carried out "at the earliest date and in the amplest manner." Compulsory education was to be followed by a corresponding amount of free education. Here the speaker was interrupted by the cry of "assisted," but he continued: "I do not object to stand by the word 'free.' We intend to deal with the subject in no niggard spirit, as the Committee will see when I tell them that the cost of the operation will absorb the two millions at my disposal." For the current year half that sum would be sufficient, and, a margin being retained, some £900,000 remained, which would be spent on barrack construction and on the withdrawal of light gold from circulation.

The discussion on the Budget occupied two nights, and was relieved by some witty banter of Sir William Harcourt's on Mr. Goschen's "post-obit" legislation and "long-firm" practices, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer answered in kindred spirit, and vindicated his policy of spreading expenditure over a series of years. Mr. Bartley, however, expressed a fear that free education would interfere with the voluntary schools, and Mr. Howorth declaimed against State Socialism in a long letter to the *Times*. That paper objected to the measure mainly on the ground of its introduction so late in the Session, but the Liberal press received the announcement with a certain degree of approval; and of the

Conservative organs, the *Standard* alone showed active hostility to the idea. It found a powerful supporter in Mr. Chamberlain, who, speaking at Birmingham on April 24th, declared that denominational schools stood on the most secure basis, for in the twenty-three years since the Education Act they had doubled their accommodation and more than doubled their subscriptions. Besides, free education would not affect their status, since the tax would not be removed, but merely be collected out of general taxation, instead of falling as a burden on the parents. Meanwhile, the occurrence of a "small general election" did not show any remarkable amount of gratitude on the part of the constituencies. Five constituencies were contested in all, but though in two cases the Conservative majority was slightly increased, at Stowmarket and the Harborough division of Leicestershire the Liberals were triumphant. Again, on the expulsion of Captain Verney from the House for immorality, North Bucks was retained by Mr. Leon for the Liberals, and a similar result occurred at Paisley. Two vacancies in the City of London, however, proved that constituency an impregnable Tory stronghold.

On June 8th Sir William Hart-Dyke moved a resolution in favour of Free Education in Committee of Ways and Means. His speech was brief, and he fully admitted that his own views on the subject had undergone alteration. The substance of his proposals was that a grant of ten shillings per head on the average attendance of children between the ages of five and fourteen was to be made to every elementary school in England and Wales, irrespective of the present amount of fees. This grant represented a fee of about threepence a week per child; and those schools where a higher sum was demanded from parents could continue to exact the difference between that higher sum and threepence. Thus education would be provided absolutely gratis in eighty per cent. of the elementary schools in England, and parents who desired free education for their children, but who lived in districts where every school charged a fee, would be enabled to gain their wishes. There was to be no alteration in the management of schools, and existing arrangements were to be respected so far as possible.

Mr. Arthur Acland raised an important contention when he urged that parents, in return for the boon conferred, should consent to the raising of the age of attendance and the improvement of the quality of instruction. On the whole, however, the resolution was received with favour,

though Mr. Mundella expressed a reasonable fear that the scheme would be found to act unequally in different districts. Sir William Harcourt was almost enthusiastic in his reception of the proposal as an instalment of "unrestricted and undiluted free education," and supported Ministers against their ultra-Conservative followers, Mr. Bartley and Mr. Howorth, who foresaw nothing less than the abolition of voluntary schools; and, said the former, "the ruin of our Parliamentary prospects—the downfall and destruction of the party." Mr. Chamberlain, who was also cordial, raised the point of the future uniformity of all the national schools in respect of fees. He quoted a powerful argument by Mr. Samuel Smith in favour of schools for the children of wealthier artisans and small tradesmen, in which the fees were comparatively high. Sir William Hart-Dyke, in reply, appeared to look to the establishment of private-venture elementary schools after the practice in the United States. The Liberals below the gangway were insistent on the necessity of universal popular control.

On the second reading (June 22nd–24th) the debate was concentrated on an amendment of the persistent Mr. Bartley, to the effect that the Bill would increase taxation without increasing efficiency, and would be a source of danger both to voluntary and denominational schools. The speaker undoubtedly laid his finger upon a source of discontent among the Tory rank and file—namely, the influence of Mr. Chamberlain with Government; but otherwise his jeremiad hardly carried conviction. The protraction of the discussion was due to the desire of members on both sides of the House to display their enthusiasm for the measure, though Lord Cranbourne, speaking for the High Church party, reserved his right to move amendments in Committee. Sir Lyon Playfair, in an effective speech, insisted strongly that voluntary schools should increase the quality of the instruction they imparted, and urged the withdrawal of the five-year-old and fourteen-year-old limit. In the end ten members followed Mr. Bartley against an overwhelming majority of 318, and the Bill went into Committee. Before this stage was reached, however, Mr. Fowler moved an instruction to the effect that in places where there was no Board school the voluntary schools should be submitted to some form of popular control. His speech contained a telling exposition of the failure of the conscience clause in Church of England schools. Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain appeared for the defence, the former in a powerful

argument contending that the instruction would wreck the Bill; that universal school boards involved the outlay of forty millions on buildings, and two millions besides; and that according to Mr. Fowler's proposal all voluntary schools would be free from popular control wherever a single Board school existed. He maintained that both Wesleyans and Roman Catholics were bitterly opposed to any interference with the voluntary schools, and in respect of the latter quoted the supposed "*New Concordat*" established between Mr. John Morley and Mr. Sexton in the debate on the address in 1890. Mr. Fowler's instruction was defeated by 101, and an instruction by Mr. Summers in favour of raising the standard of total or partial exemption in schools receiving the free grants was rejected by 186 to 133. Mr. Smith and Sir William Hart-Dyke admitted that the standard might be raised in future, but declined to complicate the Government plan by the addition. In Committee Mr. Ainslie's amendment to substitute a grant of threepence per week instead of ten shillings per annum was opposed by Sir William Hart-Dyke, partly on the ground of expense, partly because the Government had consented to lower the age limit from five years to three. Also, on Mr. Chamberlain's suggestion, they raised the fourteen-year-old limit to fifteen. Sir William Hart-Dyke, however, resisted Mr. Samuel Smith's proposal that fees should be remitted to evening schools at the cost of £10,000, and Mr. Summers raised afresh the religious difficulty, but failed to carry his point, after the application of the closure by 212 votes to 129. Many other amendments were proposed, but they were as a whole of little moment, and failed to be embodied in the Bill; the question of letting schools be used for public meetings was, perhaps, of some importance; on the other hand, it seemed rather a waste of time to debate whether the village schoolmaster should or should not be also village organist. The threatened assault of the High Church party proved to be not particularly formidable. On the third reading of the Bill Mr. Bartley uttered his final prophecy of woe, and Sir William Harcourt, while ridiculing these forebodings, described the measure as defective in that it had failed to establish popular control, or to raise the standard of education. It portended, said he, a Liberal victory, since Ministerialists had "begun to devastate their own country and burn their own villages in order that their pursuers might be starved out." Finally, the Bill passed amidst cheers from all quarters of the House.

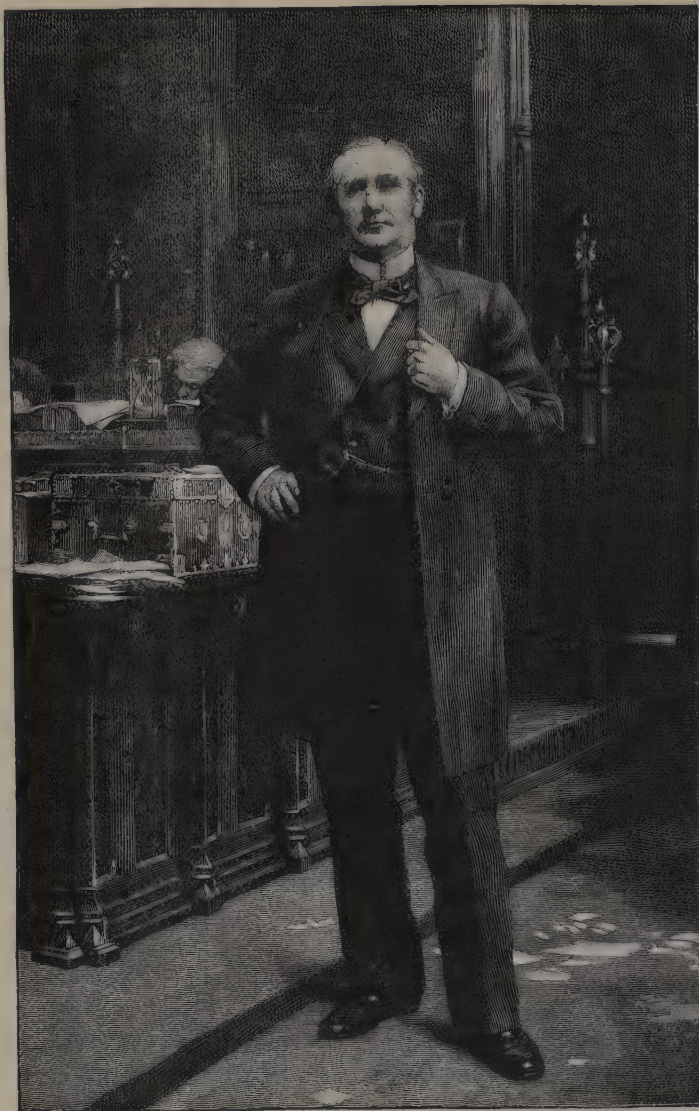
In the House of Lords the Archbishop of Canterbury received the Elementary Education Bill with a cordial approval, and re-slew the slain bugbear of religious teaching in danger. The debate was otherwise not particularly memorable, nor was there much controversy in Committee. Lord Sandford, who for years had been permanent Under-Secretary at the Education Office, moved, indeed, the reduction of the age limit from 15 to 14, but did not press his amendment to a division. A curious point was raised by the Bishop of London's amendment providing that where more schools than one were under the same management, they should be classed as one for the purposes of the Act. When the Lords' alteration reached the House of Commons, it was opposed by Mr. Fowler on the ground that it would increase the grant beyond the amount authorised by the financial resolution. The Speaker's ruling was that if such was the effect of the amendment, it was undoubtedly a breach of privilege, and it was accordingly struck out, to be reinstated in the Upper House in a less questionable form. Otherwise the Bill became law much as it had been originally introduced, and so after Mr. Forster had gone to his rest came the logical conclusion of the great measure of popular reform which is inseparably connected with his name.

Thus the two principal Bills on which Government had staked their reputation became law, and after much idle debate on Supply, Parliament was prorogued on August 5th. The Session had also witnessed the carrying of the Savings Bank Bill, the Merchandise Marks Bill, and the Bill amending the law as to the custody of children, besides an important London Public Health Bill, which consolidated previous legislation on the subject. A most excellent provision was that directing that no new house shall be occupied until the sanitary authority has certified that it contains a proper water-supply. Perhaps the most noticeable event in the Session's expiring days was an attempt of Mr. J. Redmond, supported by Mr. Parnell, to prove the convicts Daly and Egan innocent men upon whom dynamite had been planted by the police. Sir William Harcourt, however, supported Mr. Matthews in his rejection of the theory, and the resolution was negatived by 96 to 39. But of the minor matters before the House, that which excited the most attention was the "Baccarat scandal," which presented itself in an indirect form somewhat earlier in the year. In brief, the story, as elucidated in a court of law, was to this effect:—For the

Doncaster races of the previous autumn the Prince of Wales with a number of personal friends was invited to stay with a Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, of Tranby Croft, in Yorkshire. After the races the party indulged in the game of baccarat, though Mr. Wilson did not approve of the amusement, the counters being produced by a gentleman of the Prince's suite on his Royal Highness's demand. On two occasions Sir William Gordon-Cumming, a soldier with a distinguished record, was observed by some of the younger members of the company to be cheating. On the first they held their peace, but agreed to watch his play. On the second they made the matter known. The result was that Sir William Gordon-Cumming was summoned before the Prince by two of his eldest friends, General Owen Williams and Lord Coventry, and compelled to sign a document pledging himself never to touch a card again. His conduct was not that of an innocent man, and his subsequent letters to General Williams were still less consistent with the theory that he had signed in a moment of confusion and amazement. Obviously, the ugly incident could not be hushed up in this manner; the secret was in the keeping of too many to be safe, and before long the drawing-rooms, and the man in the street as well, were familiar with the whole facts and a good deal besides. Sir William Gordon-Cumming brought an action for libel against the members of the Wilson family, and the trial created an extraordinary amount of interest. It lasted for seven days. The Prince of Wales appeared in the witness-box; and, after Lord Coleridge had summed up with indifferent taste, the jury, influenced by Sir Edward Clarke's able speech, returned on the 9th of June a verdict for the defendants. For Sir William Gordon-Cumming the result of the trial was, of course, social extinction; nor did it contribute to the good reputation of the Prince of Wales. The comments of the press upon the case were unanimously unfavourable, though the *Times* was, perhaps, the most scathingly severe of any. At least his Royal Highness displayed admirable taste when the question was brought before the House of Commons by Mr. Conybeare and other Radical M.P.'s. To the question how far the Prince had been guilty of a breach of the army regulations in failing to recommend Sir William Gordon-Cumming to submit his case to his commanding officer, Mr. Stanhope was instructed to reply that the Prince had never had that particular regulation brought expressly to his knowledge; he was, however, sensible, on his attention

being drawn to the matter, that he had committed an error of judgment. The Secretary for War added on his own behalf the conjecture that few members of the House would have resisted

a matter to be deprecated on principle rather than on account of its consequences. But he thought that Ireland, Wales, and the northern parts of Scotland were enormously over-represented; that



THE RIGHT HON. HENRY HARTLEY FOWLER. (*After the Painting by A. S. Cope.*)

the natural inclination to do everything in their power to shield their friend.

The outpourings of extra-Parliamentary oratory which diversified the last weeks of the recess must be passed over without notice, with the exception of an important speech of Lord Salisbury's at the Union Club on July 15th. Therein the Premier's tactics with regard to "one man one vote" were described without circumlocution. He looked upon the preservation of the freehold franchise as

England, and especially the metropolis, was correspondingly unrepresented; and he was in favour of female suffrage, and the abolition of the illiterate vote. To any considerable shortening of the residential qualification he was opposed, because the change would lead to personation in gigantic proportions. So spoke the Prime Minister; and his nephew, Mr. Balfour, was also an advocate of women's rights, but they did not carry with them any considerable section of their party; nor for

that matter was the Opposition of undivided mind on the subject. But, on the whole, the nation appeared to be surfeited with politics, and accepted with a pleasurable sense of relief the ten days' visit of the German Emperor. That young and impressionable ruler was understood to have entirely abandoned the dislike of his mother's country which had inspired him on his accession to the throne, and to have been seized with a corresponding fit of enthusiasm for England. Be that as it may, he succeeded in crowding into the days between the 4th and 14th of July an extraordinary amount of entertainment and sight-seeing. He inspected guards of honour and the Volunteers, patronised the Italian Opera, and was present at the wedding of his cousin, the Princess Louise of Schleswig-Holstein, youngest daughter of the Prince and Princess Christian, with Prince Aribert of Anhalt. He also paid a two days' visit to the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield; in fact, he seemed to realise perpetual motion. But the most important incident during the stay was his State visit to the City on the 10th, when he was presented with its freedom. In reply to the toast of his health the Kaiser replied in excellent English:—"My Lord,—Receive my most heartfelt thanks for the warm welcome from the citizens of this ancient and noble metropolis. I beg that your lordship will kindly transmit the expression of my feelings to those in whose name you have

spoken. I have always felt at home in this lovely country, being a grandson of a Queen whose name will ever be remembered as a most noble character, and a lady great in the wisdom of her counsels, whose reign has conferred lasting benefits upon England. Moreover, the same blood runs in English and German veins. Following the examples of my grandfather and of my ever-lamented father, I shall always, as far as it is in my power, maintain the historical friendship between these two our nations, which, as your lordship mentioned, have been so often seen side by side in the defence of liberty and justice. I feel encouraged in my task when I see that wise and capable men, such as are gathered here, do justice to the earnestness and honesty of my intentions. My aim is, above all, the maintenance of peace, for peace alone can give the confidence which is necessary to the healthy development of science, art, and trade. Only as long as peace reigns are we at liberty to bestow earnest thoughts upon the great problems the solution of which, in fairness and equity, I consider the most prominent duty of our times. You may rest assured, therefore, that I shall continue to do my best to maintain and constantly to increase the good relations between Germany and the other nations, and that I shall always be found ready to unite with you and them in a common labour for peaceful progress, friendly intercourse, and the advancement of civilisation."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Salisbury at the Mansion House—Suspension of the Crimes Act—Mr. Parnell's Campaign—The Carlow Election—Death of Mr. Parnell—Mr. Redmond succeeds Him—The Cork and Waterford Elections—Renewed Vigour of Liberalism—Strikes in London—The Trades Union Congress—The Agricultural Labourer—The Newcastle Programme—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—A Gloomy Autumn—The Wapping Strike—Death of Mr. Smith—Ministerial Changes—Mr. Chamberlain and Government—Mr. Goschen's Currency Scheme—The Church Congress at Rhyl—The Southmolton Election—Mr. Chamberlain and Compulsory Insurance—Lord Salisbury at Birmingham—The Agricultural Labourer—Lord Hartington becomes Duke of Devonshire—Mr. Chamberlain takes his Place—His Alarming Declaration—Criticism of the Army—Illness of Prince George of Wales—Engagement of the Duke of Clarence—Obituary of the Year.

LORD SALISBURY, speaking at the Mansion House banquet on July 29th, claimed as the chief achievements of Government the passing of two great measures—a Free Education Bill, which would support the system of religious education which the people of England loved; and a Land Purchase Bill, which he hoped would prove a permanent

cure to the evils with which Ireland had been afflicted through many generations. He eulogised his nephew's government of Ireland, which, said he, had confirmed his own belief that a resolute administration which would uphold the law would furnish a cure for the disorders of that country. The success attained in Ireland was largely due to

the fact that all who served under the Chief Secretary knew they would not be handed over to their enemies. Liberals naturally accepted this praise with a pinch of salt; nevertheless, the peacefulness of the Sister Isle was shown by the fact that Mr. Balfour was enabled to suspend the operation of the Crimes Act, except in one county and a few baronies, where, he said, the effects of the Plan of Campaign still lingered. In May there were only twenty-one persons in prison under that Act, while over 3,000 were in gaol under the ordinary law. Further, the general prosperity of the country was shown in the abandonment of the relief works in November throughout the west of Ireland after nearly £22,000 had been expended on them. The strife of tongues continued, nevertheless, and Mr. Parnell fought to retain his position in Ireland with the desperate energy of a desperate man. He absolutely refused to relax his hold upon the Paris funds, though the bitter cry of the evicted tenants might have softened the sternest of hearts. Thus the Glensharrold tenants complained that they were left to starve, their homes were ruined, their farms were like wildernesses, and their pockets were empty. "We were told we should want for nothing; if we were once evicted that we should be gentlemen going back to our homes, but instead of that we are paupers." Mr. Dwyer Gray of the *Freeman's Journal* attempted to mediate between the contending factions, but gained small thanks from either side; and Mr. Parnell brought the Irish hierarchy into the fray by accusing them of having condoned his offences against morality by their silence of seventeen days after the verdict in the divorce case. Archbishop Croke's explanation was that bishops are difficult to move, and that in this instance three of the most notable had been absent in Rome. By way of counterstroke the prelate demanded an audit of the National League accounts. Mr. Parnell replied that he had declined that request when put forward by Richard Pigott and the Special Commission, and he was not going to alter his mind for Archbishop Croke.

The death of O'Gorman Mahon in June created a vacancy in Carlow County, with the result that, after an acrimonious contest, the Anti-Parnellite candidate, Mr. Hammond, was returned by 3,755 votes to 1,589. This was unquestionably the greatest rebuff Mr. Parnell had hitherto received, and its result was attributed in no small degree to the efforts of the priesthood, which was greatly incensed by Mr. Parnell's marriage with Mrs. O'Shea—an outrage upon Roman Catholic ideas.

Nevertheless, Mr. Parnell, speaking at Newcastle, professed himself unaffected by the defeat; and the remarkable enthusiasm displayed on his visit to Dublin, on the occasion of a convention of his followers on July 23rd, proved that he retained much of his old popularity in the capital. However, the *Freeman's Journal*, after much hesitation, went over to the enemy, and Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon, on their release from prison, declared emphatically against the "Discrowned, Uncrowned King." Throughout the summer and into the autumn the controversy continued, though both sides were careful to point out that if they were in antagonism to one another, they were equally independent of the Liberal party in England. The weather breaks early in the west of Ireland; nevertheless Mr. Parnell, though in feeble health, persisted in addressing meeting after meeting, sometimes in pouring rain. His last speech was made on September 27th; on October 6th he died, after several days' illness, accompanied, it was said, by much suffering—a tragic end truly to a tragic career.

His followers showed no disposition to abate the strife. On the contrary, their press proclaimed that he had been "murdered," and the Anti-Parnellites showed discretion in absenting themselves from the funeral in Glasnevin Cemetery. Mr. John Redmond was elected leader in Mr. Parnell's room, and promptly made known his intentions in a vigorous speech, the gist of which was that his faction would be absolutely superior to English dictation. He resolved to stand for the vacant seat at Cork, and a three-sided contest ensued, the Unionists putting up Captain Sarsfield, though his hopes of success were never bright. There was some lively faction fighting, and the Anti-Parnellites had to have recourse to police protection, and even to deliver addresses from within a square of British bayonets. Mr. Healy was absent, but a cowardly attack upon Mrs. Parnell entailed upon him in Dublin a mild horsewhipping from one of her relatives, with the upshot that one set of ladies presented him with a wreath, another set awarded to his assaulter a silver whip. The poll was declared on November 7th, when Mr. Flavin, the Anti-Parnellite, had a majority of some fifteen hundred over Mr. Redmond, and of some three hundred over the combined Parnellite and Unionist polls. As a partial offset came Mr. Redmond's return for Waterford, a seat vacated by the death of Mr. Richard Power. His opponents set aside a somewhat characterless candidate in favour of Mr.

Davitt, but Mr. Redmond was victorious over his doughty opponent by 1,775 votes to 1,229. The victory probably gave the Parnellite party a greater appearance of strength than it really possessed.

The decline and fall of Parnellism in Ireland naturally threw fresh vigour into English Liberals. On the August Bank-holiday Mr. Morley, speaking at Stoneleigh Park, foreshadowed the series of agricultural reforms and social ameliorations which were afterwards embodied in the Newcastle programme. A week later Mr. Balfour, speaking at Devonport, endeavoured to reconcile his party to the Irish Local Government Bill, promised for the ensuing session, by the argument that with proper safeguards the concession might safely be made. The grand-jury or quarter-sessions system did not work well in Ireland, and might well be abolished; but he would not allow the Irish County Councils control over the police. However, the proposed measure hardly met with much favour from the Conservative organs, to which it seemed too palpable an attempt to "dish the Whigs." More comfort was extracted from two bye-elections which occurred about this time. At Walsall, a seat vacated by the death of a much-respected member, Sir Charles Forster, the Liberal majority was somewhat reduced; at Lewisham Mr. John Penn retained the seat for the Conservatives by the sufficient figures of 4,585 votes to 2,892. Mr. Gladstone, nevertheless, proceeded to give publicity to some fresh "Electoral Facts," the upshot of which was that a general election would probably cause the Liberal party to return to Parliament 324 strong, and that with the Irish votes it might be expected to command a majority of between 46 and 160. These figures he reduced somewhat in deference to criticism, and he admitted that his methods of calculation were "like strands of a rope: each of them might be sound in itself, but no one singly could bear the strain." However, the political meteorology of their leader undoubtedly inspired his followers.

Meanwhile, labour questions had been kept before the public by a fresh strike of the London journeymen tailors, followed by a similar movement on the part of the omnibus-men. The tailors of the West-end early came to terms with the masters, but the Jews of the East-end, headed by Mr. Lewis Lyons, continued the struggle for some weeks, without, it was believed, attaining a material betterment of their position. The "busses" of the General Omnibus and Road Car Companies had come out on the 7th of June, and

for a week the metropolis was deprived of a useful vehicle, to the great quietude, however, of the streets. The leading spirit of the movement was Mr. T. Sutherst, a barrister, and the grievances of the men consisted in the fact that so long as they had been allowed to levy a more or less authorised toll on the day's takings they were willing to work for some fifteen hours a day; when these takings were stopped by a system of tickets, they declined to work for more than twelve. These terms, together with a slight increase of wages, were eventually conceded by the companies, but it was alleged that dismissals subsequently took place, contrary to the spirit of the agreement. Wider interests than these local affairs were represented at the Trades Union Congress, which met at Newcastle under the eminently practical presidency of Mr. Burt, M.P. His address was extremely moderate, its main arguments being that trades unionism had, on the whole, decreased the evils of strikes, that a general strike of all the industries in the country would entail ruin upon thousands of men, women, and children, and that associated effort was to be preferred to State compulsion. The New Unionists, under the guidance of Mr. Ben Tillett, and Mr. Keir Hardie, succeeded in reversing the Standing Order of the Parliamentary Committee, whereby the voting was to be conducted not by show of hands, but in proportion to the subscriptions paid. With regard to eight hours, however, their superiority was not so marked. The Old Unionists carried a resolution that all legislation on the periods of labour should be permissive; but Mr. Keir Hardie partially wiped out the defeat by a resolution that legislation reducing the hours of labour to eight a day should be in force, except where the majority of the organised trade protested by ballot. Finally, resolutions were passed in favour of the formation of a Labour party in the House of Commons—with paid members as a corollary—and in favour of such extension of the Factory Acts as would bring laundries and domestic workshops under State supervision.

These proceedings showed clearly enough the tendency of the artisan mind. Meanwhile, English statesmen addressed themselves to the agricultural labourer, but while Sir M. Hicks-Beach committed himself to no proposals more sweeping than the advancement of public money at a low interest to the owners of cottages, Mr. John Morley at Cambridge advocated district councils for the remedy of grievances, the improvement of housing, and the management of allotments and public

holdings, with powers of compulsory acquisition. At the same time he disposed of the idea that the Liberal leaders had dropped Home Rule, or intended to relegate the measure to a secondary position, and prognosticated nothing but evil from Mr. Balfour's Irish Local Government Bill. Sir William Harcourt followed at Ashton-under-Lyne, and after indulging in some badinage at the expense of the two Mr. Diceys, whom he affected to

Federation met under the presidency of Dr. Spence Watson, and proceeded to formulate the famous "Newcastle programme." The report of the committee expressed satisfaction at the failure of the Parnellite faction in Ireland, but as to the adoption by one or two constituencies of "so-called Labour candidates" in opposition to "tried Liberal members," prophesied nothing but disaster from such a policy. After some allusion to the payment



TOWN HALL, NEWCASTLE.

(From a Photograph by Frith and Co., Reigate.)

confuse, the Member for Derby proceeded to enlarge Mr. Morley's list by the enumeration of Local Option, Welsh Disestablishment, and "One man, one vote." Home Rule, he roundly declared, would be conceded from a sense of justice, but never extorted by force or fear. In answer to this speech, the Solicitor-General, Sir Edward Clarke, dwelt upon the merits of Mr. Goschen's finance—the reduction and conversion of the National Debt, the additions to the Royal Navy, the reduction of the tea duties and of the income-tax, the four millions granted in relief of local rates, and the two millions to be spent on free education.

On the 1st of October the National Liberal

of Members of Parliament, the committee set forth a large number of reforms: (1) district and parish councils popularly elected; (2) the abolition of primogeniture, compulsory registration of titles, and the cheap transfer of land; (3) security for the tenant-farmer's improvements, and the bestowal of compulsory powers on the county councils for the purchase of land for allotments and public purposes; (4) the division of rates between the proprietor and occupier; (5) the development of free education in the direction of practical instruction to the inhabitants of rural districts; (6) the reform of the magistracy. The Federation also passed resolutions in favour of Home Rule for Ireland, Welsh Disestablishment

and Disendowment, and larger powers, including the taxation of ground rents, for the London County Council. Upon these matters, after they had been expounded, Mr. Gladstone spoke at length, adopting the programme by implication, and explicitly so far as short Parliaments, local option, Disestablishment in Wales and Scotland, the payment of members, and reform of the land laws were concerned. But it was noticed that his speech was devoted for the most part to Home Rule, and his opponents were not slow to point out that the Newcastle programme might be relegated to the topmost pigeon-hole in Mr. Gladstone's library so long as Ireland continued, in Mr. Gladstone's words, to block the legislative machine. Its most notable passage was that in which the leader of the Opposition dealt with Lord Salisbury's assertion that, even if a Home Rule Bill were passed by the House of Commons, the Conservatives might rely upon the "play of the other parts of the Constitution." "I hope," said Mr. Gladstone, "nay, more, I believe that the House of Lords will not accept the deplorable suggestion thrown out by the Prime Minister. I believe that they will decline to let their position in the Constitution be put to so ruinous a purpose. But this I know well, that if they should be reduced to a purpose so unfortunate, they themselves will be the first to repent of it. They will raise up a question that takes precedence of every question, because upon that alone would depend whether this country was or was not a self-governing country; or whether, on the contrary, there was a power not upon the throne or behind the throne, but between the throne and the people, that would stop altogether the action of the constitutional machine, which has now been perfected, or been brought nearer to perfection, by the labour, the struggles, the wisdom, and the patriotism of many generations."

It was a gloomy autumn. In London, fresh disputes broke out at the wharves, this time in Wapping, where carmen, watermen, and lightermen went on strike, and resorted to the usual devices of picketing and intimidation. There was discontent also among the carpenters and builders, navvies, cabdrivers, and printers, of whom the first class, after 3,000 men had been out of work for five-and-twenty weeks, came in, on the arbitration of the President of the Royal Society of British Architects, on the compromise of ninepence an hour without stipulation as to time. Their original terms had been a forty-seven hours' week at tenpence an hour. The bookbinders, on the

other hand, succeeded in obtaining eight hours without a reduction of wages by the mere threat of a strike. Meanwhile, the dislocation of the shipping industry continued, and there was a moment when a prolonged strike against overtime appeared imminent in the shipbuilding yards on the Tyne and Wear. After a week, however, the differences were settled by a Board of Conciliation, of which the leading spirits were Mr. Knight, of the Boilermakers' Society, and the Mayor of Newcastle, on the basis of a week's work of not more than sixty-four hours. At Wapping, the lock-out which affected the Carron and Hermitage wharves continued for several weeks, and various compromises proposed by the Shipping Federation were rejected. Meanwhile, intimidators were brought before the magistrates, and there being abundance of free labour, the malcontents gradually collapsed. Their object appeared to be the total elimination of the "casual," and the re-employment of those who had declined to work on the old terms. On October the 19th there was a street fight in Wapping, in which more than 200 men were engaged. Shortly afterwards, however, the affair came to an end, Mr. John Burns informing the "dockers" that they were too fond of strikes, and that though he would rather "kick than kiss" the free labourer, the best way of dealing with them was to persuade them to enter the Union.

On the very day that Mr. Parnell died at Brighton, Mr. W. H. Smith, who had recently been created Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, expired at Walmer Castle. He had been for some time in broken health, having never recovered the effects of the session of 1889-90. Undoubtedly Mr. Smith was a great loss to English politics, apart from the amiability of his character, which caused him to be sincerely regretted by statesmen of very different ways of thought. He was a poor and somewhat commonplace speaker, and had little or no originality; but his knowledge of affairs was considerable, and by the exercise of tact and geniality he made a better leader of the House than many a statesman of far greater calibre. Who was to supply his place? There was Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, who had already occupied the position for a brief period in 1885, there was Mr. Goschen, and there was Mr. Balfour. The two first, however, avowed their intention to waive their claims, and Mr. Balfour, whom the party designated as Mr. Smith's successor with unmistakable emphasis, was accordingly chosen. His place as Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant was filled by Mr. W. L. Jackson, the

former Financial Secretary to the Treasury, who was succeeded by Sir John Gorst. About the same time Sir John Fergusson became Postmaster-General in lieu of Mr. Raikes, who had died rather suddenly, and was succeeded by Mr. J. W. Lowther as Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The elections thus necessitated did not result in a manner calculated to encourage the Opposition. Sir James Fergusson held his own in North-East Manchester, though by a reduced majority, against a formidable candidate, Mr. Scott, of the *Manchester Guardian*; and Mr. W. F. D. Smith was chosen for the Strand division in his father's room by quite 3,000 votes over his antagonist.

Mr. Chamberlain, meanwhile, was continuing his championship of the Government, though in a manner hardly calculated to please the stauncher Tories. Thus at Carmarthen he maintained that he was still an advocate for Disestablishment, and taunted Mr. Gladstone with his adoption of the idea, which, said he, was purely political. Again, speaking at Sunderland, he praised the domestic legislation of the Conservatives, "especially when supported by the Liberal Unionists," and declared that Mr. Morley's criticism of the Local Government Bill, the Irish Land Bill, and the Free Education Bill was prompted by envy and a sense of failure. But he, very injudiciously, proceeded to attack the Government of 1884-85, of which he had himself been a member, for its feeble advocacy of social questions, particularly the Merchants' Shipping Bill. Mr. Morley replied at Manchester in caustic tones, regretting his former colleague's lack of etiquette, and pointing out that whereas he now attributed the failure of the Shipping Bill to Mr. Gladstone, he had at the time laid the blame upon the Conservatives. Why had he not resigned when the Bill was withdrawn? Mr. Chamberlain answered in a letter to the *Times* that he had offered his resignation, but that it was withdrawn at Mr. Gladstone's request, "in view of the national interests involved in connection with the Franchise Bill."

During this personal controversy Mr. Balfour was delivering a series of well-considered speeches in Lancashire, the purport of which was that the Newcastle programme was a "programme of varieties," and that the true aim of legislation was, not to remodel the Constitution every five years, but to keep the institutions of the country in harmony with the right thought of the people. But his address contained no hints as to the future, and the Liberal Unionists in council at Manchester—namely, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Hartington,

and Sir Henry James—contented themselves with the somewhat stale topic of Home Rule. Mr. Goschen, in letters to the *Times* and a speech at Oldham, disposed somewhat easily of attacks made upon his finance by Mr. Fuller and Mr. Seale Hayne, but his positive proposals were viewed with disapproval by the mercantile world. As explained in an address to the London Chamber of Commerce, his currency scheme amounted to this—(1) a permanent increase of the reserve of the Bank of England by the issue of 25,000,000 one pound notes in the proportion of £4 in gold to £1 in securities; (2) the bestowal upon the Bank of the power to issue additional notes in a time of emergency on paying to the Government a high rate of interest to be fixed by law. These innovations he explained at length in a letter to the Governor of the Bank. It could hardly be said that they were received with any particular enthusiasm. By the public at large one pound notes were regarded with dislike as liable to become greasy and frayed in passing from hand to hand, also, according to the timorous, they would propagate disease. More serious were the criticisms of experts that the ultimate results of the plan would be an inflation of credit, and the export of bullion when set free by the action of exchange, so that it was questionable whether the reserve fund would ultimately benefit by the scheme.

The inclusion of Welsh Disestablishment in the authorised Liberal programme naturally called attention to the proceedings of the Church Congress, which opened at Rhyl, on October the 6th, under the presidency of the Bishop of St. Asaph. That the occasion was regarded as one of more than ordinary moment was shown by the presence of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The president, an expert controversialist, made an effective point by proving, in answer to Mr. Gladstone's contention that "the Nonconformists of Wales were the people of Wales," that the total number of Dissenters in Wales claimed by the various bodies was but 46 per cent. of the population. He also read a curious reply of that statesman's to Dr. Edwards—"I had drawn a distinction between 'the many and the few'—a phrase perhaps less invidious than that of the classes and the masses. Among the few I understand the Church largely to predominate. If I estimate the classes at one-fifth of the population, the percentage, *i.e.* of the Dissenters, becomes 46 in 80 or 55 in 100." Mr. Gladstone's easy method of calculation, which deducted those who did not happen

to agree with him, and then assumed that 55 per cent. = 100 per cent., was treated somewhat severely by the bishop. He also stated that in his diocese there were 208 parishes, in 90 of which there was no Dissenting minister; while the Archbishop of Canterbury asserted that in England confirmations had increased 8 per cent., but in Wales 22 per cent.; and Sir Robert Cunliffe, that the voluntary offerings for Church purposes in 1889 had been proportionately twice as large as those in England, while in nine years nearly a hundred new churches had been built in Wales against 674 in England. On the other hand, the Liberation Society, which organised a Nonconformist meeting at Rhyl, after the termination of the Congress, proclaimed it a fallacy to suppose that because some 50 per cent. of the Welsh belong to the Nonconformists the remaining half were adherents of the Church. They declared also that the census was inexact, inasmuch as it had been taken in large towns where there was a considerable English population.

As autumn passed into winter there occurred a bye-election which exercised a considerable effect upon current politics. A vacancy was created in the Southmolton division of Devonshire by the elevation of Lord Lynton to the peerage, in the place of his father, Lord Portsmouth. The Liberals had an excellent candidate in Mr. George Lambert, a local tenant-farmer; the Unionists selected Mr. Charles Buller, a London barrister, who belonged, however, to a well-known county family. The result was that Mr. Lambert was victorious by the crushing majority of more than 1,200. Evidently, the disposition of the agricultural labourer left much to be desired from the Unionist point of view. Mr. Chamberlain, accordingly, set himself to prove that the Government was pledged to the creation of district and parish councils, and to deal with the question of artisans' and labourers' dwellings. He also urged the necessity of taking up the subject of old-age pensions, which, said he, were the logical development of his old doctrine of "ransom." His idea apparently was to establish in the first instance a voluntary system, and then a compulsory deduction of a farthing in the shilling from the wages of a man earning £1 a week, which with another farthing from the State would produce an annuity of £20 a year after that man had reached 60 years of age. The scheme, which, according to several Liberal organs, had been purloined from Dr. Hunter, M.P., was obviously in its tentative stage, and Lord Salisbury made no allusion to it

in an important speech to the delegates of the Conservative Associations at Birmingham. Therein he expressed his intention of carrying out his pledges with regard to district councils; but as for parish councils, he thought the villagers would derive more amusement from "a circus or something of that kind." At the same time he announced that Parliament would endeavour to rivet the yeoman to the soil by a Small Holdings Bill. Lord Salisbury significantly remarked that Free Trade was an excellent thing in its way, but that nowhere above the fifty-second degree of latitude would you find a country which could grow corn at a profit without Protection. He repeated his arguments as to the tactics by which "One man, one vote" should be met; and with regard to Home Rule spoke in his most sardonic vein. "We are told," he said, "that Home Rule will only be accepted if it is sandwiched between this and that. I think the metaphor is hardly strong enough. You may have noticed that chemists sell capsules made up in gelatine in which very nasty stuffs are enclosed. I believe that you can take castor oil without noticing that it is castor oil if it is only put in one of these capsules." He derived great comfort from the statement of Mr. Chamberlain, "who was not born with any attachment to the House of Lords," that the Chamber could only be got rid of by a revolution. Revolutions could not be made on limited liability, and though he had no doubt that if a revolution occurred the House of Lords would go down like a nine-pin, yet a great many things would go down, too. He ridiculed Mr. Morley's fears of the Irish spectre, and said that if Home Rule were brought about, it would be as lively as ever, though its colours would be orange, not green. "Mr. Gladstone," he continued, "in his last address demanded that if we did not recognise the justice of his claim, we should recognise that it is inevitable. With the greatest respect I fling the adjective back in his face. 'The inevitable' is on our side and not on his. The course of the world's destiny is with us and not with him. We are moving with the stream; he is battling hopelessly against it."

The result of the East Dorset election had by this time put the Conservatives in somewhat better spirits, as the return of the Conservative candidate, Mr. Humphrey Sturt, appeared to disprove Sir William Harcourt's sweeping assertion that "the Liberal party was, what the Tory party was not, in touch with the peasant." They were also encouraged by Mr. Chamberlain's statement, uttered from a Birmingham platform by Lord

Salisbury's side, that he neither hoped nor desired Liberal reunion. But the Local Government Bill for Ireland found little favour with the party, in spite of Mr. Balfour's outspoken determination to introduce the measure in the following Session, as expressed at Huddersfield. Meanwhile, the

benevolent speech. There were those who declared these agricultural labourers to be Nonconformist ministers in disguise, and even the Liberal managers were astonished by the strength of their determination to get satisfaction for their demands at an early date and concurrently with Home



DR. W. A. HUNTER.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson and Co., Aberdeen.)

Liberals continued to address themselves to "Hodge," Mr. Morley arguing at Oldham that the gradual extension of allotments was the only way to reform the land system, and he was very wroth with Lord Salisbury for his scornful allusion to village councils. Shortly afterwards it occurred to the ingenious mind of Mr. Schnadhorst to organise a "village conference" which, after indulging in speeches of five minutes each at the Memorial Hall, assembled next day to breakfast at the Holborn Restaurant, where they were addressed by Mr. Gladstone in a vague but

Rule. Meanwhile, the *Daily News* had done excellent service to its party by the publication of a series of letters on "Life in Our Villages," dealing with the houses, occupations, wages, and thoughts of rural England.

On the 21st of December an event occurred which removed Lord Hartington from that House of Commons wherein he had been so conspicuous an example of the best Whig traditions, namely, the death of his aged father, the Duke of Devonshire. Who was to succeed him as leader of the Liberal Unionists? The claims of Sir Henry

James were probably most in favour with Conservatives, but Mr. Chamberlain's position in the party was very strong, and an announcement was promptly made that the Duke of Devonshire would retain the titular leadership, but that his place in the House of Commons would be filled by Mr. Chamberlain. That independent politician at once issued a declaration which was nothing less than a bid for the Welsh Nonconformist vote, with the argument that every Welsh Dissenter who voted for a Gladstonian at the next election would be voting for the indefinite postponement of Welsh Disestablishment and land reform. Sir William Harcourt made excellent use of the opportunity in an ironical letter, which affected to consider that Mr. Chamberlain was writing with the authority of Lord Salisbury and the Duke of Devonshire on behalf of the united party. The manifesto undoubtedly caused considerable searchings of heart in the Conservative camp; while those who placed country above party were much exercised by a series of letters in the *Times* by Mr. Arnold-Forster, and an authority signing himself "Vetus," on the state of the British army. The Secretary for War, Mr. Stanhope, replied to their strictures in a speech at Hammersmith, but his arguments, particularly as concerned the lack of responsibility at the War Office, were decidedly of an evasive sort.

The attachment of the nation to the dynasty was proved by two events which occurred as the year neared its close. The first was the illness of Prince George of Wales from enteric fever, supposed to have been contracted on a visit to Dublin. Happily the malady never reached a critical stage, and before the birth of the new year, the royal patient, though in a low condition, was quite out of danger. Hard upon this event, which, had it terminated fatally, would have placed the Duchess of Fife next but one in succession, came the announcement of the betrothal of the Prince of Wales's elder son, the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, to his second cousin, the Princess Victoria Mary of Teck. The official statement was dated December the 7th, and all classes of the community were unanimous in their approval of the union of the heir to the throne to a lady of English birth and education, the daughter of a most popular mother. The young Duke was hardly a person familiar to the public at large; he was understood, however, to be devoted to his profession—that of a soldier—and his friends vouched for the amiability of his character. Little did the delighted families of the royal lovers foresee that their joy would, ere many

months had rolled by, be turned into mourning for the dead.

We have already alluded to the deaths of Mr. Parnell and Mr. W. H. Smith, together with their bearings upon current politics which were, though in different degrees, important. The irony of fate decided that Sir John Pope Hennessy, who had inflicted so damaging a defeat upon the ex-leader of the Irish party in North Kilkenny, should survive his opponent by a few hours only. He had been an able administrator of various Crown colonies, but wherever he went there occurred feuds between the natives and the European element, caused in part by his pronounced sympathies with the former. We have also incidentally mentioned the death of Lord Granville, but he deserves nevertheless more than a passing word. His Liberalism was none the less genuine for being quietly expressed. As leader of the Ministerialists or of the Opposition in the House of Lords, he was tactful and blandly sarcastic; at the Foreign Office he displayed genuine ability at the outset, though from 1880–85 misfortune dogged his diplomacy, and he was probably too old for so arduous a post. Mr. Bradlaugh was a politician of a very different stamp, who lived to see a strong reaction against the *laissez-faire* Radicalism which was his distinguishing article of faith, but to win the respect of that House of Commons from which he had been so unjustly excluded. Sadly enough, the removal from the Journal of the House of Commons of the resolution whereby he had been prohibited from offering himself to take the parliamentary oath was effected after he had passed into the regions of unconsciousness. Mr. Cecil Raikes died from sheer overwork, and in him the Government lost a conscientious but rather too strenuous official. Three diplomatists were removed from the Foreign Office list; the most important of them was Lord Lytton, whose blunders as Viceroy of India were atoned by his popularity and aptitude as Ambassador at Paris. He was, besides, a minor poet of a graceful but fugitive kind. Sir William White rose from a comparatively obscure position to be Minister at Constantinople, where his influence with the Sultan was exerted in the best interests of Bulgaria; and Sir William Kirby Green was a vigorous upholder of British interests in the barbaric empire of Morocco. Bishop Harold Browne had retired from the see of Winchester a year before his death, but he was long remembered by Churchmen as a peacemaker and administrator not greatly inferior to Archbishop Tait.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Lord Salisbury on Foreign Affairs—Bickerings between France and Germany—The Cronstadt Demonstration—The French Squadron at Portsmouth—The Dardanelles—M. de Giers's Mission—Central Customs League—British Occupation of Egypt—Speeches of Mr. Morley and Mr. Gladstone—Lord Salisbury's Reply—Repulse of Osman Digna—Order restored in Tokar—Judicial Reforms in Egypt—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain on Africa—Mr. Rhodes and the Boers—Collisions with the Portuguese—Lord Salisbury's Ultimatum—The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty—Other African Affairs—The Age of Consent Bill in India—Indian Finance—Famine in Burma and Madras—Colonel Yonoff in the Pamirs—Restoration of the Maharajah of Cashmere—The Hunza-Nagar Confederacy—Despatch of an Expedition—The Thum's Ultimatum—Capture of Nilt—Capture of Forts—Peace Concluded—The Black Mountain Expedition—Manipur—Its Revolution—Mr. Quinton's Expedition—Attempt to Capture the Senapatti—The Residency Attacked—The Parley—The Retreat—Lieutenant Gurdon's Story—Lieutenant Grant at Thobal—The Punitive Expedition—Dissensions in Parliament—Outrages against Missionaries in China—Imperial Federation again—The Sydney Conference—The Federation Bill dropped—Dissolution of the Canadian Parliament—Death of Sir John Macdonald—Official Corruption—Mr. Mercier—The Canadian Census—The Newfoundland Fisheries—The Behring Strait Question.

LORD SALISBURY availed himself of the usual opportunities for dilating upon foreign affairs, namely, the annual banquets at the Mansion House and at Guildhall. On the former occasion (July 29th) his tone was entirely optimistic; indeed, the Prime Minister had never known a period when European politics were so tranquil. It was necessary to go to the New World to find war, but though England had been pressed to act as arbitrator in the Chilian civil war, the Government was not disposed to encroach upon the functions of Providence. The Eastern difficulty was not yet solved, but the high promise and rapid development of Egypt and Bulgaria formed a hopeful augury for the world's peace. Much had been heard of certain treaties—the allusion was to the renewal of the Triple Alliance—but he thought their importance had been exaggerated, and after all England had a simple rule, for her allies were all who desired tranquillity and goodwill. At Guildhall on the 9th of November, Lord Salisbury spoke in a still more hopeful spirit. "There was not on the horizon of foreign politics a single speck of a cloud containing anything injurious to European peace. The battle was waged nowadays with the weapons of commercial tariffs, and Great Britain found herself in the curious position of being the one single State which pursued a Free Trade policy. Even New South Wales had put a Protectionist Ministry in power, and Britain would soon be in the position of Athanasius *contra mundum*."

The orthodoxy of the latter speech was not more remarkable than its sobriety of judgment; for the year had been one of scares, and the newspapers unusually prodigal of alarmist paragraphs. Matters went quietly enough during the opening months, save for the grumblings

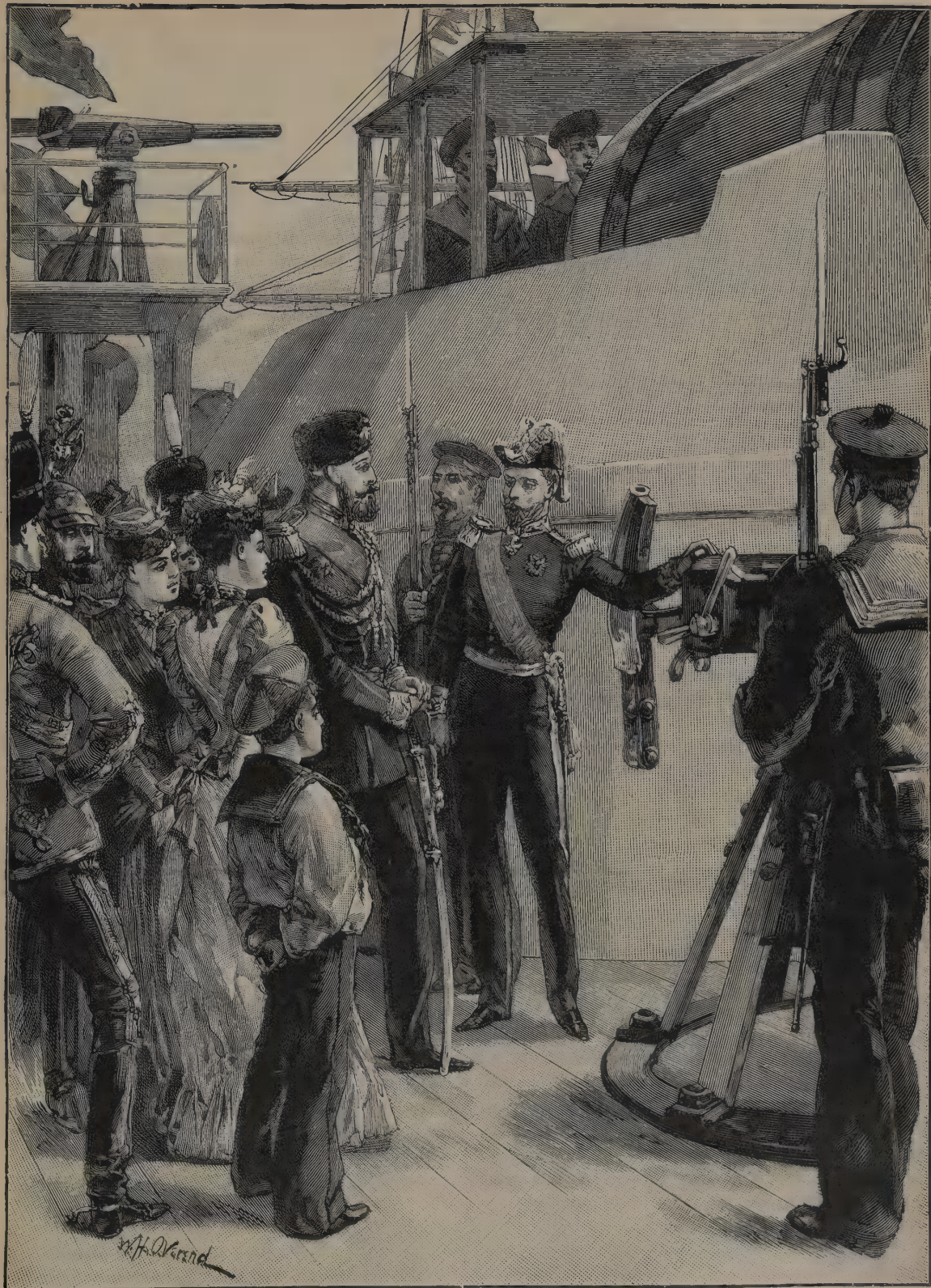
of Prince Bismarck, who through the medium of several German newspapers indulged in carpings at the Kaiser and his Chancellor, and threatened inconvenient revelations concerning the formation of the Triple Alliance. But the arrival of the Empress Frederick at Paris, on February the 28th, caused an unfortunate display of anti-German feeling in the capital which was hardly creditable to French courtesy. The object of her visit was to induce certain famous French artists to send pictures to the proposed International Exhibition at Berlin. But her stay was prolonged somewhat indiscreetly, and she visited the ruins of St. Cloud. The incident was twisted by several newspapers into an insult to France, the painters were forced by public opinion to withdraw their promises, and the Empress was requested by the Government to take her departure. Her son promptly retaliated by reviving the stringent passport regulations on the Alsace-Lorraine frontier, only, however, to relax them again in September. Affairs resumed their even tenour until June 28th, when the Kaiser acquainted the world through the chairman of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, that the Triple Alliance had been renewed for a further period of six years. The intelligence thus promulgated was received quietly enough, but some excitement was caused by the prospect of a closer understanding between France and Russia, the two Powers left out in the cold. An occasion for diplomatic philandering presented itself in July, when a French squadron under Admiral Gervais put into Cronstadt. The sailors were received with extraordinary enthusiasm, complimentary telegrams were exchanged between the Czar and President Carnot, and Alexander III. stood whilst the strains of the "Marseillaise"

were played. Paris was wild with excitement, and the Grand Duke Alexis, who happened to be on a visit, became the hero of the moment. Neither Austria nor Germany, however, took permanent alarm, and the French ardour somewhat cooled when it was discovered that in return for empty politeness Russia demanded a substantial loan. Further, on the invitation of Lord Salisbury, the squadron halted at Portsmouth on its return, and the effect of the Cronstadt demonstration was entirely neutralised by the extreme cordiality with which Admiral Gervais was received by all sections of the community, from the Queen downwards. Thus Lord Salisbury was able to free himself from the charge of undue partiality towards the Triple Alliance, which, according to some of his critics, extended to an understanding with Italy that her coasts should be protected by the British fleet in the event of a French attack. As a matter of fact, the so-called agreement seems to have been confined to an exchange of views to the effect that the maintenance of the *status quo* in the Mediterranean was a matter of common concern to both nations.

A period of nervousness nevertheless ensued, in which the most substantial incident was the announcement in September that the Russian Minister at Constantinople, M. de Nekliudoff, supported by his French colleague, had wrung from the Sultan his consent to the passage through the Dardanelles of the Russian "volunteer fleet." It was asserted and not denied that the vessels thus designated were armed cruisers, but the troops on board were discovered to be simply time-expired men, and altogether the excitement on the Continent was excessive. Even more absurd was the *canard*, caused by the landing of some sailors from a British man-of-war for gun practice, that England had by way of counter-demonstration seized the island of Sigri, off Mitylene. A somewhat alarmist speech of the Emperor of Austria to the delegations on the necessity of further military preparations also caused a panic on the Viennese Bourse, but Count Kalnoky promptly explained its true purport, and subsequently took occasion to point out that the Dardanelles question had been a subject of controversy at Stamboul long before the Cronstadt demonstration. To Bulgaria, the Austrian Minister counselled patience and a correct attitude towards the Porte. M. Stamboulloff, however, could not resist laying his grievances in the matter of Panslavist agitators before the world, and involved himself in a trumpery quarrel with the

French Republic by expelling a journalist, M. Chadourne, for libelling his administration. But as the year drew to a close it became evident that Russia, a prey to financial difficulties and a widespread famine, was not in a condition to adopt a forward policy in Europe, either singly or in concert with France. M. de Giers, accordingly, was despatched upon a pacific mission, and had interviews with the King of Italy at Monza, and with the German Emperor at Berlin. The Powers of the Triple Alliance, on the other hand, strengthened their bonds of union by the establishment of a Customs League, the effect of which was to reduce the duties upon each other's goods, and to favour one another as against competition from outside. The treaties were laid before the Reichstag on December the 6th by General von Caprivi, whom the Kaiser created a Count. They were immediately attacked by Prince Bismarck's organs on the ground that they favoured Austria at the expense of Germany, and that they constituted a gratuitous rebuff to Russia. These grumblings, however, did not carry much weight, and though some of the Protectionist interests showed symptoms of discontent, the treaties, which were to come in force on Feb. 1, 1892, were passed by a majority of 242 to 48.

The undeclared British Protectorate over Egypt was the subject of continued carpings in the French press, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Ribot, took occasion to make several declarations with regard to Lord Salisbury's policy which were animated by a depreciatory spirit. The Sultan, also, appeared disposed to regard with suspicion the British ascendancy over his vassal, and in July attempted to reopen the question, but Lord Salisbury abruptly declined on the ground of inopportunity. These attempts to thwart the progress of peaceful reforms were somewhat injudiciously countenanced by politicians in England. Thus Mr. John Morley at Cambridge on September the 21st, after expressing contempt for Lord Salisbury's cheaply-earned reputation as a Foreign Minister, and arguing that his attitude towards the Triple Alliance was the cause of the rival combination of France and Russia, proceeded to remark that her persistent and indefinite occupation of Egypt rendered Britain the more open to attack from the Continent. Lord Knutsford answered him at Saxmundham, with the cogent criticism that though nobody wished that the troops should remain in Egypt longer than was necessary, yet to adopt the policy of "scuttle" just now would be to ruin what was admitted



THE FRENCH FLEET AT CRONSTADT : VISIT OF THE CZAR. (See p. 439.)

to be a great work. The impression that the Liberal party was committed to the evacuation of Egypt was confirmed by Mr. Gladstone's speech at Newcastle (October 2nd), in which a hope was expressed that Lord Salisbury would put an end to the burdensome and embarrassing occupation of Egypt which, so long as it lasted, must be a cause of weakness. So great was the impression produced by this declaration abroad, that Mr. Bryce was instructed to declare at Newcastle that "it was an error to suppose that the Liberals any more than the Tories desired that we should scuttle out of Egypt without any fear of the consequences." At Guildhall, Lord Salisbury closed the controversy, defining the *raison d'être* of the British occupation. He alluded to utterances which had given heart to all who were unfriendly to England, and pain to all who valued her prosperity. But Europe did not understand the play of the British electioneering system, or the emancipation from considerations of prudent patriotism that were conferred by a situation of "greater freedom and less responsibility." He was certain that a change of Government, did it occur, would effect no change in the policy of Great Britain. The present Government had found, not made, the position in Egypt. They had been asked by Europe to incur sacrifices both of blood and treasure in order to rescue the country from herself, and "they had no intention of retiring from the task they had undertaken."

Early in the year "the barbarians without," to whom Lord Salisbury alluded as one of the obstacles to Egypt's well-being, were making raids upon Suakin from the outpost of Handoub, while Osman Digna's grinding despotism at Tokar inflicted intolerable oppression upon the "friendlies." Accordingly it was determined to expel the Mahdists from Handoub, and the dervish stronghold was captured by a *coup-de-main* on January the 26th. It appeared, however, to the Governor-General of Suakin, Colonel Holled-Smith, that the tranquillity of the district was not assured until Osman Digna had been extruded from Tokar, and on the 8th of February his proposal was accepted by the Egyptian Government. The conflict was precipitated by the Emir's evident intention to reoccupy Handoub, and on the 15th, the relief battalions having arrived from Cairo and Assouan, the advance began. El Teb was reoccupied without resistance, and spies came in who informed Colonel Holled-Smith that it was Osman Digna's intention to hide in the bush to the south-east of Tokar, and fall upon the flanks of his troops when

they were exhausted by their difficult march. The information proved fairly correct, and the force had barely time to occupy the ruined village when the enemy advanced at a run. His horsemen, meanwhile, swooped upon the rear, and a few of the camels stampeded and broke through, but they were immediately shot. But the turning move on the left was checked by the 11th Soudanese Battalion, Captain Barrow falling while gallantly performing his duty; the 4th by steady volleys checked the assault on the right. The centre was attacked by the Arabs in the most spirited manner, but the 12th Battalion was equal to the emergency. Finally, the front was cleared by a charge of cavalry and some hand-to-hand fighting, in which Captain Beach rescued an Egyptian officer and killed two of his three assailants. The Mahdists fled through the village of Afafit, and Osman, with a handful of followers, made off to Kassala. Sir F. Grenfell, the Sirdar, arrived at Afafit on the 23rd, and announced the intention of the Government to re-establish its authority in the country, and a few days later a general amnesty was proclaimed at Suakin. The restoration of the Tokar delta to order and good government was made the subject of unfavourable comment in the House of Commons by Mr. Morley and Mr. Labouchere, as calculated to lead to the reoccupation of the Soudan, but Sir James Fergusson disclaimed any such intention on behalf of the Government.

After this satisfactory beginning, events in Egypt proceeded quietly and monotonously enough. A small Ministerial crisis occurred in May, when the Premier, Riaz Pasha, resigned, ostensibly on account of ill-health, but really because he found his European co-operators too go-ahead for his tastes. He was succeeded by Mustapha Pasha Fehmy, a somewhat colourless politician, but a competent administrator; but the Khedive assumed a far more active part in affairs than before. Through his influence and that of Sir Evelyn Baring, Mr. Justice Scott of Bombay was appointed legal adviser to the Government, with three assessors, to reorganise the local tribunals. The institutions were rapidly purged of bribery and excessive penalties, the authority of the mudirs or local magistrates was curtailed, and the long delays in the execution of criminal sentences were abolished. Also new district courts were established under a single judge with powers of summary jurisdiction in civil processes. Brigandage and vagrancy were checked by the reorganisation of the police, which was effected by Colonel Kitchener, the Adjutant-

General of the Egyptian army. The cordial acceptance of these innovations by the Legislative Council unquestionably marked an important advance towards social stability, and equally noteworthy was the activity of the Public Works Department, particularly in regard to irrigation and the storage of water. An abundant cotton-crop was the result, and a bumper revenue, with a surplus of £650,000. The favourable condition of the finances was used to effect remission on the land-tax, and altogether the fellaheen had occasion to bless the cordial co-operation of the Khedive and Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer).

English acquisitions in Africa were the subject of comment from more than one politician in the course of the year. Thus Lord Salisbury, speaking at Glasgow, where the freedom of the city was presented to him, gave a historical sketch of the progress of the Niger, South Africa, and East Africa Companies. In particular, he eulogised the efforts of the last to suppress the slave-trade, and hinted that Sir William Mackinnon's demand for Government assistance in the construction of a railway to Victoria Nyanza was reasonable enough, though the Treasury might not be able to advance the money. So, too, Mr. Chamberlain took the opportunity, on the occasion of the visit of King Gungunhana's envoys, of making a speech at Birmingham on the progress of the British in Africa. During the last six years, said he, two millions of square miles had been added to our sphere of influence until we possessed every part of the continent that was worth owning. We had the gold, the silver, the diamonds, the cotton, the palm-oil, the india-rubber, and the ivory. If only for the purposes of feeding our enormous population, such an expansion of the Empire was not only justifiable but a necessity of existence. But he anticipated also that the whole of the South African territory would be found suitable to European colonisation, and that without a disturbance of native rights.

Despite these optimistic assertions the Portuguese were remarkably tenacious of their "historical" claims on the territory occupied by the South Africa Company's pioneers, and the return of Colonel Paiva d'Andrade to Lisbon with his tale of woe by no means improved the national temper. Almost simultaneously, Sir Henry Loch, the Governor of the Cape Colony, and Mr. Cecil Rhodes repaired to England to confer with Lord Salisbury and Lord Knutsford concerning colonial affairs. The subjects under discussion were understood to be South African Federation, the Portuguese

claims, and the relation of the South Africa to the Africa Lakes Company. Nothing emerged with regard to the first two considerations, but as to the third a partial amalgamation of interests was understood to have been effected, and Mr. H. H. Johnston was despatched as Her Majesty's Commissioner to Nyassaland. Meanwhile the Boers of the Transvaal showed a disposition to "trek," or emigrate, across the Limpopo into Mashonaland, and the fords of the river had to be carefully guarded. Several parties were turned back, and soon after his return to Cape Town Mr. Cecil Rhodes made a stirring speech, in which President Kruger was warned that no new Republics would be permitted in South Africa. A message to the President of similar purport followed, and he telegraphed in reply that he had "damped the trek."

However, collisions were frequent between the Portuguese and the Company. In March the *Countess of Carnarvon* was seized on the Limpopo, having on board several of the Company's officials, and, said the captors, much arms and ammunition. The steamer was taken to Delagoa Bay with her cargo. Though the accusation was denied, there can be little doubt that Mr. Rhodes' lieutenants were engaged in smuggling arms to Gungunhana, the King of Gazaland, a Zulu potentate, who repudiated the Portuguese suzerainty, and whose envoys had repaired to England to obtain British protection. Their mission was fruitless, however, as the Company was by-and-by informed by Lord Salisbury that Gazaland lay wholly outside the British sphere of influence. The untoward event upon the Limpopo was followed by the detention at Beira of Sir John Willoughby's boats, the *Agnes* and the *Shark*, on their way up the Pungwé, and by a stand-up fight in Manicaland between the Company's police, behind entrenchments, and a motley horde commanded by Portuguese officers. This affair occurred on May the 14th, when the assailants, advancing in disorder across the open, were thrown into confusion by a Gatling gun, and retired with some loss. Affairs were evidently drifting into an undeclared war of outposts, calculated to produce grave international complications. Accordingly Lord Salisbury despatched an ultimatum to the Portuguese Government which produced the desired effect. A treaty was concluded in June, and ratified by the Portuguese Cortes, whereby the boundary line was so fixed that the seaboard remained with the Portuguese, while the highlands, with the exception of an enclosure at Massikessé, were assigned to England, and a

rectification of frontiers was effected north of the Zambesi. That river was to be duty-free, and though the Portuguese were allowed to impose dues upon the Limpopo and Pungwé, they undertook to facilitate trade. Some apparently cumbersome arrangements for the construction of a railway through Portuguese territory received explanation later, when it appeared that the Mozambique Company, strengthened by English capital, had undertaken the task. The reports with regard to the agricultural and mineral prospects of the new acquisition were flattering, though Lord Randolph Churchill, during a somewhat hasty journey through the territory, contributed a series of pessimistic letters to the *Daily Graphic* upon the country that he had gone out to bless.

For the rest, African affairs during 1891 do not call for special comment. Natal pushed her railway communication with the Transvaal to the historical site of Laing's Nek, thereby asserting her independence of the Cape. But the scheme of constitutional government, as formulated by Sir John Robinson, hung fire, since Lord Knutsford objected to a single-chamber system, and was inclined to insist upon some arrangement for keeping native rights under Imperial control. In Sierra Leone some dissatisfaction was expressed at the extension of the French dominions to the back of the colony, and the native police, under Captain Campbell, were repulsed by a frontier tribe, the Jubas. Zanzibar, become a free trade port, with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gerald Portal as political adviser to the Sultan, acquired the position of the centre of exchange for East Africa, and in the course of the year her shipping doubled. But the East Africa Company received disquieting news from Uganda, whither in pursuance of a treaty concluded in March with King M'wanga, Captain Lugard had been despatched to uphold British influence and keep the peace between Mussulman, Protestant and Catholic. The experiences, however, of that gallant officer together with those of Mr. Johnston in Nyassaland are best postponed to a later chapter.

Turning to India, we find that the course of events was attended by some disquieting phenomena. At the beginning of the year the Hindu population, headed by two well-known lawyers, Sir Romesh Chandra Mitra and Sir Madhava Rao, exhibited considerable hostility to the Age of Consent Bill, introduced by Sir Andrew Scoble in the Viceregal Council. The object of this measure was to check the unfortunate custom of child-marriage and its attendant evils. But

though its advocates pleaded the authority of the Vedas, there could be no doubt that custom was against them. The Government persevered and the agitation died away, but the law was practically inoperative. A conclusive proof was thereby established that Western ideas, however humane in themselves, are repugnant to Oriental conservatism; and it was noticed that the Indian National Congress, assembled in December at Nagpore, though clamorous for political privileges, hesitated to deal with this crying social evil. Indeed, the secretary of the Congress, Mr. Allan Hume, denounced his colleagues for their opposition to marriage reform, and declared that he would resign unless four-fifths of them declared in its favour. The financial condition of India, according to Sir David Barbour's annual statement, was for the present satisfactory, owing to a temporary rise in the value of the rupee. Towards the end of the year, however, an alarming drop occurred, and there were complaints, not only in India, but at Manchester and Liverpool, that these sudden fluctuations caused trade between the two countries to be reduced to the merest gambling. Various remedies were suggested: some advocated a gold standard, others bimetalism, yet a third party desired that the ratio between the two metals should be fixed by law—the only point on which they were in agreement was that something must be done. It was unfortunately the case that an additional strain fell upon the resources of the Government in the shape of a widespread famine, less intense, however, than many of its predecessors. The monsoon was late and thin, and in July a good half of the peninsula was menaced with dearth, if not with actual destitution. Before October, however, rain fell plentifully in the North and North-Western provinces, with the exception of Rajputana and portions of Bengal, and the real danger was confined to Madras and the new acquisitions in Burma. In the latter, district relief works were promptly set on foot; advances were made to agriculturists, and large quantities of rice imported, so that the food supply should not run short. In October the state of the distressed districts sensibly improved, and the relief works were rapidly deserted. The energy of the Administration was all the more creditable because several military expeditions were necessary during the year, notably against the Tsawbwa of Wuntho. That potentate had a horoscope drawn which showed that he would be elevated to the vacant throne of Burma. Nevertheless, his capital was

taken on February the 24th, after severe fighting ; he fled, and the neighbouring tribes submitted.

Upon the frontier several significant incidents occurred. Of these the most important took place beyond the confines of India proper, in the barren district known as the Pamirs, or, in Eastern phrase, "The Roof of the World." This ill-defined country marches with Russian, Chinese and Afghan territory, and though of little value in itself would be of great importance to the Power that wished to attack India through the Hindu Kush. Thither Captain Younghusband was despatched on special duty, and in the region known as the Little Pamir he came across the Russian, Colonel Yonoff, with a body of Cossacks. At first he was treated with courtesy, but subsequently he was informed that unless he gave a written undertaking not to travel in "Russian territory" he would be placed under arrest. He accordingly departed, and the ubiquitous Colonel Yonoff repaired to the Alichur Pamir, a portion claimed by China. There he forced General Chang to retire from a fort which had been occupied by the Celestials, and placed Lieutenant Davidson, a British officer, under arrest, setting him free, however, near Marghilan. Afterwards Lieutenant Davidson returned in the direction of Kashgaria, and met Captain Younghusband with the Chinese General. They were again stopped by Russian officers, and escorted beyond the limits of the disputed districts. These high-handed proceedings, combined with the fact that Colonel Yonoff was known to have crossed the Hindu Kush into Chitral, caused some stir in Anglo-Indian circles. Explanations were demanded from St. Petersburg, and as usual the answers were of the most plausible and pacific character.

Farther south, Lord Lansdowne took the important—and to some minds ill-advised—step of inviting the Maharajah of Cashmere to resume the government of his country, from which he had been deposed for his incompetency and quasi-treasonable conduct. The proceeding was generally understood to have been dictated by the Russian advance upon the Pamirs, but subsequent declarations seemed to show that the motive was rather the fulfilment of the non-aggressive pledges given by Lord Canning after the Indian Mutiny. And, at least, the Viceroy took care that the keys of Cashmere remained in English hands. Of these the most important was the fort of Gilgit, which commanded all the passes over the Hindu Kush, and whence communication was easy with the protected State of Chitral. There Colonel Durand

had been appointed British Agent in 1889 and he had been employed in drilling the Imperial Service troops of the Maharajah of Cashmere, and in extending British influence over the neighbouring tribes, while a military road was being constructed from Cashmere by an engineer corps under Mr. Spedding. He was set at defiance ere long by the allied states of Hunza and Nagar, communities of brigands and slave-dealers which, though nominally tributary to Cashmere, had long enjoyed a turbulent independence. They dwelt in very difficult country on both sides of a torrent, and though constantly at war with each other, invariably presented a united resistance to a foreign enemy. Their valley was almost unknown to Europeans, though it had been visited by the Russian traveller Captain Gromschevsky, who undoubtedly instigated the Kanjuts—for so the inhabitants were known to their neighbours—to resist the British. Accordingly in May, 1891, Rajah Uzr Khan, son of the Thum of Nagar, murdered his two brothers, who were friendly to Colonel Durand, recommenced his slave raids on a large scale, and, with the Hunzas, marched upon Chalt, with the intention of taking that fortress. The reinforcement of the garrison by Colonel Durand disconcerted the enemy, but the Agent was summoned to Simla, and the chastisement of the confederacy was decreed. By November the expedition, some 2,000 strong, was concentrated at Gilgit, and the advance began on the 17th. Its story is admirably told by Mr. E. F. Knight, who served as a volunteer, in "Where Three Empires Meet."

At first the country proved more formidable than the enemy. The Sepoys suffered terribly from the cold, and the Cashmere Durbar provided a most inefficient transport service. However, Mr. Spedding with his Pathan navvies constructed a practicable road with the utmost expedition, while Captain Aylmer, R.E., threw temporary bridges across the yawning chasms. On the 27th, Colonel Durand arrived at Chalt, having distributed about half his forces along the line of communications. Three days afterwards he received a reply to his ultimatum couched in the most insolent terms. The allies boasted of their military prowess, and declared that no road should be made through their dominions. "I will withstand you," wrote the Thum of Hunza on his own behalf, "if I have to use bullets of gold. If you venture here, be prepared to fight three nations—Hunza, China, and Russia. I will cut your head off, Colonel Durand, and then report you to the Indian

Government." Thereupon the force crossed the frontier on December the 1st, being composed of 16 British officers, 188 men of the 5th Goorkhas, 28 men of the 20th Punjaub Infantry, 76 men of the Hazara Mountain Battery, 7 Bengal Sappers and Miners, and 661 Imperial Service Corps from Cashmere, besides irregulars in the shape of Puni-*alis* and Spedding's Pathans. Next day an advance was made upon the fortress of Nilt, the walls of which, some feet thick, surmounted a precipitous hill. With infinite difficulty two seven-pounders were dragged up a bluff that commanded the place, but the shells made no impression upon the stone roofs, while the Kanjuts from behind their loop-holed outer wall wounded several British officers, including Colonel Durand. It looked as if the expedition had been foiled, when the place suddenly fell before a most gallant assault. Under cover of a heavy fire, Captain Aylmer, Lieutenants Boisragon and Badcock with 100 Goorkhas made a rush for the outer wall. The three officers and about half-a-dozen men pushed their way through the abattis, battered down the wooden gate, and began firing through the loop-holes of the inner wall. To Captain Aylmer, accompanied by a Pathan orderly, was assigned the task of blowing up the main gate with gun-cotton. His fuse was a faulty one, and his first attempt failed. So he returned, to face almost certain death, and readjusted and relit the fuse. During this operation he was thrice severely wounded; he was rewarded, however, by an explosion, and before the smoke had cleared away the three officers and six men were inside the breach. While Aylmer and Badcock were fighting hand to hand with the garrison, Boisragon went outside and rallied the Goorkhas. After a sturdy resistance the Kanjuts fled through the winding alleys, and Nilt was won. For this dashing piece of work Captain Aylmer and Lieutenant Boisragon received the Victoria Cross, and Lieutenant Badcock the Distinguished Service Order.

Nevertheless, the resistance of Hunza-Nagar was not yet over. Farther up the valley the Kanjuts had constructed a strong *sanga* or stone redoubt, while two forts called Thol and Maiun crowned the heights on either side, and smaller *sangas* had been erected at every salient angle. The roads had been broken away, while by turning the watercourses over the less rugged parts of the cliffs, the natives had converted them into ramparts of ice. So hot was the fire from these defences that the road-making had to be discontinued, and for eighteen days Captain Bradshaw,

who had taken command, found his way completely blocked. The situation was indeed serious, because the neighbouring tribesmen might easily become emboldened and cut communications, while the snow-covered passes prohibited the arrival of reinforcements until the following summer. Nevertheless, it was speedily discovered that assaults by day were too dangerous to be risked; while the enemy, forewarned by spies, were always ready for night-attacks. Hostilities, therefore, dwindled into a rifle and artillery duel with singularly few casualties on either side. Meanwhile, experienced mountaineers, chief of whom was Lieutenant Manners Smith, were trying, but apparently in vain, to discover some way up the cliffs whereby the position might be turned. That honour was reserved for a soldier of the Cashmere Body-guard Regiment, Nagdu by name, who after several failures succeeded in climbing close to the fort of the Kanjut *sangas*. By this time, in the absence of Captain Bradshaw, the command had devolved upon Captain Colin Mackenzie. He ordered Lieutenant Manners Smith and Lieutenant Taylor with 100 men of the Cashmere Body-guard Regiment to scale the heights, while their advance was covered by sharpshooters on the opposite ridge. The latter party began firing at daybreak of the 20th of December, in order to distract the enemy's attention; while Manners Smith, who had been concealed all night in the bed of the valley, proceeded to scramble up the cliff, 1,200 feet in height. The first effort failed, as the face became quite impracticable after about 800 feet had been ascended, and nearly two hours were thus wasted. However, he tried lower down, and this time with more success, though the enemy, at last on the *qui vive*, saluted the stormers by a shower of boulders. Four *sangas* were taken in rapid succession, and the garrisons of Maiun and Thol, finding themselves outflanked, rushed for their lives up to Hunza and Nagar. Lieutenant Manners Smith, who had led the attack throughout, eventually received the Victoria Cross, the third won during the campaign.

At this point the brave enemy had evidently determined that they would fight no more. Many threw down their arms at once, and Captain Colin Mackenzie, by a forced march on the following day, pursued the flying foe to the Hunza and Nagar capitals. The latter, a place of considerable strength, submitted immediately, and its ruler, an irresolute old man, who had been coerced into resistance by his fratricidal son and his

truculent neighbour, the Thum of Hunza, readily came to terms. The Thum of Hunza took to his heels, and though a party under Lieutenant Baird was promptly sent in pursuit, he made good his escape into Chinese territory. The people, who had been most brutally oppressed, gladly submitted to British rule, and were soon chuckling over the circumstance that the slain were nearly all Nagaris. The Thum of Nagar was reinstated, and his murderous son, Uzr Khan, was deported to India as a State prisoner. In place of the refugee ruler of Hunza, his half-brother, Nazim Khan, was established on the throne. Colonel Durand promised that the tribesmen should be permitted to manage their own affairs, provided they acknowledged the Empress of India as their Suzerain, permitted Englishmen to pass through their country, and abstained from brigandage and slave-dealing. And so ended a unique specimen of frontier warfare which had been conducted in winter-time among mountains whose peaks were some 24,000 feet above the sea-level.

Two other punitive expeditions were undertaken in the course of the year, of which the first, that against the Black Mountain confederacy, was a complete success. Those hill tribes were again disposed to raids on their more pacific neighbours. Accordingly in January a force under General Lockhart penetrated, in three columns, into the highlands. Fighting, at first unimportant, soon became severe, but the backbone of the resistance was broken when the Akazai tribe submitted in May, and thereupon the resistance collapsed. In spite of the extreme ability with which General Lockhart had conducted a most difficult series of operations, the expedition, because it was entirely successful, passed almost unnoticed. That against Manipur, however, was the subject of much journalism, chiefly because it was preceded by a temporary failure. This little state lies on the confines of Assam and Upper Burma, and its inhabitants, with the exception of the Naga hillmen, are of the most industrious and peaceable disposition. Unfortunately, the reigning dynasty was notorious for its domestic broils, and one such occurred on September the 22nd, 1890, which was productive of serious consequences. The family factions were between the Maharajah and his third brother the Pucca Sena (Lord of the Elephants) as against the Jubaraj (the Heir) and the Senapatti (the Commander-in-Chief). Mr. Grimwood, the British Political Agent, regarded the Pucca Sena as "the primary cause of all the trouble." Be that as it may, the Senapatti, on the date above-mentioned, took the

law into his hands, attacked the palace, forced the Maharajah, who behaved with the utmost cowardice, to fly to the British Residency, whence on the following day he departed into exile with three of his brothers, having abdicated the throne. The Jubaraj, who had held aloof from the revolution, then put in an appearance, and at once proclaimed himself Maharajah. Mr. Grimwood advised that the *de facto* sovereign should be acknowledged. "The Senapatti," he wrote, "has more than once incurred the censure of the Indian Government for his turbulence, but he is popular with all classes; he is the only prince who is said to be poor, owing to his generosity. He is also on good terms with the Jubaraj, and if the latter is allowed to succeed to the 'Gaddi,' the Senapatti, as Jubaraj, would assist in making his rule strong and popular."

Lord Lansdowne and his advisers, however, thought otherwise, regarding the Senapatti as "a declared traitor in open mutiny." "The Senapatti has more than once incurred the displeasure of the Government of India on account of the violence of his conduct, and if the Maharajah, in 1888, had not been afraid of his turbulent brother, he would have been banished from the State. The Maharajah, whom we have recognised as the ruler of Manipur, has now been ousted by a cabal in his own family, led by this man, and if the British Government acquiesce in the present state of affairs and recognise the Jubaraj as ruler of Manipur, the Senapatti will wield the real power in the State. The Government of India cannot regard occurrences of this kind with indifference. We have now a stronger interest in Manipur than we had in past years, and the toleration of such disorders may be expected to have a mischievous effect upon the lawless tribes adjoining the State; tribes which we are now engaged in reducing to order." It was decided somewhat tardily, on January the 24th, 1891, that he must be banished from the kingdom, even if the Maharajah proved hopelessly incompetent and the Jubaraj had in consequence to be recognised. Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam, was directed to effect the counter-revolution, taking with him a sufficient force—"it was probable that a small body of troops would be enough." Mr. Quinton accordingly arrived at Manipur on the 22nd of March, accompanied by Colonel Skene and 400 rifles of the 42nd and 41st Goorkhas. In ordinary circumstances the force was ample—more especially as 100 rifles of the 43rd Goorkhas were already stationed in or near Manipur—and the

catastrophe that overtook the mission can only be attributed to a series of blunders on the part of Mr. Quinton and Colonel Skene. The former summoned a durbar, at which he proposed to require the attendance of the Regent and the Senapatti, to arrest the latter, and inform him that he must be banished for the time being. Inasmuch as a durbar is generally understood in India to be a purely friendly palaver, the morality

mortal wound, but the Senapatti had escaped. Meanwhile the Manipuris had opened fire upon the Residency from the Rajah's gateway; it was cleared by Lieutenant Chatterton, but at mid-day firing began again under cover of a village to the west, and at 10 o'clock Colonel Skene determined to recall Captain Butcher's detachment. From 4.30 to 7.30 p.m. the walls of the Residency were manned, and the Ghoorkas replied as best they could



ATTACK ON THE BRITISH RESIDENCY AT MANIPUR. (See p. 448.)

of the proceeding was at least questionable, moreover, the *coup de main* was not effected with promptitude. The Senapatti pleaded sickness and absented himself from the meeting, which was accordingly postponed; he repeated these tactics on the following day, and Mr. Grimwood had two futile interviews with the Jubaraj, who stood in great terror of his brother, and dared not order his arrest. It was not until the morning of the 24th that Colonel Skene ordered Captain Butcher and Lieutenant Brackenbury with some 250 men to surround the Senapatti's palace and take him captive. The attempt miscarried hopelessly, the palace was occupied after some fighting, in which Lieutenant Brackenbury received a

to the enemy's fire of 500 rifles and two seven-pounders from the loop-holed wall of the Jubaraj's palace, distant sixty yards from the Residency, and separated from it by an unfordable moat. Then the Chief Commissioner, judging the position to be untenable, committed the fatal mistake of sending a letter to the Jubaraj, and though informed in reply that the only terms were "unconditional surrender," he consented to a parley within the walls of the palace. Accordingly Mr. Quinton, Colonel Skene, Mr. Grimwood, Mr. Cossins, Mr. Melville, and Lieutenant Simpson entered the gateway without escort and were treacherously murdered by the old Tongal General with the full acquiescence of the Senapatti, except

Mr. Melville, who fled to a neighbouring village and was there assassinated. At 10.30 p.m. the enemy reopened fire upon the Residency, and continued until midnight, when a Manipuri shouted from the wall—"The Chief Commissioner will not return." The command had devolved upon

and after several brushes with the Manipuris on the road, were met on the 26th by Captain Cowley. Lieutenant Gurdon's account of the retreat ran as follows :—"It was about 2 a.m. when we left the Residency. As we proceeded along the road, we saw the whole neighbourhood lit up by a great



MRS. ETHEL ST. CLAIR GRIMWOOD.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Russell and Sons, Baker Street, W.)

Captain Boileau, and he after a futile attempt to hold the Residency house, whence he was shelled out, submitted the question to his fellow-officers, and to quote his own report, "said he would go with the majority, as he could not assume the responsibility of sacrificing them all, but he would not leave the wounded behind, and the place must be abandoned in good order." Ammunition was falling short, and only a few rounds were left per man.

Accordingly the party, now under 200 strong, retreated at 1.30 p.m. through a gap in the wall,

conflagration in our rear, which we soon perceived was the Residency in flames. Whether the building was fired by a shell or by hand is uncertain. As our men left the Residency, the Manipuris obtained possession of the treasury. We marched straight along the Bishenpur road. About three miles out we were fired upon from a village, but no serious opposition was offered. At five miles from Manipur there was a skirmish, but the enemy retired. As we neared Bishenpur, it was decided to leave the road and take to the hills. This we carried out, striking off across

country in the direction of the hills at about the fifteenth mile from Manipur. We ascended the first ridge, helping and carrying along our wounded as best we could, our rear being threatened by Kukis, who hovered about ready to pounce on any straggler. After we had reached the top of the first ridge, we came upon a Thana held by a few Manipuris. These Manipuris did not assume the offensive, but parleyed with us. The men said that the Regent had ordered that the 'Mem Sahib' (Mrs. Grimwood) could go free, but that the Sahibs should all be brought back to Manipur. We, however, were not inclined to listen to any overtures of this sort, after what had happened at Manipur. Shortly after this we were attacked in rear by a number of Manipuris and Nagas, and we had a sharp skirmish with them. As they continued to annoy us, a flanking party was sent to disperse them. It was now about dusk and we were all of us well nigh exhausted. The men had been under arms over thirty-six hours, and we had none of us tasted food since we left Manipur. We continued our march till 9 p.m., still moving along the hills. At this hour it was decided to halt, and we stayed for the night in a small wood. Next morning (the 26th) we continued our march; our object being to strike the Cachar road again, along which we knew Captain Cowley was advancing. At about 8 a.m. we came upon the road, and we had been advancing along it for about an hour and a half when we were fired upon by a number of Manipuris, who had concealed themselves in some forest above us on the left of the road. About this time we saw that the road was barred by a stockade which was held by the enemy. Lieutenant Lugard rushed the stockade with a few men, and then kept up a brisk fire on the enemy up the hill, so as to prevent them firing on us as we were passing up the road. This we were enabled to do in safety. We had not gone many yards when we saw some Sepoys on the road below us, whom we soon recognised to be men of the 43rd Regiment." Both during the attack on the Residency, and in the course of the retreat, Mrs. Grimwood displayed the utmost heroism, particularly in attending the wounded under fire, and her valour was afterwards rewarded by the Royal Red Cross. Captain Boileau and Captain Butcher, however, were judged to have been guilty of remissness, and had to resign their commissions on compassionate allowances. Their chief fault, apparently, lay in not having waited in or near the Residency for Captain Cowley and his 600 men. Their defence was that ammunition ran short, and that they

were without supplies in an enemy's country, many miles from the frontier.

The massacre had of course to be avenged, and with all possible speed two columns under General Graham advancing from Tammu in Upper Burma, and General Collett from Sidahar in Cachar, were ordered to advance upon Manipur. Meanwhile, a gallant deed of arms had gone far to retrieve the reputation of the British, and to prove that the Manipuris when met in a determined spirit were not the most stalwart of foes. Lieutenant Grant was at Tammu when the first news of the disaster arrived. He at once asked leave to advance, in the hope of being able to rescue Mr. Quinton and his companions, and was allowed to start on his desperate errand with some 80 Goorkhas. When it became clear that his mission was hopeless, a vain attempt was made to recall him. But meanwhile he had fought his way to Thobal, within ten miles of Manipur, where he captured a mud fort, and stood on the defensive against the enemy, some 3,000 strong, and furnished with a cannon or two. From the 31st of March to the 9th of April he held the crazy entrenchments against his cowardly foe with the loss of one killed and three wounded, when, on the receipt of a message from Captain Presgrave, who was advancing to his relief, he evacuated the position. For this splendid exploit he received the Victoria Cross and his majority. The punitive expedition met with little resistance, though General Graham had to dislodge the enemy from behind an earthwork, and with the exactitude of clockwork the two columns occupied the deserted city of Manipur on the 18th of April, the day appointed. The Jubaraj, who had fled to the hills, tamely surrendered and the Senapatti was hunted down. A court, composed of Colonel St. John Mitchell, Major Ridgway, and Major Maxwell tried the prisoners, when the Senapatti, the Tongal General, the Jubaraj, and a younger brother, the Anglo Sena, were condemned to death, but the sentence on the last two was commuted to imprisonment for life. In due course the Indian Government decided not to annex Manipur, but to place Chura Chand a five-year old child, upon the throne with the inferior title of Rajah, the government during his minority to be administered by Major Maxwell, who was to enforce a tribute on the State. This policy met the approval of English politicians, though the antecedent history of the affair had been freely canvassed in both Houses of Parliament. The points that met with most censure were the dilatoriness of the Indian Government in

determining on the deportation of the Senapatti, and the attempt to arrest him in open durbar, which was regretted by experienced Anglo-Indians like Sir Richard Temple. Lord Lansdowne's explanation of the affair to Lord Cross was in fact regarded as chivalrous to his dead subordinate but unconvincing in itself. It ran—"You may repudiate in strongest language idea that Government of India intended to sanction treachery towards Senapatti, and we believe that Quinton was incapable of carrying out instructions in a treacherous manner. Imputation of treachery arises from misconception of Senapatti's position and that of Manipur State. State is subordinate to Government of India, and Senapatti must have known that his conduct in conspiring against Maharajah, who had been recognised by us, rendered him liable to punishment. There was no question of alluring him to durbar under false sense of security. It is very doubtful whether he ever meant to attend durbar. According to Gurdon, Grimwood did not believe that he ever left Palace to do so on morning of 22nd. If he did not, he apparently expected arrest. Until Gurdon's telegram of 7th May reached us, we had not received specific information that if Senapatti refused to submit quietly Quinton intended to have him arrested at durbar, after announcement of our orders, but we have no doubt Quinton considered open arrest in durbar in case of such refusal would be most straightforward and safest procedure." Sir John Gorst, the Under-Secretary for India, hardly mended matters by a cynical speech, which certainly implied that the Senapatti had been removed, as Arabi Pasha, Zebahr Pasha, and Cetewayo before him, because he was able and troublesome—not a "mediocrity," and the gloss was afterwards repudiated by the Secretary of State.

Elsewhere in the East there was cause for anxiety, particularly in China. There the weakness of the Government proved entirely powerless to check the fanatical hatred of the mob, inflamed, it was believed, by the secret societies, comprising persons of high station, against the Christian missionaries. In several towns riots took place, and it was observed that they were invariably preceded by inflammatory placards accusing the missionaries of abominable crimes, such as the slaughter of native children, and the use of their eyes for purposes of medicine. Possibly over-zeal in proselytism might have been fairly alleged against the Jesuits of Wahu, whose mission was burnt by an infuriated mob on May the 12th.

But the outbreak proved the first of many monstrous outrages; thus in the same month a girl-school belonging to a Wesleyan Mission near Nankin was looted and the neighbouring missions were attacked; in June the Wesleyan Mission at Wasueh was assaulted, and Mr. Argent, the lay agent, and Mr. Green, a Customs House Officer, lost their lives while attempting to appease the multitude; in August the American Episcopal Mission and the Roman Catholic Convent at Ichang, a treaty port, were set on fire. British, French, and American gunboats had frequently to be despatched in hot haste to the rescue of European communities; while the Christian Chinese in the interior were subjected to the most barbarous treatment. Thus in November it was reported that in Takow some 300 natives and several Belgian priests had been put to death. The most significant feature in these deplorable occurrences was the calculated supineness of the Celestial Government. It affected to regard the movement as purely anti-dynastic, the fleet remained stationary, the rioters went unpunished, and a magistrate who had attempted to quell the Wahu disturbance was actually degraded. It seemed as if the Powers would have to resort to armed coercion; but at last the vigorous representations of their Ministers, notably Sir John Walsham, produced some effect. The Tsung li Yamen (Board of Foreign Affairs) was stirred to action, and the Viceroy, Li Hung Chang, telegraphed to the authorities on the Yang-tze river that all damages must be paid without dispute. In December it was announced by the Government that some £100,000 had been disbursed by way of compensation to various Christian Missions, that several mandarins had been degraded, and a few rioters and members of secret societies put to death. With which meagre satisfaction the Powers had to remain content.

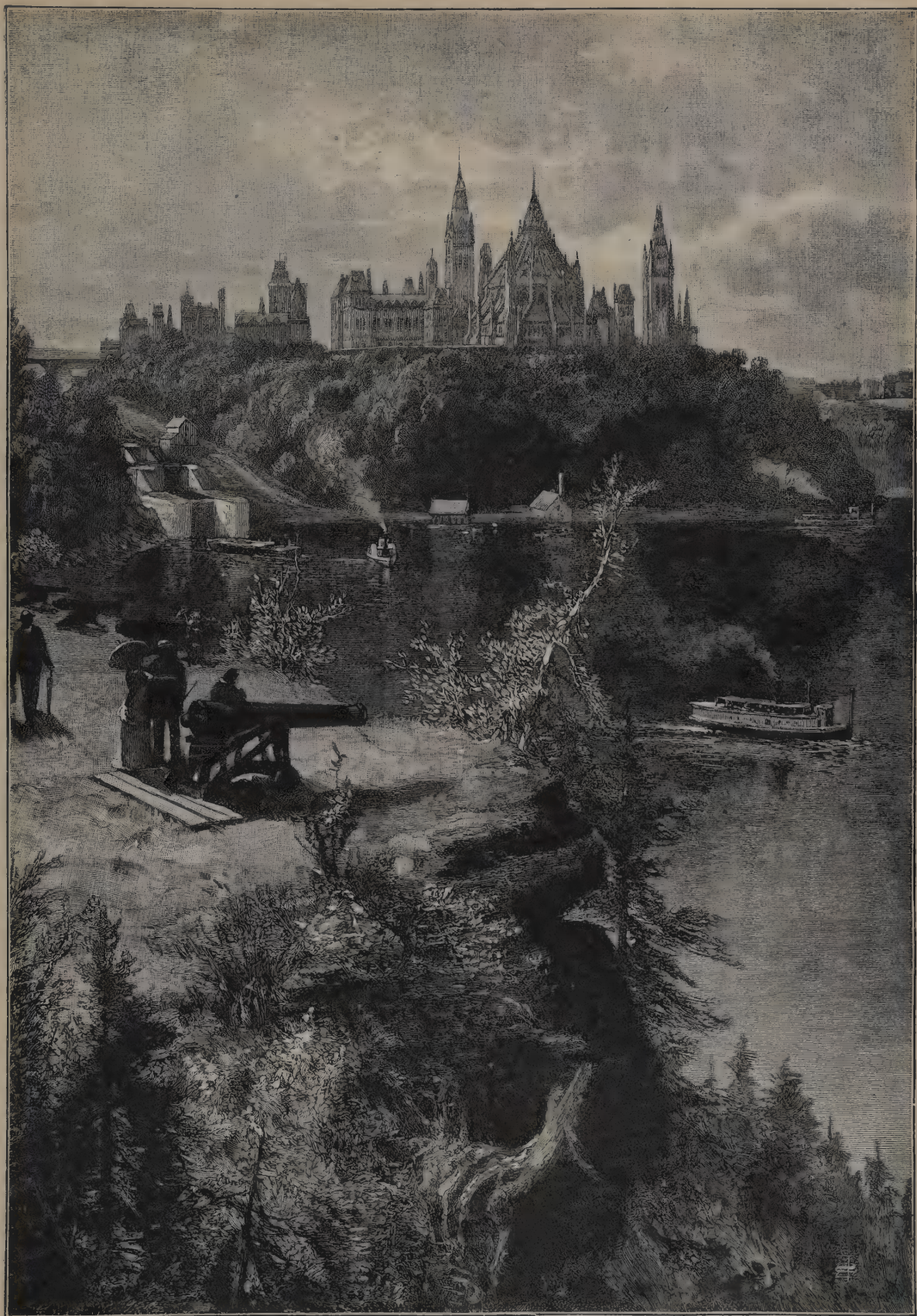
Neither in the mother-country nor in the English-speaking colonies could the cause of Imperial Federation be said to have made much progress. The ideas of the United Empire Trade League were aired in the House of Commons on February the 17th by Mr. Howard Vincent and Mr. James Lowther, when, though somewhat ambiguously expressed, they appeared to consist in preferential duties between the colonies and the mother-country. Sir Lyon Playfair, however, pointed out with telling cogency that there was no truth in the statement that our commerce was declining under Free Trade, and Mr. Goschen pressed home the following arguments—differential duties

practically resolved themselves into duties on food-stuffs and raw material, and if the electorate were confronted with the question, "Will you have dear bread in return for Imperial Federation?" the electorate would at once say "No." As for an Imperial Customs Union, he would believe that the colonies meant business when they admitted the British goods free. Even the more limited idea of Australasian Federation, after appearing on the eve of accomplishment, was indefinitely shelved. On March the 2nd the promised Convention met at Sydney under the presidency of Sir Henry Parkes, and was found to be thoroughly representative of Australian statesmanship. The tone of the discussions was throughout of the most loyal character, and when Sir George Grey, the veteran ex-Governor and ex-Premier of New Zealand, proposed a visionary resolution to the effect that the Governor-General of United Australia should be chosen not by the Imperial authorities, but by manhood suffrage, he found but two supporters. After deliberating for some five weeks the Convention succeeded in drafting a scheme of Constitution. It proved to be on the American, rather than the Canadian model, that is to say, the individual states reserved for themselves the fullest privileges in the matters of local government, defence, justice, and external relations. The title chosen was "the Commonwealth of Australasia," and the Parliament was to consist of a Senate, with eight members for each State, and a House of Representatives with one member from each 30,000 inhabitants. The Governor-General was to be advised by a Cabinet of seven. The federal authority was to exercise control over the marriage and divorce laws, over ports, telegraphs, customs, quarantine, inland waterways, and railways in the time of war. Trade was to be free from all imposts within the commonwealth, but Protection was to continue in vogue against the outside world, including the mother-country. Another point upon which the delegates appeared unanimous, or nearly so, was that the Supreme Court of Australia should be the ultimate Court of Appeal, and that the cumbersome procedure of reference to the Privy Council at home should be abolished.

But alas! all this imposing Constitution-making proved premature. A few Australian politicians, notably Sir Henry Parkes, were capable of placing Imperial above local interests, but to their ideas the Australian electorate was for the most part indifferent. When the draft Bill was referred to the various Legislatures it met with the coldest of

receptions. Thus the Victorian Parliament debated the subject in a very lukewarm fashion, and after altering the title of the proposed Pan-Australian Government from "Commonwealth" to "Federation," allowed the scheme to drop. Even more tragic was its fate in New South Wales. Sir Henry Parkes was defeated on a motion of want of confidence by a single vote; he appealed to the country and the verdict was unfavourable to him. In October Mr. Dibbs, the leader of the Opposition, formed a Ministry of a decidedly Protectionist colour, with the support of the Liberal party, and Sir Henry Parkes angrily announced his intention of retiring from public life. This resolution he speedily abandoned, but the new Cabinet, having adopted a policy of bolstering up local industries, was decidedly anti-Federationist, and the Labour party, some two-and-twenty strong, showed itself entirely lukewarm to the proposal. The Assembly fell to discussing the question whether the finance of the ex-Treasurer, Mr. McMillan, had or had not produced a deficit, and Sir Henry's dearest desires were thrust aside. The Queensland Legislature through the mouth of its Premier, Sir Samuel Griffiths, thereupon deduced that it would be futile to introduce any Federation Bill until it had been adopted by the Parliament of New South Wales, that is, that it was to be indefinitely postponed. The Labour party also prevailed in New Zealand, where the Premier, Mr. Ballance, in obedience to its behests, carried various measures of sweepingly democratic taxation. In the circumstances the Federation proposals were ignominiously dropped. Indeed, public opinion in New Zealand had been decidedly adverse to federation with Australia, and the delegates had only gone to the Sydney Convention on the understanding that they were not to commit the colony to the scheme. Lord Onslow, the Governor, wrote to Lord Knutsford that there were "twelve thousand reasons" in the way. In short, Sir Henry Parkes experienced the common fate of statesmen who are in advance of their age.

The year 1891 will long be remembered by all true Canadians with feelings not far removed from shame. In February the Dominion Parliament was dissolved, and Sir John Macdonald appealed to the people in a high-sounding manifesto, full of loyalty to the Empire, and declaiming against the Opposition's programme of "unrestricted reciprocity" with the United States, as formulated by Mr. Laurier and Sir Richard Cartwright. Canada, maintained the Premier, had flourished under his



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, OTTAWA.

"national" or protective policy, and in evidence of her prosperity he adduced the Canadian Pacific Railway, miles of canals, and fleets of steamships. At the same time he tacitly confessed that the McKinley Tariff had hit the Dominion terribly hard, for he declared himself ready to negotiate with the United States for a renewal of Lord Elgin's Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, which concerned raw materials only. The election thus inaugurated was fought by both sides with the greatest vigour, and the aged Premier threw himself into the contest with the energy of a man of five-and-twenty. The Opposition were undoubtedly damaged by the views of extremists like Mr. Goldwin Smith, and Mr. Farrar, of the *Toronto Globe*, who did not disguise their opinion that the annexation of Canada to the United States was inevitable. In the end the Conservatives secured a working majority of over thirty (124 to 91 Liberals) though the border districts went against the Government. The disunion of the Liberal party was complete, and Mr. Blake, ex-leader of the Opposition, announced his intention of retiring from public life. Sir John Macdonald made a transparently insincere pretence of opening negotiations with Mr. Blaine, though they were the merest diplomatic coquetry. But he had little chance of developing a new policy, for on the 6th of June he died, worn out by his great exertions, and the Empire was the poorer for a genuine, if somewhat unscrupulous patriot. A peerage was bestowed on his widow with the title of Baroness.

Mr. Abbott, a member of the Senate and a moderate and tactful politician, undertook the Premiership, and his position was strengthened by a series of bye-elections, which went in favour of the Conservatives. But a series of grave official scandals gradually came to light, and in August Mr. Abbott announced that a Royal Commission would be appointed to inquire into Civil Service corruptions. Already the Minister of Public Works, Sir Hector Langevin, had resigned in consequence of alleged irregularities in his department, and, though the majority of the Commission found him guiltless of personal dishonesty, the minority found that his relations with Mr. McGreevy, who had sought change of air in New York, were of a very intimate character. Infinitely more serious were the charges against Mr. Mercier, the Liberal and Catholic Premier of Quebec, whose zeal for religion had recently been rewarded by the Pope with the title of Count. Not only was he alleged to have received such pleasant backsheesh as a house (value twelve thousand dollars), a diamond

necklace, a carriage and horses with three thousand dollars more, and the lion's share of a "testimonial" of a hundred thousand dollars voted to a contractor, but in the Chaleur Bay Railway affair his reported swindles were far more flagrant still. A contractor was proved to have established a claim on the Government by paying a large bribe to the editor of a paper owned by Mr. Mercier, and that immaculate person was accused of having calmly used the larger part of the subsidy of one hundred thousand dollars lying in the Quebec Treasury, in taking up the bills of his friends and himself. The Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, Mr. Angers, asked Mr. Mercier for an explanation, but he declined both a statement and resignation. Thereupon Mr. Angers took the extreme step of dismissing the Mercier Cabinet and calling upon Mr. de Boucherville, a Conservative statesman, to take his place. There was a noisy hubbub against the *coup d'état*, but on the whole it commended itself to the wisdom of the community, and, though Mr. Mercier was acquitted in the following year by a petty jury, Mr. de Boucherville gained a large majority at the general elections. Added to these revelations were evidences of widespread Civil Service corruptions, so that the record of the Canadian democracy could hardly be said to be clean. The mercantile difficulties of the Dominion found voice in a unanimous address from the Government, asking Lord Salisbury to denounce the "most favoured nation clauses" in the commercial treaties into which Great Britain had entered—in other words, that Canada should be free to make whatever arrangements she pleased. Another source of disappointment was the census return, proving that the population numbered some 4,800,000, showing a decennial increase of but 11 per cent.

Even more lamentable were the external relations of Newfoundland. She quarrelled with Canada by declining to supply bait to the New Brunswick fishermen, and a war of prohibitory duties ensued. More serious was the dispute with the mother-country, consequent on Lord Salisbury's proposal to renew for another year the *modus vivendi* with France, pending the settlement of a limited portion of the Fisheries question (the legality of the lobster-factories established on the French shore) by international arbitration. The Newfoundlanders insisted that the "French shore" must be abolished altogether, and, when Lord Knutsford informed them that their view could not be entertained, they threatened secession and union with the United States. Further, the Supreme Court of the colony gave damages against the captain of

one of Her Majesty's cruisers for interfering, in obedience to his instructions, with a lobster factory of a British subject. The abrogation of the Treaty of Utrecht being out of the question, there was nothing for it but coercion. The British Government accordingly resolved to revive an Act, which had expired nearly seven years previously, for the enforcement of international obligations in Newfoundland waters, but the second reading was suspended in the House of Lords, pending the arrival of a deputation headed by the Newfoundland Premier, Sir William Whiteway. On the 23rd of April he appeared and pleaded his cause at the bar of the House in an exceedingly able speech. Its effect was a creditable compromise. The British Ministry determined to proceed with their Bill, but promised that it should be abandoned if the Colonial Legislature would pass a measure for the enforcement of the *modus vivendi*. The first announcement was that the proposed legislation was of an unsatisfactory character; however, on May the 28th, Mr. Smith made a most satisfactory statement that the Newfoundland Parliament had agreed to pass a Bill enforcing the *modus* and the observance of treaties with France to the close of 1893, when it was hoped that a complete settlement would be arranged. The second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons was accordingly dropped, Ministers accepting an amendment by Mr. Bryce declaring the desire of the House to support the Government in carrying out the treaty obligations of the country.

Another fisheries dispute—that concerning the Behring Strait—also made some progress towards solution. At the beginning of the year Lord Salisbury offered to commit the claims of the United States to consider the sea a *mare clausum* for the purposes of seal-fishing, to international arbitration. Mr. Blaine replied by a very long-winded despatch, which dealt at large with the rights derived from Russia through the sale of Alaska to the United States, but which was studiously vague as to the possibilities of peaceful settlement. His organs blustered about war against England, the "international bully of the world," and every ship in the American fleet was to be despatched to the scene of quarrel. This "twisting of the lion's tail" had reference, of course, to electioneering tactics in America. Meanwhile the matter was brought before the Supreme Court at Washington with the sanction of the British Minister, Sir Julian Pauncefote, by a test action. The owner of the Canadian sealer *W. P. Sayward*, which had been seized by the United States cruiser *Rush*,

asked for a writ prohibiting the district court of Alaska from proceeding with the condemnation and sale of the ship. The contention was that the *W. P. Sayward* had been seized upon high seas in violation of the law of nations, and that her owner was entitled to reparation and damages, inasmuch as the municipal law of a country has no force over foreign subjects and property outside its territorial limits. The diplomatic move, though adroitly contrived, had no result, as the Supreme Court eventually decided that the court of Alaska was beyond its jurisdiction. However, after a short interval, Mr. Blaine resumed his discussion on the historic aspects of the case, going for his illustrations to the Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon, and the police surveillance exercised within eight miles of St. Helena during Napoleon's imprisonment. To these valuable precedents he added a third—the Fishery Board's regulations for the prohibition of trawling in the Moray Firth. Still he came gradually nearer to the point of arbitration until the distinct step in advance was attained that, provided a satisfactory *modus vivendi* was arranged, the United States would submit to an international tribunal not only the question of a close time for seals, but the whole of the claims whereby the Americans designed to convert one of the world's oceans into a private lake. After a further exchange of views, it was arranged that British subjects should be prohibited by an Order in Council from catching seals until May, 1892, when it was expected that a settlement would have been arranged. A similar prohibition was to be enforced on Americans, except that the North American Company, which had become responsible for the welfare of the Aleuts of the Pribyloff Islands, were to be allowed by way of compensation to take some 7,500 fur-bearing seals during the year. A Bill, embodying that portion of the *modus vivendi* which affected British and Canadian subjects, was introduced in the House of Commons by Sir James Fergusson, and became law in the course of the Session. A similar measure was introduced in the American Senate, and, though a strong anti-English speech by Mr. Sherman caused its fate to hang in the balance, it was carried by a large majority. Meanwhile, Lord Salisbury appointed Sir George Baden Powell and Professor Dawson as British Commissioners to report on the sealing question, and in November the constitution of the tribunal was announced. It was to consist of two British arbitrators, two American, and three nominated respectively by the Kings of Italy and Sweden and the President of the French Republic.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1892—The Influenza Epidemic—Death of the Duke of Clarence—Messages of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the Queen—The Funeral—Death of Cardinal Manning—The Rossendale Election—Mr. Chamberlain on Old Age Pensions—Mr. Chaplin, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Fowler—The Queen's Speech—Debate on the Address—The Irish Local Government Bill—Its Reception—The Debate on the Second Reading—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Balfour—Abandonment of the Bill—The Agricultural Holdings Bill—Its Peaceful Progress—The Irish Education Bill—The Scottish Education Bill—The Clergy Discipline Bill—The Indian Councils Bill and other Measures—The Estimates and the Budget—Private Members' Bills—Out-of-door Oratory—Lord Salisbury and Ulster—The North Hackney Election—The London County Council—The Whitsuntide Recess—The *Freeman's Journal* Squabble—The Ulster Demonstration—Preparations for the Election—Unionist Addresses—Mr. Morley and Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Gladstone and the Irish Leaders—The Electoral Campaign—The Borough Elections—The Counties—The Final Result—The Election Petitions—Meeting of Parliament—The Queen's Speech—The Debate in the Lords—Re-election of Mr. Peel—Mr. Asquith's Amendment—Mr. McCarthy and Mr. Redmond—Mr. Gladstone's Reply—Mr. Balfour—Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Healy—The Division.

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1892, found the country still oppressed by the influenza epidemic, the death-rate in London rising to the figure of 42·0 per thousand, or double the average, nor was the plague stayed until it had laid low some illustrious victims. There was a peculiar pathos about the fate of the Duke of Clarence, whose betrothal to his cousin, the Princess Victoria Mary of Teck, we have already mentioned. Preparations for the wedding were being made apace, and the public anticipated a long and happy married life for the royal pair. At first no more serious news came from Sandringham than that the young Prince had caught a cold while attending the funeral of Prince Hohenlohe-Langenberg. On the 9th of January, however, it was announced that he was attacked by influenza, and that pneumonia had supervened. The illness ran its course with fearful rapidity, and the bulletins at Marlborough House, which were daily awaited by a respectful crowd, became most alarming. On the 13th all hope was abandoned, and in the early morning of the 14th the Prince expired, surrounded by his sorrowing family. The compassion of the nation for the Prince and Princess of Wales, who were suffering from the most poignant sorrow that can come to man or woman, was very real, and it was gratefully returned. "If sympathy at such a moment is of any avail," ran their public message, "the remembrance that their grief has been shared by all classes will be a lasting consolation to their sorrowing hearts, and, if possible, will make them more than ever attached to their dear country." A week later (January 27th) the Queen addressed a letter to the Home Secretary, which appeared in a special edition of the *London Gazette*. "I must once again give expression to my deep sense of the loyalty and affectionate sympathy evinced by my

subjects in every part of my Empire, on an occasion more sad and tragical than any but one which has befallen me and mine, as well as the nation. The overwhelming misfortune of my dearly-loved grandson having been thus suddenly cut off in the flower of his age, full of promise for the future, amiable and gentle, and endearing himself to all, renders it hard for his sorely stricken parents, his dear young bride, and his fond grandmother, to bow in submission to the inscrutable decrees of Providence . . . My bereavements during the last thirty years of my reign have indeed been heavy. Though the labours, anxieties, and responsibilities inseparable from my position have been great, yet it is my earnest prayer that God may continue to give me health and strength to work for the good and happiness of my dear country and Empire while life lasts."

Meanwhile, the mortal remains of the Duke of Clarence had been laid to rest on the 20th in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. A preliminary service, of quiet simplicity, was held at Sandringham, in the presence of the members of the Royal Family. Equally unostentatious was the procession to Wolverton Station, the body being conveyed on a gun-carriage, under the charge of Lieut. White Thomson, R.H.A., behind which walked the Prince of Wales, Prince George, and the Duke of Fife. Arrived at Windsor, the military character of the ceremony became more prominent than before. The Prince of Wales wore the uniform of a colonel of the 10th Hussars, in which regiment his son had been a zealous and efficient officer, and some of the Duke's old comrades bore the pall. The same regiment supplied the carrying-party, which lifted the coffin from the funeral car to another gun-carriage at Windsor. Within the chapel there was no ostentatious display of mourning, and the



THE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALE.

(From a Photograph by Lafayette, Dublin.)

scene was almost bright from the crimson carpets, the banners of the knights, and the uniforms of the distinguished representatives of the crowned heads of Europe, among whom were the Grand

Duke Alexis of Russia, the Crown Prince of Denmark, and Prince Frederick Leopold of Prussia. The brief winter day had all but ended as the funeral procession filed into the building,

and the candle-light by which the service was conducted—the officiating clergy being the Dean of Windsor, and the Bishop of Rochester—rendered the spectacle the more solemn. Memorial services were simultaneously held at St. Paul's Cathedral—where the Lord Mayor and Corporation attended in state, and the Bishop of London preached a most impressive sermon—and in nearly every cathedral, church, and chapel throughout the kingdom. Nor did the distant cities of Australia and Canada neglect to express their loyal regret for the blameless youth who, unless fate had otherwise decreed, would doubtless have developed into an active and large-minded sovereign.

Next day the venerable Cardinal Manning was interred at Kensal Green, after an imposing service and requiem mass at the Brompton Oratory. Upwards of 200 carriages followed the hearse, and the route pursued was thronged with reverent onlookers. He had died on the same day as the Duke of Clarence, and the public expression of sorrow would certainly have been greater, but for the coincidence of the two events. However, Roman Catholicism was not slow to do homage to the departed ecclesiastic, and during the five days of the lying-in-state at the Archbishop's house, upwards of 10,000 persons were admitted to the chamber. Cardinal Manning had accomplished so much in the furtherance of Roman Catholicism, and his popularity with the working-classes was so strong, that the Vatican must have been somewhat perplexed as to the choice of a successor. The Irish papers did not disguise their hopes that a thoroughgoing Home Ruler would be appointed; but on March the 21st Dr. Vaughan, Bishop of Salford, was nominated Archbishop, whose political leanings, so far as he entertained any, were understood to be Conservative. He was enthroned on the 8th of May, and on the 16th of August was invested with the pallium by the papal delegate, Mgr. Stonor, at the Brompton Oratory. The last occasion on which a prelate of the Roman Church received the emblems of his office in England was in 1556, when Cardinal Pole was invested in Bow Church.

The national calamity naturally distracted attention from politics, though the vacancy at Rossendale, caused by the elevation of Lord Hartington to the Upper House, was soon to afford abundant food for comment and speculation. Before the excitement really began Sir M. Hicks-Beach, speaking at Bristol, expressed a qualified approval of Mr. Chamberlain's pension scheme,

and hinted at the extension of outdoor relief, together with the improvement of the dwellings of the poor by means of State subvention. Meanwhile, two strong candidates had been provided in the persons of Mr. Maden and Sir Thomas Brooks, the late Chairman of Lord Hartington's election committee. In favour of the former Mr. Gladstone wrote a letter, in which he declared that while in 1886 Lord Hartington had promised a large introduction into Irish government of the representative principle, and a fundamental reform in the system of administration known and hated under the name of Dublin Castle, yet though nearly six years had passed, not a single step had been taken to redeem those pledges. Instead of such fulfilment, "Ireland has been placed for the first time under a law of perpetual coercion, and the credit of the Exchequer has been pledged to act, to the extent of a hundred millions, for the purchase of Irish estates." The Duke retorted, in a letter to the *Times*, that his promises and pledges were to be found in his election address, and that though Mr. Gladstone now attached great importance to them, in 1886 he disparaged and sneered at them. "I was not in 1886, and have never since been, in a position to promise fundamental reform on any subject." He had agreed that reasonable desires in the matter of local self-government should be satisfied, and he considered that those aspirations would have been realised long ago "but for the determined and mischievous agitation kept up in Ireland by Mr. Gladstone's allies." However that might be, the electors of Rossendale would have nothing to do with Liberal Unionism, since they returned Mr. Maden by a large majority (6,066 votes against 4,841). The defeat was acknowledged by the Ministerial papers to be most significant; and the attempts to explain it away on the ground that the Liberal candidate had only committed himself to "gas and water Home Rule" by no means carried conviction. As might be expected, supporters of Mr. Gladstone appeared anxious for a dissolution, while the other side laboured to show that it had substantial proposals to put before the country. The *National Review* of February contained an article from Mr. Chamberlain, in which he elaborated the details of his old age pension scheme. They were to the effect that any person under the age of twenty-six should be allowed to invest the sum of £5 in the Post Office Savings Bank, or some similar institution, that the State should add £15 to the £5 so invested, while the insurer was to contribute to this nucleus an

annual sum of £1 for a period of not less than forty years. On attaining the age of sixty-five the payer was to receive an annuity of 5s. a week, or, if he died, a proportionate annuity would be due to his representatives. The plan was promptly subjected to some searching criticism by Mr. John Morley at Newcastle, who pointed out that the incentive was too feeble, and that Mr. Chamberlain had made no attempt to grapple with the case of the very poor who could not put by £5 when they were twenty-five years of age. It came to this, therefore, that the credit of the tax-payers—in other words, of the working-classes—would be used to help those who were best able to help themselves, while the Friendly Societies must inevitably come under State control.

Meanwhile, Mr. Chaplin had presided over an Agricultural Congress held at Ely on January the 29th, under the auspices of the Eastern Counties Conservative Associations. He promised that, if the Conservative Government remained in office, the Working-Class Dwellings Act of 1890 should be amended, if it could be shown that its regulations were being evaded. With regard to the extension of local government, he expressed a preference for District as opposed to Parish Councils; and he promised on behalf of the Government that a Bill to facilitate the purchase of small holdings should be introduced, though he thought that allotments had best be left to voluntary agreement between labourers and landlords. After expressing a guarded approval of old age pensions, he advocated a more humane provision than the workhouse for deserving poor, and urged that a system of profit-sharing might greatly benefit the rural community. Similarly, Lord Salisbury, speaking at Exeter on February the 2nd, extolled small holdings as likely to create a strong bulwark against revolutionary change, though they would not be an economical method of cultivating the land, and sneered at Parish Councils. If his own experience, which extended from the two Houses of Parliament down to vestries, was to be trusted, such assemblies would certainly fail to provoke amusement, and so add to the interest of village life, while they might promote litigation—a very expensive amusement that would raise the rates. He added that, important though the agricultural question might be, Ireland would decide the issue not of one general election but of many. He declared that the House of Lords would act as their consciences dictated, and that their opponents were desirous of travelling along the road to separation. "I cannot conceal the

deep apprehension with which I look to any failing or flinching on the part of this people during the trial which destiny has appointed to them. We are now at the point where, if we show the qualities by which our ancestors attained empire, we may be thought worthy to retain it and hand it on. But if we are deceived, or allow ourselves to be deceived, by hollow sentimental follies, which are in reality only the excuse for weakness and want of courage; if we allow ourselves to be deceived by them, the day of our power will be set, and slowly we shall recede from the great position that was handed down to us. If you fail in this trial, one by one the flowers will be plucked from your diadem of empire." This important speech was answered by Mr. Henry Fowler at Plymouth, who, referring to the financial disasters which, according to the Prime Minister, would follow the establishment of Home Rule, declared that Ireland would never be allowed to set up a protective Customs tariff. He also protested against the idea that the dissolution would be postponed until the regular session had closed. It was a violation of constitutional principles to make Parliament last its full statutory period. In London a vigorous campaign was begun at Kennington by Sir George Trevelyan, with the object of winning back the constituencies from the Conservatives.

Parliament met on February the 6th, when the Queen's Speech, after a pathetic allusion to the death of the Duke of Clarence, announced a comparatively modest programme, including an Irish Local Government Bill, a District Councils Bill for England, a Small Holdings Bill, an Irish Education Bill, a Bill for Modifying Private Procedure, an Indian Councils Bill, a Clergy Discipline Bill, and a Bill for enabling accused persons to be examined on their trial. In the House of Lords the proceedings were uninteresting, since the sudden death of the Khedive had deprived the Opposition of a topic upon which its leaders had dilated during the recess, namely, the expediency of a prompt withdrawal from Egypt. Lord Kimberley declined to discuss the question, and the debate collapsed after Lord Salisbury had emphatically declared that the Government would "never abandon Egypt to the supremacy of another Power, or to destruction by anarchy or disorder." In the Commons, the Government was provided with a new leader in the person of Mr. A. J. Balfour, and a meeting of Liberal Unionist members, held at Devonshire House, chose Mr. Chamberlain to preside over its destinies on the motion of Sir Henry James, seconded

by Mr. Heneage. Mr. Chamberlain signalled his new position by delivering a fighting speech on the Address, chiefly at the expense of Sir William Harcourt. The latter had declared that a passage in Lord Salisbury's oration at Exeter, wherein Ireland under Home Rule was described as "an ultra-clerical State, under the government of Archbishops Croke and Walsh," was insulting to the Irish Catholics. Mr. Chamberlain retorted that Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on "Vaticanism" contained expressions far stronger than any used by Lord Salisbury, and it seemed strange that Gladstonians might steal a horse, whilst Unionists might not look over the hedge. He taunted the Opposition with its fierce energy out of doors, as compared with its mildness inside the House. The session, which was to have entered like a roaring lion, had come in like a bleating lamb. In particular the language with regard to Egypt, if it was a mere platform declaration, was unworthy and unpatriotic; if it had a serious meaning, those who employed expressions pointing to the speedy evacuation of the country were bound to bring their views before the House. A vigorous series of personalities concluded by the definition of Sir William as "the last of the Whigs stewing in Parnellite juice." Mr. John Morley, with some heat, entered a protest against Mr. Chamberlain's insistence upon keeping a seat on the front Opposition bench. With regard to Egypt he asserted that the Opposition had demanded no reversal of policy, but merely an assurance that the occupation would not be indefinitely prolonged. He firmly declined to disclose the details of the Home Rule plan, and observed that though he did not object to an Irish Local Government Bill, he did not believe that it would do any good. After this the debate languished, the discussion on Mr. James Lowther's amendment in favour of preferential trade between various parts of the Empire being peculiarly purposeless. Mr. John Redmond's amendment, urging the release of the dynamiters, which was also negatived, elicited from Mr. Matthews the statement that he had personally investigated every case, and that he felt satisfied as to the just conviction of the prisoners, and Sir William Harcourt expressed concurrence. Another amendment moved by Mr. Sexton, containing a declaration in favour of Home Rule, brought up Mr. John Redmond, who challenged the Liberal leaders to say exactly what they meant to do, and asseverated that Mr. Parnell's proposals contained the irreducible minimum. No reply was made to this inconvenient demand, and Sir William Harcourt was

constrained to contradict the story that he had "run away" or "skulked in corridors." However, an adroitly moved closure resulted in the discovery that many supporters of the Government had also left the House, and Mr. Sexton's amendment was defeated by a majority of only twenty-one (179 to 158).

Mr. Balfour's leadership had scarcely made a prosperous beginning, and his Irish Local Government Bill, introduced on February the 18th, by no means mended matters. The speech of the First Lord of the Treasury was curiously cold, as if he was conscious that the measure would not receive cordial support from any side of the House. Besides, the demeanour of the Irish Members was anything but conciliatory, and he was frequently interrupted by laughter and ironical cheers. After stating that the Government stood committed to the Bill, and that vague distrust did not form a sufficient motive for its abandonment, he explained that both County Councils and Barony Councils would be created, the latter corresponding to the District Councils not yet established in England. Their duties would be purely administrative, they would be elected together for three years, and there were to be no aldermen. The County Councils would be entrusted with the maintenance of the main roads and highways; they might also, if they thought fit, take over the authority of the rural sanitary bodies; they would nominate half the boards of the lunatic asylums, appoint county coroners, and they could acquire woods and plantations on the representation of the baronies. Mr. Balfour's safeguards against possible corruption and extravagance created a good deal of surprise. There were to be four *ex-officio* members in each of the first county councils, the lord-lieutenant and the sheriff, a nominee of the grand jury, and one of the county presentment sessions. Further, in addition to the ordinary members elected on the Parliamentary franchise to the exclusion of illiterates, there would be added representatives of the minority vote, chosen on the cumulative principle, as in the case of School Boards. "It is better," he continued with a touch of cynicism, "to do a stupid thing that has been done before, than a wise thing that has not been done before." The House had barely recovered from its astonishment, when Mr. Balfour went on to say that twenty cess-payers might appeal to the judges for the removal of an oppressive or corrupt County or Baronial Council, and if a *prima facie* case was made out, the case would be tried by two judges appointed to try election

petitions. Supposing the Council to be found guilty, its members would be replaced by persons appointed by the Lord-Lieutenant. Also, standing committees would be appointed—seven members to be appointed by the County Council, seven by the grand jury, with the sheriff as a fifteenth—whose consent would have to be gained for any expenditure. Mr. Balfour defended this

even declared that, though the Bill was good in itself, Ireland was not yet sufficiently pacified to permit the creation of nearly two hundred democratic assemblies. The *Daily News* denounced "the measure of so-called self-government" as an insult, and it is hardly necessary to say that the Irish Nationalist papers were more outspoken still. An equal frankness was displayed by Mr. John Morley



THE CUSTOM HOUSE, DUBLIN. (From a Photograph by W. Lawrence.)

somewhat abnormal provision by saying that it was no stronger than the practice in vogue with Parliamentary constituencies. He concluded by remarking that the measure would be less beneficial than the Criminal Law Procedure Act, the Congested Districts Act, the Railways Act, and the Land Purchase Act. But after county government had been conferred in England and Scotland, Ireland might fairly complain if a similar enactment was withheld from her.

Outside the House the Bill was received, at best, with indifference. The Unionist papers expressed no enthusiasm, though they considered the safeguards to be fairly adequate. The *Spectator*

in the House, when he drew a picture of a County Council "in the dock," and opined that the Irish people were being treated as "debased helots." The sooner the Government dissolved on this monstrous proposal, the better for the Opposition. Sir William Harcourt, Mr. John Redmond, and Mr. Justin McCarthy were equally vigorous in their denunciations, the first taunting Mr. Chamberlain, who happened to be absent, with "running away." However, after Mr. Balfour had declared that the Opposition evidently intended to employ every Parliamentary weapon in order to prevent the Bill from passing, merely because it "employed machinery to prevent corruption and oppression,"

Mr. Chamberlain returned and at once stepped into the breach. After bantering Sir William Harcourt on "his best and latest Whitechapel style"—in allusion to a speech delivered at Whitechapel on the day before—he made an effective point by saying that every Legislature in every State of the American Union could—"in the absurd, the theatrical words of the member for Newcastle"—be put "in the dock" before the Supreme Court. Mr. Bryce, however, a recognised authority on the subject, declared the parallel to be inexact; and altogether, though the first reading was carried without a division, the prospects of the Bill were of the gloomiest description.

The subsequent progress of this unfortunate measure may be briefly dismissed. The second reading was not taken until the 19th of May. Mr. Balfour contented himself with a formal motion, whereupon Mr. Sexton, in a powerful speech, urged the rejection of the Bill. His chief points were that the local liberties conceded were a mere sham, the constituencies would be "gerrymandered" in the interests of the minority, the County Councils would be subservient to the Standing Committees, with power only to break stones in limited quantities and to deal with destructive insects. He declined to discuss the clause which enabled two judges to suppress the County Councils, because it was an insult to the Irish people, and made the rejection of the Bill imperative. The Attorney-General for Ireland pointed out that Mr. Gladstone, in his Home Rule scheme, had acknowledged the necessity of protecting Irish minorities. Mr. O'Brien declared he would accept the Bill in exchange for a dissolution. Mr. Chamberlain advised the Government to close with this offer and entered into an elaborate defence of the safeguards, and decided that they were reasonable, with the exception of the cumulative vote, which he would oppose in Committee. He also considered that the offence of "oppression," for which the County Councils could be suppressed, needed further definition. But, on the whole, he was satisfied that the production of the Bill fulfilled the pledges of the Unionist Government, and proved that Home Rule and its advocates were the greatest obstacles to progress in Ireland. Mr. Healy made some caustic observations on this speech, remarking that they did not breed "impartial men" in Ireland to act as chairmen of the Standing Committees. He only knew of one such person in the House of Commons, who sat for West Birmingham. Irishmen resented the superior airs of Englishmen who

talked to them in a Cockney accent. The debate had reached its fourth night, when Mr. Gladstone appeared at the table. He began by reproaching the Liberal Unionists for supporting this "miserable Bill" after their election promises, which had included provincial assemblies and a large devolution of political powers to a national Assembly. He next attacked Lord Salisbury's speech at the annual meeting of the Grand Habitation of the Primrose League, wherein had occurred the phrase—"If a similar abuse of authority [to that of James II.]—be it on the part of a Parliament or the part of a king—should ever occur at any future time, I do not believe the people of Ulster have lost their sturdy love of freedom or their detestation of arbitrary power." Such language Mr. Gladstone declared to be a distinct encouragement to rebellion, and it was impossible to conceive a more perfect contempt of political principle or of practical wisdom and sagacity. He asserted that in framing the Bill the Government appeared to have adopted every bad principle and rejected every good one. The bestowal of the power of fixing boundaries on the Lord-Lieutenant might result in the election of Councils opposed to the Catholic majority. He could find no parallel to the possible dissolution of Councils by the judges except in the cases of the Irish Boards of Guardians and English School Boards; but in the case of the second the Education Department was bound to take immediate steps for the election of a new Board. His most significant comment was on the Joint Committees, which, said he, were worse than those in England, though the latter were so bad that the next House of Commons would probably be disposed to make short work of them. The Bill contained the "refuse of legislation," and it resembled "bones and waste and washings" offered up as a banquet. However, it tended to clear the issue, and the country could now determine the exact value of the great and splendid promises of 1886. Mr. Balfour retorted by a vigorous defence of his uncle, and he provoked an indignant denial from Mr. Gladstone by "taking note of the fact" that the leader of the Opposition acknowledged that Ulster would have to be coerced. He also scored a dialectical point by acknowledging that the Bill cleared the issue, since the policy of the Government was now clearly before the country. Mr. Gladstone should now clear the issue on his own side, "since no human being knew what he intended to do." A sharp controversy arose over Mr. Gladstone's statement with regard to School Boards, the accuracy of which Mr. Balfour denied.

With some excitement Mr. Gladstone read a clause from the Education Act, confirming his view of the case, whereupon Mr. Balfour retaliated by reciting another clause empowering the Department to suppress a School Board, and to appoint, during pleasure, not less than five persons to carry on its work. The discrepancy was never explained, and, shortly afterwards, the division gave the Government an unexpectedly large majority of 92 (339 to 247). The Irish Local Government Bill, however, never reached Committee, and its abandonment was formally announced by Mr. Balfour on June the 9th.

The Agricultural Holdings Bill, which Mr. Chaplin introduced on February the 22nd, encountered far less destructive criticism. The Minister for Agriculture frankly avowed his change of opinion on the question of allotments, and he explained that the Bill was more or less an experiment with the object of recreating the yeoman class, and of checking the migration of the rural population to the towns. The County Councils would be empowered to borrow money from the Public Works Loans Commission, or elsewhere, the amount not to exceed a charge upon the rates of more than a pound in any one year, for the purchase of land, which was to be distributed in holdings varying from one to fifty acres. One-fourth of the purchase money must be paid at once, one-fourth might be secured by a perpetual rent-charge, and one-half would be paid by instalments or terminable annuities. Where landlord and tenant agreed, the County Council might advance three-quarters of the purchase-money. Small holdings, not exceeding ten acres, could be let to labourers, and as a rule no dwelling-house could be erected where the holding did not exceed £25 annual value. The purchaser was expected to erect the necessary buildings, though they might be provided by the local authority, if it could be proved that he would be seriously crippled by the outlay. When the Bill, which was favourably received, reached the second reading stage, Mr. Gladstone gave expression to the chief objections of the Opposition, which were that the principle of compulsion should have been introduced into the purchase clauses, and that Parish Councils, rather than County Councils, should have been entrusted with the administration of the Act. Otherwise, he was extremely cordial; and Mr. Balfour pointed out, with some force, that the Parish Councils would either be obliged to have recourse to the local rates, or the County Councils would be rendered liable for their expenditure. In

Committee various attempts to alter and enlarge the Bill were for the most part unsuccessful. Thus Mr. Cobb was defeated when he moved an instruction for the creation of Parish Councils by popular election, with powers of administering the Act. Mr. Oidroyd, too, endeavoured, but in vain, to include within the measure any borough Council that had not the status of a borough. Two efforts to introduce the compulsory principle—one made by Sir Walter Foster, the other by Mr. Seale Hayne—were also defeated; and Mr. Chaplin successfully opposed amendments relating to advances to be made by County Councils for buildings and improvements, and to the readjustment of the rates. He accepted, however, an amendment of Mr. Jesse Collings empowering the letting of fifteen-acre holdings to persons working on a co-operative system, and he agreed that, for letting purposes generally, the limit should be fifteen acres and not ten as originally proposed. On report he added a new clause making small holdings personal property. This clause was, however, rejected by the House of Lords on the motion of the Duke of Richmond, and though Lord Herschell produced an alternative, it was defeated by 63 votes to 21. Otherwise, the Lords' amendments were quite unimportant, and when the Bill returned to the Commons, the omission of the personal property clause was confirmed by 48 votes to 17.

The Irish Education Bill, introduced by the new Chief Secretary, Mr. Jackson, also passed into law. Its object was to get to school some 110,000 to 120,000 children, who were habitual absentees. Accordingly, parents were to be compelled to send their children to school between six and fourteen years of age; children might not be employed at all under eleven, or above that age without a certificate of proficiency. The sum of £90,000 would be handed over to the teachers' pension fund as an equivalent for the English and Scottish fee grant, while £200,000 would be applied to increase the salaries of teachers and to create a higher standard of instruction in the smallest schools, and the balance would be utilised as a capitation grant. In return, school fees were to be abolished in all schools where they did not exceed six shillings a year per child. At first Mr. Sexton pronounced his objection to the Bill because it would exclude the schools conducted by the Christian Brothers; while others complained that compulsory attendance was unsuited to Ireland. Mr. Jackson declined to give way on the first point, on the ground that the Christian

Brothers could avail themselves of the Bill by complying with the rules of the Education Department. He promised, however, to provide for the proportional representation of the various religious denominations on the School Attendance Committees. Still Mr. Sexton continued obdurate, until the Chief Secretary agreed to a compromise in Committee, and the Bill was read a third time on June the 16th. It passed, after a somewhat perfunctory discussion, through its stages in the House of Lords.

Another useful measure, which became law without attracting much public attention, was the Scottish Education and Local Taxation Relief Bill. A somewhat curious incident attended its production. After the Lord Advocate had explained its provisions and they had been fully discussed, the authorities of the House discovered that the Bill ought to have been introduced in Committee, and a fresh start had to be made on the following day. The object of the Bill was to dispose of the sums paid over to the Scottish Local Taxation Account, which amounted to £110,000 for the past half year, and would in future total £265,000 per annum. The money for the present year would be handed over to the Town and County Councils, while future grants would be distributed as follows—£175,000 to local rates, £60,000 to secondary education, and £30,000 to the Scottish Universities. In the somewhat rambling debate which ensued the Scottish Members were by no means of one mind as to the relative claims of University and secondary education, and later the Government was advised to make the Bill a temporary edict only. Nevertheless, the argument that secondary education could not be introduced unless permanent funds were forthcoming, obviously was sound sense, and the second reading was carried by a majority of 58 (169 votes to 111). The debates in Committee were protracted, but no serious opposition was offered, and the Royal assent was secured before the end of the Session.

The Clergy Discipline Bill was introduced in the House of Lords, and passed through that Assembly without much criticism. On the second reading the Archbishop of Canterbury explained that the measure was not concerned with doctrine or ritual, and that it only affected clerical immorality. As the law now stood, a discredited clergyman could practically set his bishop at defiance, besides involving his ecclesiastical superiors in enormous legal expenses. Accordingly, the Bill proposed that the civil conviction for an offence should empower the ecclesiastical authorities to

deprive the criminous clerk of his benefice. Lord Grimthorpe detected in the proposal the influence of the English Church Union, to which organisation he attributed an imperious power over the episcopal bench. However, the general tone was decidedly favourable, and most people imagined that its progress through the House of Commons would be pacific enough. Such, however, was not the case, for when Mr. Balfour had moved the second reading in a temperate speech, Mr. Lloyd George, on behalf of the Welsh Members, moved a resolution that it was "no part of the functions of the State to attend to matters of spiritual discipline." They based their hostility, almost avowedly, less upon the merits of the Bill than upon the fact that it would indirectly strengthen the Welsh Church. Mr. Gladstone addressed an eloquent appeal to his followers not to push their objections to undue lengths. It was their sacred duty to the parishes of the country, said he, to secure that, so far as in them lay, the important office of clergymen was filled by men who did not degrade it by constant misuse. Nevertheless, the second reading was not carried without the aid of the closure (193 votes to 41) and when the Bill was referred to the Standing Committee on Law the obstruction became still more pronounced. Accordingly, on May the 20th, Mr. Balfour carried a resolution, whereby the Committee was enabled to sit every day until it had finished its consideration of the Bill, and a seven hours' sitting completed the business. However, the 12 o'clock rule had to be suspended, and the closure enforced once more, before the House of Commons was quit of the measure. The Conservative newspapers, as was perhaps natural, made a good deal of capital out of this Welsh revolt; its consequences, however, were not serious.

The Government was also successful with the Indian Councils Bill, the importance of which will be best discussed in connection with that Empire. Of the other measures promised in the Queen's Speech, nothing was done with the District Councils Bill; and the Bill enabling persons charged with an offence to give evidence on their own behalf passed the Lords, and reached the Committee stage in the Commons, when it was abandoned on the plea of want of time. The Bill to amend the procedure of Scottish and Irish private Bills was dropped before it had been read a second time, owing to the opposition of Mr. Healy. On the other hand, Lord Herschell was the fortunate sponsor of a Bill which rendered penal the incitement of "infants" to betting or

wagering or borrowing money. Several private Members also managed to get their Bills through both Houses; thus Colonel Dawnay carried his measure providing a close time for hares, and Mr. Provand was victorious with his Shop Hours

discussed, the speeches of Mr. A. C. Morton, in particular, although useful, being longer and more frequent than the occasion seemed to require.

The Army Estimates produced a most roseate statement from Mr. Stanhope, after that Mr.



INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Frith and Co., Reigate.)

Bill. It regulated the employment of women and children, and was received with cordial approval, though Mr. Matthews expressed a fear that big establishments would simply replace women by men, while struggling tradesmen would be injured. Amongst the Irish Members, Dr. Tanner was the successful introducer of a Labourers' Allotment Bill, and Mr. Pierce Mahoney of a Poor Law Amendment Bill. Supply was copiously

Hanbury had given vent to his familiar views as to extravagance, inefficiency, and want of organisation. The Secretary for War declared that we could put into the field a larger force of trained soldiers than at any time since the Peninsular campaigns. The Regulars had reached the total of 138,718, including officers, non-commissioned officers, and men; the Reserve would amount to 80,000 men by April, 1893, showing an increase

of 24,000 since 1886; the Militia were 105,000 strong, and the Volunteers 222,000. He pointed to the strengthening of the ports and coaling-stations at home and abroad, their equipment with breech-loading guns, and the provision of schemes of defence. Mr. Stanhope also asserted that sites had been purchased for the fortifications of London, and that the plans were ready. He alluded to the improved barrack-accommodation, and expressed his entire satisfaction with the Lee-Metford rifle and the new smokeless powder. At the same time, the recommendations of Lord Wantage's Committee with regard to the re-organisation of the War Office were apparently to be ignored.

The Navy Estimates, introduced by Lord George Hamilton on the following day (the 8th of March), gave an expenditure of £14,240,000 for the financial year 1892-93, besides £2,270,000 available under the Naval Defence Act. With this money the First Lord proposed to complete ten vessels; to proceed with twenty more which would be ready for sea in 1893-94; to lay down two ironclads in the dockyards, and one to be constructed by contract; and to begin ten first-class torpedo boats, also by contract. Seven ironclads were undergoing reconstruction. By means of the Naval Defence Act nine vessels would be finished and fifteen advanced. The chief criticism offered was that the programme of the Act had already drifted into arrears; however, the statement was generally accepted as satisfactory.

The same remark may be applied to Mr. Goschen's Budget, which was produced on the 11th of April. He could show a surplus of £224,000 only, and in the circumstances he was not prepared to offer any remissions or even reductions of taxation beyond a slight diminution of the fees payable on the renewal of patents. Meanwhile, he held forth hopes of various economies, including £50,000 a year saved by an arrangement with the Bank of England, though he warned the House that civil expenditure was on the increase. Education and the postal service accounted for an increase of £2,000,000 in the expenditure of that year, but they were both praiseworthy objects. When the resolutions were discussed, Sir William Harcourt censured the Chancellor for tampering with the Sinking Fund, and remitting taxation on the wealthier rather than the poorer classes. Mr. Goschen replied that the increase of the navy was an absolute necessity, and that reductions of the income tax and the relief of local rates affected others besides the rich.

Moreover, Sir William had neglected to take into account the £2,500,000 presented to the working classes under the free education scheme.

The imminence of the general election gave the abstract resolutions and private Bills brought forward in the House a certain importance as indicating the views of representative politicians on either side. Thus the division on the second reading of Mr. Leake's Miners' Eight Hours Bill showed a majority of no less than 112 in favour of the measure, though it was opposed by Mr. Burt in the name of the old Trade Unionists. Mr. Chamberlain approved of the principle, and argued that the hostility to State interference with adult labour was illogical. Payment of Members was advocated by Mr. Fenwick, who suggested £1 a day as a suitable allowance, but he suffered defeat by 227 votes against 162. It was noticed that, of the occupants of the front Opposition bench, he only secured the support of Sir George Trevelyan. Sir Walter Foster's motion for the repeal of the Septennial Act and establishment of shorter Parliaments was rejected by 188 votes to 142. Cross-voting was conspicuous on Sir A. K. Rollit's Bill to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women, which was rejected by a narrow majority of 23 (175 to 152). Mr. Balfour supported the measure as a private Member; but before the debate a powerful letter from Mr. Gladstone to Mr. Samuel Smith was published which expressed strong objections to it. The leader of the Opposition argued that it was illogical to exclude married women, and to admit the single, and that a vote practically implied the capacity to sit in the House, and to fill every office in the State. "I have no fear," he continued, "lest the woman should encroach upon the power of the man. The fear I have is lest we should invite her unwittingly to trespass upon the delicacy, the purity, the refinement, the elevation of her own nature, which are the present sources of its power." Among other significant Bills were Mr. Shaw Lefevre's for the Abolition of Plural Voting, Mr. Stansfeld's for the Amendment of the Registration Law, and Mr. R. G. Webster's resolution for the abolition of the illiterate vote. The first was defeated, but Mr. Stansfeld carried his second reading by no less than 295 votes to 88, and Mr. Webster, after an acrimonious discussion, found himself with 115 supporters against 50 opponents. Dr. Cameron produced a motion for the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, but it was defeated by 247 votes against 175, and of Irish proposals the most important, perhaps, was Mr.

O'Kelly's for the reinstatement of evicted tenants. Mr. T. Ellis advocated the establishment of a system of land tenure in Wales, similar to that existing in Ireland, but the Bill was thrown out by more than two to one, and Mr. Samuel Smith's motion for Welsh Disestablishment was rejected by 267 votes against 220.

Long before the Session came to an end, the interest of public affairs had shifted from Parliament to the platform. At first Government seemed disposed to stake its reputation upon the Irish Local Government Bill, in defence of which measure Mr. Goschen and the Chief Secretary, Mr. Jackson, delivered thoughtful speeches at Epsom and Leeds respectively. However, their offers to drop certain of the safeguards, particularly the cumulative vote, were not received with much cordiality by Mr. John Morley. Addressing an audience at Reading, he declared that though Government had invited the Gladstonians to make proposals for turning a bad Bill into a good one, it must do its own salvage. Similarly, Sir William Harcourt, speaking at Blackheath, declared that, if Government was going to the country on the Bill, all he could say was, "Amen, so be it." He sardonically excuplated Mr. Balfour from the reproaches that were being cast upon him by his followers. "Mr. Balfour did not do stupid things of his own accord. He was the victim of circumstances and of a party over which he had no control." By and by the Irish Local Government Bill was thrust out of sight altogether, and Conservative and Liberal Unionist orators reverted to Home Rule and the position of Ulster. Thus Mr. Chamberlain, addressing the Nonconformist Unionist Association of London during the Easter recess, declared that Dissenters were especially interested in two aspects of the Home Rule controversy. The first was its effect upon Protestants and Protestantism in Ireland; and the second was the methods and character of the men by whom the new doctrines had been promoted. Mr. John Morley, however, speaking at Sale, effected a diversion from the somewhat wearisome topic by taunting the Conservatives with their inability to produce a domestic policy, while he declared the Liberal party to be pledged to (1) Village Councils; (2) Land Legislation; (3) Enlarged Powers for the London County Council; (4) Licensing Reform; (5) Poor Law Reform, and, above all, (6) Home Rule. Mr. Balfour retorted that the Government had something to show for its six years of office, including an improved army, a strengthened navy,

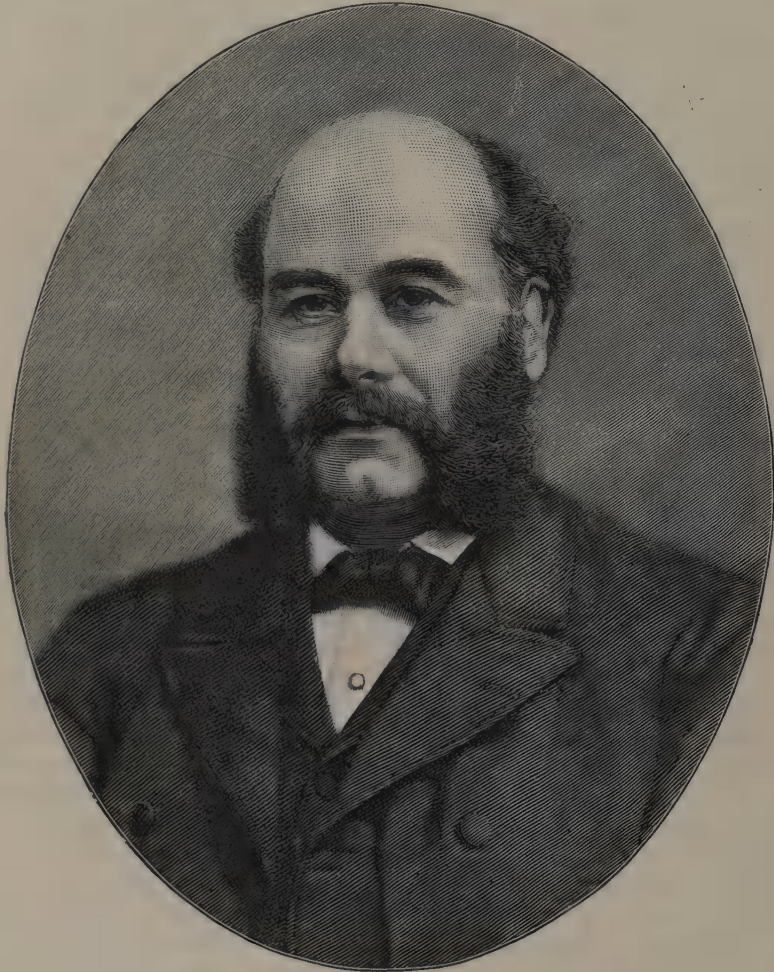
and Mr. Goschen's brilliant finance; and in a clever speech at a banquet given by the Merchant Taylors' Company he urged that social legislation must of necessity be of a tentative description. Other speeches of the Easter recess were Sir William Harcourt's at Ringwood, attacking Mr. Goschen's finance; a somewhat lukewarm pronouncement by Mr. Henry Fowler to his constituents on Home Rule; and the Duke of Devonshire's exposure at Derby of the opportunism by which he declared Sir William Harcourt to be influenced.

Though the exact date of the prorogation was unknown, it became very difficult to keep Members in the House. A vast amount of speechmaking, however, was done out of doors, and more particularly in London. A remarkable declaration was that of Mr. John Morley to the London Liberal and Radical Members and candidates, which contained the straightforward statements that Home Rule could not be shelved, and that the control and regulation of the conditions of labour, including wages and hours by the State, were inadmissible. Then came Lord Salisbury's startling speech to the Grand Council of the Primrose League, to which allusion has been made in connection with the Local Government Bill. It furnished a text for numerous Liberal utterances—notably Sir William Harcourt's at Bristol, and Lord Rosebery's at Edinburgh and Birmingham. In reply the Premier argued at Hastings that he had not urged Ulster to rebellion. Those who suggested that he had evoked or encouraged that danger against which he warned the country were as foolish as if they would say that a seaman who called out "Breakers ahead!" was to blame as the creator of the reefs upon which the ship was rushing. It was noticed that, though Mr. Gladstone declined to receive a deputation from the London Trades Council, which advocated an eight hours' day, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour were more complaisant, though they both expressed opinions adverse to the attainment of that object by a general legislative Act. On the same day (May 11th) a bye-election for North Hackney, consequent on the death of Sir Lewis Pelly, resulted in the return of the Conservative candidate, Mr. Bousfield, Q.C., by a majority of nearly 1,000 votes.

This event restored somewhat the hopes of the Conservative organisers, which had been seriously depressed by the elections for the London County Council just two months previously, which had been fought out avowedly on party lines. The preparations and energy of the Progressives were

far superior to those of their opponents. Accordingly they gained no less than 13 seats, the final figures being Progressives 83 and Moderates 35, exclusive of aldermen. With regard to the work accomplished it may be asserted that, allowing for inexperience, the County Council could show

gangways of places of amusement were certainly steps in the right direction. Perhaps the best work accomplished by the Council was in connection with open spaces. By timely interposition they prevented many a recreation ground in the suburbs of London from becoming the prey of the



MR. (AFTERWARDS SIR) JOHN HUTTON.

(From a Photograph by Russell and Sons, Baker Street, W.)

a remarkably creditable record. It may be that certain honest enthusiasts set themselves to reform the music-halls with more zeal than discretion. A blunder was certainly committed in the case of an acrobat named Zæo, and that lady received, in consequence, a tremendous advertisement; while a gentleman who discovered impropriety in a marionette exhibition was cast in damages by the aggrieved proprietor. Still the outcry raised by Conservative newspapers against these proceedings was absurdly exaggerated, and the regulations issued by the Council with regard to the exits and

speculative builder. Their finance was sound on the whole; and of the "betterment" principle advocated by the advanced section, whereby owners of houses were to pay a rate in consequence of improvements effected in the district, it could at least be said that it had worked well in America. The abandonment of the coal dues must be pronounced a mistake as judged by results, though in theory it was economically sound. The coal-merchants, popularly known as the "forty thieves," took care that the price of the article should not be lowered. Nevertheless, the County Council, by



GREAT UNIONIST DEMONSTRATION IN BELFAST. (See p. 471.)

a vigorous crusade, prevented customers from being defrauded any longer by short weights. Shortly before the dissolution of the Council, the Finance Committee recommended an increased rate of $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ to meet the additional expenditure of £231,500 incurred. This and other alleged extravagances formed the war cry during the campaign conducted on behalf of the Moderates by the Duke of Westminster, Lord Wemyss, Lord R. Churchill, and Sir Henry James. Somehow these aristocratic agitators missed their mark; and only cold comfort could be derived from the excuse that the Moderates had not voted, because the poll was held on a Saturday, when small shopkeepers are abnormally busy. Lord Rosebery had declined to stand, because the election was fought on party lines. Hence a new chairman was chosen in the person of Mr. John Hutton, the former vice-chairman, and the vacancy thus created was supplied by the Progressive nominee, Mr. Charles Harrison.

The Whitsuntide recess produced a copious outpouring of oratory, but the contributions to the topics of the hour were hardly novel. Already the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Gladstone had given the cue to their respective followers. The former, speaking at Glasgow, maintained that the Unionist alliance could show a creditable record of progress, and he urged that the Opposition had no definite programme. After the next election, if the Gladstonians succeeded in getting a majority, the remains of the Liberal party would present a spectacle, unprecedented in a constitutional country, of a body of men who had obtained a right to place their votes on the most vital question they would have to decide unconditionally in the hands of their leader, and who, upon every question that would be brought before them, would vote blindly and implicitly in deference to the mandates of their constituency. Mr. Gladstone, in a speech delivered at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, laid stress upon the importance of the Metropolitan elections, and reproved Lord Salisbury once more for his utterances about Ulster. What would have been the fate of an Irish popular leader, brought up before one of Lord Salisbury's magistrates, and prophesying from the popular side, just as Lord Salisbury had prophesied from the anti-popular side? Why, he would have received the utmost punishment that the law could inflict. When the holidays had begun, Mr. Morley made certain declarations at Exeter and Accrington on the Home Rule Bill of the future. He admitted that difficulties stood in the way, but he denied that a vestige of proof existed that Ulster,

under the plan, would be deprived of her civil and religious liberties. As for the supposed Home Rule secret, it was no secret at all. The Opposition meant, as in 1886, to create an Irish legislative body with a representative administration, though the Irish Members would be retained at Westminster, because the opinion of the country had pronounced distinctly and decidedly in that particular. Meanwhile, the Duke of Argyll at Leeds had submitted the promises of the Liberal party to somewhat vehement criticism, while Mr. Chamberlain at Smethwick had advocated the amendment of the Employers' Liability Act, and Mr. Balfour, at a banquet of the National Union of Conservative and Constitutional Associations, had sketched a programme for his party. It included several of the dropped measures of the Session—for instance, the Irish Local Government Bill, which, said Mr. Balfour, had been met "with a howl of stupid invective," the project for reforming Scottish Private Bill legislation, and the District Councils Bill. He also hinted at old age insurance and reform of the poor law, for London an alteration and enlargement of the incidence of taxation, a public works policy for Ireland and for Scotland. As for "one man, one vote," the Unionists, if they touched the franchise at all, would treat it as a whole. Thus Ireland could not go on receiving far more than her fair share, and London far less than her fair share of representation. On the 16th of June Mr. Gladstone consented to receive a deputation from the London Trades' Council on Eight Hours, but he resolutely declined to take up the idea, because he was bound in honour to Ireland.

But the chief event of the recess undeniably occurred in Ireland. There the course of affairs had tended to raise the spirits of the Unionists. The country was quiet, the Plan of Campaign discredited, and the Crimes Act suspended, except for purposes of change of venue and the conduct of secret inquiries. Moreover, the quarrel between Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites continued with unabated vigour, and the members of the latter party had also taken to falling out among themselves. The *casus belli* was the management of the *Freeman's Journal* newspaper, which was being reconstituted. In spite of Archbishop Walsh's efforts to keep the peace, recriminations broke out between Mr. Dillon and Mr. Healy at a meeting on May the 16th, and the lie direct was exchanged between other Irish Members of Parliament. Their worst enemies could hardly maintain that the Ulster Unionists were divided, or that they did not know

their own minds. Arrangements had been made for a great demonstration, but meanwhile there issued an almost unanimous appeal from the Nonconformist ministers of Ireland to their brethren across the Channel, against "any attempt to place the loyal Protestant inhabitants of Ireland under the domination of a Legislature which would mainly be composed of the two parties known as National and Parnellite Home Rulers, which are now contending for mastery." The demonstration took place at Belfast on the 17th of June. Nearly 12,000 delegates from various parts of Ulster assembled in a huge building erected for the purpose. The Duke of Abercorn presided, and proceedings began with a prayer offered by the Lord Primate of Ireland. The Duke's speech was brief and to the point, his chief argument being that whereas Mr. Gladstone in former years had devoted friends and adherents in the North of Ireland, they had joined the Unionists because they denounced and detested Mr. Gladstone's policy, knowing that it would bring a curse upon their country. What filled Ulstermen with indignation was that this plot of Home Rule was being hatched in darkness. It would not bear the light of day; it would not stand a searching investigation, because if it were examined it would be discovered to be a base fraud upon the unsuspecting electorate of England and upon the susceptible Nationalist party in Ireland. The whole audience cheered most lustily the closing words of the Duke's peroration, which were—"Men of the North, once more I say, we will not have Home Rule." The resolution, which was proposed by Sir William Ewart and seconded by Mr. Thomas Sinclair, set forth the devoted loyalty of Ulster Unionists to the Crown, the deplorable consequences of an Irish Parliament, and their determination "to have nothing to do" with an assembly "certain to be controlled by men responsible for the crime and outrage of the Land League, the dishonesty of the Plan of Campaign, and the cruelties of boycotting, many of whom have shown themselves the ready instruments of clerical domination." Several of the subsequent speeches were directed against clerical government, and Mr. Sinclair explained the tactics by which Ulster would meet a Dublin Parliament. "If it ever be set up," he said, "we shall simply ignore it. Its Acts will simply be as waste paper, its police will find our barracks occupied with our own constabulary, its judges will sit in empty court-houses. The early efforts of the executive will be spent in devising means to deal with a passive resistance to its taxation,

co-extensive with loyalist Ireland." Dr. Lynd, a Presbyterian divine, followed with a passionate appeal to his Nonconformist brethren in Great Britain. "We pray to God Almighty," he concluded, "that in mercy He may avert the baneful omens of disaster which threaten our beloved country; but, trusting in His strength, we say of Home Rule as Lord Macaulay said of O'Connell's demand for Repeal—'Never! never! never!'" Besides the Convention, three meetings were held in the Botanical Gardens, at which resolutions against Home Rule were carried with unanimity.

While a thin House was winding up the business of the Session, the preparations for the general election were going on apace. On the whole, it may be said that the Unionists were more confident than in the beginning of the year, but that the Liberals were animated by a larger enthusiasm. At best the Government expected to return with a reduced majority, while some of the Opposition calculations reckoned the Gladstonian superiority at 120 votes. But the uncertainty of the issue found expression in the *Times*, whose special correspondent, after a series of elaborate inquiries, gave the probable results as Conservatives 254, Liberal Unionists 42, Liberals 200, Irish Nationalists 82, with a large margin of 92 doubtful seats. The electoral addresses appeared in the third week in June, Mr. John Morley's being the first in the field. Though peers were not supposed to take part in popular contests, Lord Salisbury boldly issued an address to the electors of the United Kingdom. He dwelt upon the social legislation accomplished by his party, as shown in the establishment of local government in England and Scotland, the gift of free education, and the relief of chronic suffering in Ireland. A sound system of finance had enabled the Ministry to reduce taxation, while dealing effectively with difficult social questions, and at the same time to provide for the fleet and armaments of the country an unexampled material strength. The Government, he maintained, had shown by experience that, under the existing system, Ireland could be maintained in peace and order; that under a steady Government the interests of all classes had been protected, and confidence and prosperity and progress had returned. "You are asked to shatter these results; to try in Ireland a mode of government that has never been tried before, but whose working many sinister memories in this and other lands will help us to forecast; and for this purpose to subjugate the people who are bound most closely by history and kinship to the inhabitants of Great

Britain, and to fasten on their necks a yoke which they abhor." Mr. Chamberlain's address struck a very similar note, and he pointed out, in addition, that Home Rule could not be a final settlement. He hoped that the Local Government Bill might become law in the next Parliament. That measure had been delayed by the threatened obstruction of the Gladstonian and Home Rule party, which was wholly directed against the necessary and reasonable precautions which were taken to prevent injustice to the minority.

Mr. John Morley's address dwelt also upon the supreme importance of the Irish question, but in a very different sense. "It will still manifestly be my duty," he wrote, "first and foremost to aid in prosecuting the great cause of the better government of Ireland to such an issue as shall relieve the Imperial Parliament from a distracting and obstructive burden, and at the same time shall enlist the capacity and energy of Irishmen in the orderly government of their own country." Mr. Morley declared that the only alternative which Parliament had been able to devise—perpetual coercion as a permanent instrument of government—was a breach of solemn pledges. For Great Britain he was in favour of an inquiry into the working of the Poor Law, Local Option, Parish Councils, fuller powers for the London County Council, Welsh and Scottish disestablishment, electoral reform, and the reform of the land laws—in other words, the Newcastle programme. Mr. Gladstone's manifesto was preceded by a mysterious consultation between its author and the Irish leaders, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Healy, and Mr. Dillon. They professed themselves perfectly satisfied with his explanations and an understanding that any disclosure of the Home Rule Bill was premature was apparently effected. At any rate the Liberal leader confined himself to a promise, which was never fulfilled, that he would shortly give "an outline of the proposal for which the Liberal party had unitedly contended for the last six years." He charged Government with being the real authors of the Plan of Campaign, by their alternate denunciation and enforcement of coercion, and he attributed the fact that Ireland was apparently calm "to the frank concession of Home Rule, sheltered by the Imperial supremacy," which the Liberals had promised. He declared it to be a just grievance that Scotland and Wales, "where the public sense has constitutionally declared itself against the maintenance of the respective religious establishments, should be overridden by

English votes." Mr. Gladstone expressed himself in favour of (1) an extension of the powers of the London County Council in the matters of the police and licensing; (2) electoral reform, including a sound and easy system of registration and "one man, one vote"; (3) liquor law reform by the establishment of a representative licensing authority and the grant of local option. As for the Eight Hours question, he expressed a hope of having an early opportunity of conference about it with his constituents. Mr. Gladstone concluded with a dignified expression of gratitude for the overwhelming majority with which he had been hitherto supported, and he pathetically remarked that "In this, the sixtieth year of my political life, I necessarily feel that this must be the last General Election at which I can expect to solicit your suffrage, and that now but a small and special share can belong to me in the work I have been endeavouring to sketch out."

The electoral campaign lasted for nearly three weeks, and it was fought with the utmost vigour on these definite lines. Of the Liberal Unionists whose extinction as a political party was predicted by some Opposition specialists, Mr. Goschen, having no contest for the Hanover Square Division, was the most active. The Duke of Devonshire made several weighty speeches, and Mr. Chamberlain rallied his followers in the Midlands. His cordial relationship with Lord Salisbury found a somewhat curious expression in some remarks at Coventry, where he expressed a warm approval of the latter's foreign policy and declared the hopes expressed by France and Russia that Mr. Gladstone would return to power, to be ominous of mischief both in Egypt and Turkey. Mr. Balfour was the most prominent of the Conservatives, and he made speeches at Northwich and Leeds before betaking himself to Manchester. Meanwhile, Mr. Gladstone had begun his series of speeches at Chester, where a woman, apparently beside herself with excitement, hit him in the eye, as he drove through the city, with a piece of gingerbread. Though in some pain, he appeared at the Liberal Club, and gave a most hopeful anticipation of the elections. His most significant remark, however, was that the rejection of a Home Rule Bill by the House of Lords would afford no occasion or justification of a dissolution. Also he appeared to place Welsh disestablishment next in importance to Home Rule. Arrived in Midlothian the veteran statesman defined the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament under his scheme as analogous to the control exercised over the self-governing colonies.

Otherwise, he confined himself both there and at Glasgow to such generalities as the unreality of the Ulster alarms, the declining power of the Irish priesthood, and some satirical remarks on Sir Lintorn Simmons's mission to the Pope, in which he was afterwards convicted of certain inaccuracies. It was noticed that Mr. Gladstone was rather apprehensive of the separate organisation of the Labour candidates, but he declined to pledge

turned almost entirely upon Disestablishment, Home Rule occupying a secondary place. In Ireland the struggle between Anti-Parnellites and Parnellites was of the bitterest and most personal character. The subsequent trials of election petitions showed that, in several constituencies at least, clerical influence was exercised most unscrupulously on behalf of the former. The "corner boys," or street ruffians attached to the



THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1892: ANNOUNCING RESULTS AT THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB.

himself to an Eight Hours Bill. The question was altogether premature in its universal aspects; and if even unanimity prevailed in a particular district, he would like to see local option, in order to avoid interference with individual freedom. As the seat was considered perfectly safe, attention was turned to Newcastle, where Mr. John Morley was opposed by Mr. Hamond, a candidate of great popularity and rather elastic views, supported by the strong influence of Mr. Joseph Cowen, who had broken with the Liberal party. Though much pressure was put upon Mr. Morley to induce him to accept eight hours, he sturdily refused to budge one inch, nor would he modify his views on Free Trade. In Wales the elections

latter, were the cause of several dangerous riots, and, but for the police, Mr. Dillon, Mr. William O'Brien, and Mr. Davitt would have suffered serious injury. As it was, the first was besieged in his house, and the last wounded by a black-thorn at Navan; while it required a large force of police and a hundred soldiers to protect Mr. O'Brien at Cork.

The first elections took place on July the 4th, and the returns showed a gain for the Liberals of thirteen seats, which had increased by the end of the week to twenty-four, including two seats in Wales. On the other hand, the Unionists profited by the Nationalist split by winning three seats in Ireland, the most important being West Belfast.

whence Mr. Arnold-Forster ousted Mr. Sexton. The most marked Liberal successes were in the dock-yard towns, and in London they increased their numbers from eleven to twenty-five. The most important Conservative reverse was in the Tower Hamlets, where Mr. Benn, of the London County Council, defeated Mr. Ritchie, the President of the Local Government Board. Two Labour Members were returned in the persons of Mr. John Burns for Battersea, and Mr. Keir Hardie for West Ham; while Mr. Naoroji, a Parsee, whose candidature had not been altogether to Mr. Schnadhorst's liking, carried Central Finsbury by five votes only. *Per contra*, a Liberal Unionist, Lord Wolmer, won a seat at Edinburgh, and the Liberal majorities in the other seats were materially reduced, and after a scrutiny Sir Thomas Sutherland, also a Liberal Unionist, retained his seat for Greenock. In the Midlands, Mr. Chamberlain's ascendancy remained quite untouched, and the Unionists also won three seats—at Walsall, Wednesbury, and Wolverhampton. A reduction of the Liberal majorities occurred at Leeds, though the representation remained unaltered; nor were the Liberals' assaults on Liverpool and Manchester successful. However, they gained seats at Salford, Oldham, and Stockport, while the loss of York was balanced by the gain of a seat at Hull. At Newcastle Mr. John Morley paid for his political rectitude by finding himself second on the poll to Mr. Hamond, who thereby won a seat for the Conservatives.

So far the Liberal gains had hardly come up to expectation, and the starting of Labour candidates had resulted in the loss of one or two seats, for instance, Mr. C. S. Parker's at Perth. The chief reliance of the Liberals, however, was fixed upon the counties, and they were not disappointed, for though the Conservatives made a fair stand, the Liberal Unionists suffered severely. The Government lost five seats in Lancashire, four in Yorkshire, three in Norfolk—where Mr. Joseph Arch retrieved a reverse suffered in 1885—and two in Lincolnshire, Devon, Somerset, and Wilts. The defeat of Mr. Walter Long, the Secretary of the Local Government Board, for the Devizes division of the last county, formed one of the surprises of the election. In Wales, nineteen Liberals were returned, and five additional seats were won in Scotland. Nevertheless, the Unionists were able to congratulate themselves upon a surprising reduction of Mr. Gladstone's majority. His opponent, Colonel Wauchope, had been steadily canvassing the Church party, whereas

the Premier's supporters took matters very easily. The result was that the majority of 4,631 in 1885 was reduced to one of under 700, no less than 2,000 votes being deducted from one side and added to the other. This untoward event, however, happened too late in the struggle to exercise a contagious effect upon other constituencies. It may, however, have accounted for some isolated reverses, for example, that of Sir John Swinburne in the Lichfield division of Staffordshire at the hands of Major Darwin. In Ireland the Parnellites were almost annihilated, their numbers being reduced from thirty-one to five, though the election petitions afterwards raised their numbers to eight, and the Unionists gained one or two more seats. The final totals were Liberals, 274, Anti-Parnellites, 73, Parnellites, 8, or 355 in all, as against Conservatives, 269, and Liberal Unionists, 46, or 315 altogether. That is to say, a majority of 66 against Home Rule had been converted into one of 40 in its favour. Though the Liberal Unionists had not disappeared, their numbers had been seriously reduced, but Mr. Gladstone had no majority independent of the Irish vote.

Though the *Sun*, a Radical paper, edited by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, asserted that "the long pull" in public-houses had turned many contests in favour of the Conservatives, the election petitions, which, in due course, came up for trial scarcely substantiated the theory. On the whole, the probability was that the battle was waged on both sides with an exceptional regard to the rules of the game, so far as Great Britain was concerned. Several petitions were withdrawn before they could be laid before the Judges, and five were dismissed. That against Mr. Balfour's return collapsed completely, the principal witness for the petitioners, a hair-cutter called Green, admitting under cross-examination that he was to receive £200 for his evidence. Even in the cases of Mr. James, who was unseated for Walsall, and Mr. Clayton, whose election for the Hexham division of Northumberland was voided, the breaches of the Corrupt Practices Act were hardly flagrant. The former had provided hat-cards, which were worn by his supporters, and unauthorised agents of the latter had been injudicious in the matter of Primrose League teas and entertainments. In both cases the candidates were acquitted of any personal corruption. With regard to Central Finsbury the Conservatives demanded a scrutiny; but after a trial of strength lasting for several days Mr. Naoroji retained his seat. In Ireland, on the other hand, clerical intimidation was proved

to have been widely prevalent, particularly in county Meath, where the two Anti-Parnellite candidates, Mr. Davitt and Mr. Fullam, were unseated. In his judgment on the South Meath petition, Mr. Justice O'Brien commented severely upon the pressure exercised; and it appeared that priests had acted as personation agents at the booths, that they had canvassed in the confessional, denounced the Parnellite candidates from the altar, and excluded Parnellite voters from the Mass. Further, the bishop of the diocese, Dr. Nulty, had issued a pastoral, wherein occurred the trenchant passage, "The dying Parnellite himself will hardly dare to face the justice of his Master until he has been prepared and anointed by us for the last awful struggle, and the terrible judgment that will immediately follow it."

Meanwhile Lord Salisbury had determined not to resign, but to await the verdict of the House of Commons. This decision, though somewhat criticised at the time, was strictly according to precedent, more especially as Mr. Balfour had promised, before the Dissolution, that Parliament should be convoked as soon as possible after the elections. Accordingly, the usual notices were issued for August the 4th, and during the brief interval several of the Liberal groups lost no time in expressing their views. It could not be said that the theory broached by Mr. Labouchere in *Truth*, that Home Rule ought to be postponed in favour of English reforms, met with much encouragement; and Mr. William O'Brien, speaking at Mallow, roundly declared that if Home Rule was shunted, the Liberal Government would be expelled from office. On the other hand, the Welsh Members had an interview with Sir William Harcourt, and it was understood that they secured for Disestablishment a prominent place in the Liberal programme. When the Queen's Speech was divulged it proved to be a very brief document, merely stating the fact that, as the current business had been completed previous to the dissolution, a prolonged session was unnecessary at that unusual period of the year. "It is Her Majesty's hope that when you meet again at the customary season, you will again direct your attention to measures of social and domestic improvement, and that you will continue to advance in the path of usefulness and beneficent legislation, which has been so judiciously followed in previous sessions." The Address was moved in the House of Lords by the Earl of Denbigh, and seconded by the Earl of Powis. They had evidently received the cue to endeavour to extract

from the Opposition some indication of its intentions. However, Lord Kimberley was not to be drawn, as he briefly declined to enter into a discussion at all, on the ground that there was no Queen's Speech, no amendment, and nothing to criticise. Nor were the efforts of Lord Cowper and Lord Northbrook more successful, since nobody rose to reply on the Opposition benches. Accordingly, Lord Salisbury remarked that the policy of his Government not having been attacked, he was not concerned in its defence. He admitted that the House of Commons represented the United Kingdom, but he considered that the House of Lords was nearly representative of Great Britain, and he predicted that next year the centre of action would be found within that Assembly. Finally, in answer to a challenge of the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Herschell arose and remarked, pointedly enough, that the Opposition might be legitimately catechised when it had entered upon official responsibilities, but as the Liberal peers were only private Members, they must decline to be drawn into premature and partial discussions. Thereupon the Address was agreed to without a division.

In the House of Commons the first business was the re-election of the Speaker, Mr. Peel, who was proposed by Sir M. White Ridley, and seconded by Mr. Gladstone in a speech of graceful compliment. The usual preliminaries disposed of, Mr. Dunbar Barton, an Ulsterman, moved the Address, which was seconded by Mr. W. H. Cross. They eulogised the outgoing Administration, referring especially to the strengthening of the army and navy, and Mr. Barton called upon Mr. Gladstone to disclose the main features of the Home Rule Bill. Then Mr. Asquith rose and moved the fateful amendment—"We feel it, however, to be our duty humbly to submit to your Majesty that it is essential that your Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this House and of the country, and respectfully to represent to your Majesty that that confidence is not reposed in your Majesty's present advisers." In a closely reasoned speech Mr. Asquith pointed out that the majority of 1886 had disappeared, and that the mandate of 1886 had been revoked. He also scored a clever point by arguing that true Unionism had no business to taunt Mr. Gladstone with dependence on the Irish party. As for the allegation that the verdict had not been obtained by legitimate means, he insisted that on no previous occasion had the general issue before the country been more plainly defined by both parties

in the State. After a brief speech from Mr. Burt, the seconder of the amendment, Mr. Goschen proceeded to quote Mr. Asquith's speech at Leeds in January, 1890, in which he had urged that if the country was kept in ignorance of the kind of Home Rule that Mr. Gladstone projected, it could not be regarded as having declared for the plan ultimately produced. He then pointed out that the issue of Home Rule had not been before the country, and Government noted with satisfaction that they had a majority in Great Britain. A majority of the electors of Ireland had pronounced in favour of the repeal of the Union and something more; but the majority of the electors of Great Britain had emphatically endorsed the view that separation between the Legislatures of England and Ireland should not take place. There followed two remarkable speeches from the rival Irish leaders, Mr. Justin McCarthy and Mr. Redmond. The first demanded that Home Rule should be pressed forward with all possible energy, and that, if rejected by the Upper House, it should be kept in the front of the Liberal programme until it became law. He also requested (1) an inquiry into the evicted tenants; (2) a suspension of the Coercion Act until it was removed from the Statute Book; (3) a reconsideration of the cases of the political prisoners. Mr. Redmond went a step farther still, and he directly challenged the front Opposition bench to dispel the doubts that existed among a large section of the Irish people. He declared that the minimum of Home Rule that could be accepted as a final settlement was that laid down by Mr. Parnell in his speech of January 25th, 1891. While the Irish Parliament existed, the power of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for Ireland must never be used. He also claimed that the veto of the Crown should only be exercised in accordance with the advice of the Irish Executive, and the questions of the land, the police, the judiciary, and the magistracy must be included in the Bill. He suggested an autumn Session for the passing of a Bill reinstating the evicted tenants, and he advocated the immediate consideration of the case of the political prisoners with a view to their release.

With consummate strategy Mr. Gladstone took no notice of Mr. Redmond's inconvenient questions, but he read out a written reply to Mr. McCarthy's requests. The Coercion Act should not remain on the Statute Book a moment longer than the conditions of Parliamentary time would enable it to be removed. When invested with official responsibility, the Liberal leaders were prepared to

consider the question of the political prisoners, and he promised an inquiry into the treatment of the evicted tenants. Possibly the landlords might yet be induced to make voluntary arrangements. If not, legislation would become necessary. With regard to Home Rule he again promised that the Irish Members should be retained at Westminster, but that was his only positive announcement. Indeed, his contention throughout was that there were no materials for debate at all, and that the present proceedings were anomalous. The coming Government must be judged by its own words and acts, not by what might be attributed to it while it was a "nebular hypothesis." He objected to Mr. Goschen's analysis of the Liberal majority, remarking that, though Ireland had by far the greater interest in Home Rule, that was only a reason why England should approach the question in a sympathetic spirit. He taunted Government with the want of success and the gross illegalities that had attended its Irish policy, and he solemnly warned the House of Lords against the consequences of rejecting the Home Rule Bill. If it were thrown out, he intimated, as in Scotland, that he would not resign, but would proceed to other measures. The most remarkable passage in the concluding portion of his speech ran: "It would be most imprudent if the party opposite or any party in this country ever came to place undue reliance on what I admit to be the enormous, the overpowering strength of England, as against the comparatively insignificant strength of the other members of the combination. It would be most unfortunate in the sense of being most impolitic, for it would lead to trouble—I mean Parliamentary trouble—for I am not resorting to threats. But Parliamentary trouble would arise, and policy and prudence, I think, alike demand that England, with her vast and overwhelming strength, should be merciful and considerate in the use of that strength. Yes, sir, for after all, moral force in some of these great national causes will fight no unequal battle with a force that is material. It is moral and not material force that has brought the Irish claims to their present position."

Mr. Balfour retorted that a more infelicitous adjective than "moral" could not possibly have been used to express the influence of the Nationalist party on Irish affairs during the last twelve years. He declared that the debate would have been amply justified, if only by the speeches of Mr. McCarthy, Mr. Redmond, and Mr. Gladstone himself. After a spirited defence of his Irish administration, Mr. Balfour proceeded to justify

the refusal of Government to resign without meeting the House. They might be in a minority, but it was by no means certain who were in a majority, since the Opposition was divided into three sections under different leaders. Mr. Gladstone had resisted any attempt to analyse the Opposition or to suggest that it was ruled by the Irish party, and yet he had himself prayed in 1885 to be made independent of the Irish vote, urging that it would not be safe to enter upon the consideration of a measure in respect of which, at the first step of its progress, the Irish party could say, "Unless you do this or unless you do that, we will turn you out to-morrow." Mr. Balfour described the two sections of the Irish party as "that which had been squared, and that which had not," and he wanted to know why Mr. Redmond's pointed questions had not been answered. He warned the Opposition that the proposed repeal of the Crimes Act would cause the administration of Ireland to be exceedingly difficult; and he expressed curiosity as to the price paid for the compact between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. McCarthy, which apparently included the release of Daly and the other dynamiters. With regard to the evicted tenants, he reminded the House that over 3,000 men were in possession of farms whence their predecessors had been ejected. He concluded with the remark that the beaten party looked forward with hope and confidence to the future, while the victors anticipated that same future with perplexity and dismay. On the last night Mr. Chamberlain resumed the debate with a powerful speech, which Mr. Healy, somewhat rashly, had attempted to suppress. "Whenever it is desired to exhibit

personal discourtesy towards any man," remarked Mr. Chamberlain—and he added, after a pause, "or any woman—the honourable and learned Member always presents himself to accomplish it." Encouraged by vociferous Conservative cheers, the Member for West Birmingham proceeded to show in how anomalous a condition the country was to be placed, by a defeat which would instal new Ministers, of whose intentions no clue was given, and upon whose actions no effective criticism could be passed for six months to come. Supposing, for instance, that the policy of evacuating Egypt was really pursued, the Government might find itself in a minority of 100, instead of 40, like Lord Salisbury's Administration, and yet an irretrievable step would have been taken. He commented forcibly on the silence of the Welsh and Labour Members, and the English Home Rulers who were for an effective supervision of the Irish Government, and he noticed an extraordinary discrepancy between Mr. Gladstone's policy and that of Mr. Labouchere, who was presumably destined for office. No reply, however, was elicited from the front Opposition bench, either by Mr. Chamberlain or afterwards by Sir Henry James. As one or two Ministerialists had not arrived, Mr. Chaplin was put up to talk against time, and the House became rather restless. Finally the division was taken amidst great excitement, and the Opposition was discovered to have a majority of exactly 40, (350 to 310). The excellence of the whipping was proved by the circumstance that there were only three absentees—Mr. Curran, who was in Australia, and two invalids, Mr. Wharton and Mr. Winterbotham, who had paired.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Mr. Gladstone's New Ministry—The Cabinet—Minor Appointments—Mr. Labouchere's Revelations—The Newcastle Election—Lord Houghton's State Entry—The Evicted Tenants Commission—The Opening Proceedings—Release of the Gweedore Prisoners—A Christmas Eve Outrage—The Trades Union Congress—Mr. Chamberlain's Programme—Home Rule Contributions—Mr. John Morley's Hint—Sir Edward Reed's Manifesto—Two Speeches from Mr. Gladstone—The Agricultural Conference—Bimetallism—Lord Kimberley at Guildhall—Mr. Fowler and the Unemployed—The Aged and Deserving Poor—The Report on General Booth's Scheme—Hadleigh Farm—Failure of the Liberator Building Society—Run on the Birkbeck Bank—Obituary of the Year.

THE adjournment of the House was moved for a week, and Mr. Gladstone proceeded to form his new Ministry, the Queen having graciously dispensed with a visit to Osborne. The first appointments showed that Mr. Gladstone would rely, for the most part, upon his colleagues of 1886. He himself became First Lord of the Treasury, and Lord Privy Seal as well. According to general expectation, Lord Herschell was again Lord Chancellor, Mr. John Morley Irish Secretary, and Sir William Harcourt Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman became Secretary for War again, Sir G. Trevelyan Secretary for Scotland, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre First Commissioner of Works. After a perceptible hitch, due, it was said, to the necessity of coming to an understanding with the Premier about Egypt, Lord Rosebery undertook the Foreign Office. Lord Ripon went to the Colonial Office; and in Lord Kimberley was effected the unusual amalgamation of Secretary for India and President of the Council. The reason of this arrangement was seen when Mr. Arthur Acland became Vice-President of the Council with a seat in the Cabinet; while another new man, Mr. Asquith, received the important post of Home Secretary. After some delay Lord Spencer became First Lord of the Admiralty; and the other Cabinet Ministers were Mr. Mundella, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. Bryce, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Mr. Fowler, President of the Local Government Board; and Mr. Arnold Morley, Postmaster-General—seventeen altogether. Sir Lyon Playfair and Mr. Cyril Flower were raised to the Upper House; and Mr. Stansfeld was understood to have declined that honour. Of the Ministers outside the Cabinet, Sir Charles Russell, the Attorney-General, was thought to have received less than his deserts; and Mr. Rigby became Solicitor-General. Several rising men were created Under-Secretaries: for instance, Sir E. Grey (Foreign Affairs), Mr. G. Russell (India), Mr. Sidney Buxton (the Colonies). Few appointments

were more generally popular than those of Mr. Burt, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and Sir Walter Foster, who filled the corresponding place at the Local Government Board. Mr. Gladstone had apparently some difficulty in finding a Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Houghton, his final choice, had played no part in politics, though he was known as the writer of some graceful verse.

The omissions that created most surprise were those of Professor Stuart and Mr. Labouchere, both of whom had been freely mentioned as possible Postmasters-General. The former held his tongue, but Mr. Labouchere took his revenge by publishing in *Truth* an account of an interview with an "emissary" from 1, Carlton Gardens, who was understood to be Mr. Bertram Currie. This go-between, according to Mr. Labouchere, suggested that the Member for Northampton should write a letter to Mr. Gladstone, saying that he wished not to take office because he felt that he would be more useful below the gangway. He added that Mr. Labouchere was one of Mr. Gladstone's chief difficulties, and hinted that in a Monarchical country the Ministry had to be chosen to please the Sovereign. As such a disclosure would have been entirely unconstitutional, it was obvious that the "emissary" must have exceeded his instructions, and in a correspondence afterwards published, Mr. Gladstone flatly denied that the Queen had anything to do with the business at all. Mr. Labouchere, however, stuck to his text, and he took occasion to criticise the new Ministry in *Truth* with refreshing candour. He expressed, indeed, confidence in Sir William Harcourt, but considered that Lord Rosebery, "a Tory watchdog," should never have been sent to the Foreign Office.

The new Ministers were opposed, on offering themselves for re-election, in two instances only, but the Unionist managers did not countenance the attempt of Mr. Farmer Atkinson, a rather irresponsible politician, to wrest the seat at

Derby from Sir William Harcourt. Strange to say, he actually received 1,619 votes against the 6,508 bestowed on the Chancellor of the Exchequer. At Newcastle, however, Mr. John Morley had to wage a serious contest against Mr. Ralli, who had previously reduced the Liberal majority at Gateshead. The latter underwent a somewhat tardy conversion upon the Eight Hours question, and he received support from Mr. Keir Hardie. Mr. Morley, however, declined to depart from his principles, and boldly sent a Labour deputation unsatisfied away. Besides he insisted that Home Rule was the test-question of the election, though upon that matter he scarcely found a very strong advocate in Mr. Fowler. The Irish Members, said the President of the Local Government Board, were a power at Westminster which they could not despise. He did not like it, any more than they did, and Irish affairs must be relegated to their proper place. But he was "an English Nonconformist, and would be no party to any measure which would in the slightest degree contain the possibility of inflicting any disadvantage on any of his fellow-subjects on account of their religious faith." Finally, Mr. Morley's courage and consistency were rewarded by a majority of 1,739 (12,983 to 11,244), Mr. Ralli's poll showing a remarkable decrease on Mr. Hamond's. The idea of subjecting Mr. Gladstone to another contest, though for a moment entertained, was very properly abandoned.

Mr. John Morley promptly proceeded to Dublin, and plunged into the difficulties of Irish administration. His first proceeding was to abandon the few provisions of the Crimes Act that still remained in operation, and to rely instead on the ordinary law. Meanwhile, the State entry of the Lord-Lieutenant had not been altogether auspicious, since none of the Parliamentary leaders were present, and the crowd was politely indifferent rather than enthusiastic. The Dublin Corporation decided by a majority of 1 not to present an address of welcome, and Lord Houghton felt bound to decline to receive two other addresses because they contained references to Home Rule, and other controversial matters. The bodies that drew up these documents, the Dublin Chamber of Commerce and the Methodists of Ireland, not unnaturally felt themselves aggrieved, but refused to alter their addresses. It was not until the 26th of September that Mr. Morley announced, in a letter to Mr. Justin McCarthy, that a small Royal Commission would be appointed to deal with the Evicted Tenants Commission.

Both the Irish parties had, during the interval, been keeping that topic prominently before the people, and, in addition, the Parnellites were loudly demanding the release of the dynamiters. Mr. Patrick O'Brien went so far as to declare that the evicted tenants had better retake their homes by force, "and then let Mr. Morley, if he cares to do so, come along with Balfour's Coercion Act and turn them out." Mr. Dillon, however, preached moderation, and his advice carried weight with his party, which refrained during the remainder of the year from inflammatory harangues. The Parnellites, on the other hand, issued a manifesto for the reorganisation of the National League, on the ground that the Nationalist cause was never more in danger than when a British Government professed to be friendly; and later they held an imposing demonstration on the occasion of the anniversary of their leader's death, at which the irreducible minimum of Home Rule was stated in forcible terms. This necessitated a counter-manifesto by Mr. McCarthy's followers, and both sides proceeded to collect funds for the coming Parliamentary campaign.

The Evicted Tenants Commission was gazetted on October the 14th, when its president was found to be Mr. Justice Mathew, and the other members were Mr. Redington, Mr. Murphy, Mr. Morrrough O'Brien, and Mr. J. Roche, Q.C. At the outset, the Unionist press, both in Ireland and England, raised a vigorous outcry, because the terms of reference excluded all inquiry into the cause of evictions—thereby confounding good landlords with bad—and appeared to assume, as a matter of course, that the tenants were to be reinstated. On the other hand, it was pointed out that speed was essential to the Commission, and so its investigators could not be allowed to travel too far afield. Nevertheless the opening proceedings of Mr. Justice Mathew did not tend to that calmness of temper which is essential to the rapid dispatch of business. Some strong observations on Lord Clanricarde were warmly resented by Mr. Carson, Q.C., who represented that nobleman; and Mr. Carson emphatically denied the president's statement that the landlords wished the inquiry to be held privately. The latter decided that the tenant's evidence should have precedence of the landlord's, and that cross-examination should only be permitted by means of questions put through the Commissioners. Accordingly when Mr. Carson rose to cross-examine, he was required to resume his seat, and was eventually ordered to withdraw. He retorted that he would gladly do so, as the

inquiry was simply a sham and a farce; whereupon Sir James Mathew characterised his observations and those of Mr. Kenny, Q.C., who had expressed his agreement, as "impertinent and disgraceful." Though the president had obviously the power to regulate procedure, and though he acted strictly in accordance with precedent, on the following day Mr. Murphy resigned because he disagreed on the question of cross-examination. Simultaneously Mr. O'Brien resigned, his reason being that he was appointed a Land Commissioner, and, shortly afterwards, the landlords in a body declined to lay evidence before the Commission. Their reasons were that the tenants might make what statements they pleased, without fear of cross-examination, and with the help of "leading questions" put by the president and other members of the Commission; whereas the other side would be "subject to a severe cross-examination by experienced counsel on behalf of the tenants in the person of the president and other members of the Commission." Nevertheless, the Commission, now reduced to three, continued to take evidence vigorously, though its report was deferred until the following year.

On the 23rd of December Mr. Morley ordered the release of four of the Gweedore prisoners, who had pleaded guilty to the murder of Inspector Martin, while an intimation was made at the same time that no other criminals would be set free. His obduracy in the case of the dynamiters was apparently resented by some secret society, for on Christmas Eve a violent explosion wrecked the Dublin Detective Office, situated in the heart of the city and close to the Castle and municipal buildings. Considerable damage in the way of broken glass was done in the neighbourhood, and the evidence went to show that the destruction wrought would have been greater but for Detective Synott, who moved the infernal machine from the wall to the edge of the pavement. There it went off, killing the unfortunate officer. An inquiry was at once held under the Explosives Act, but though several persons were detained on suspicion, the perpetrator of the outrage remained undiscovered.

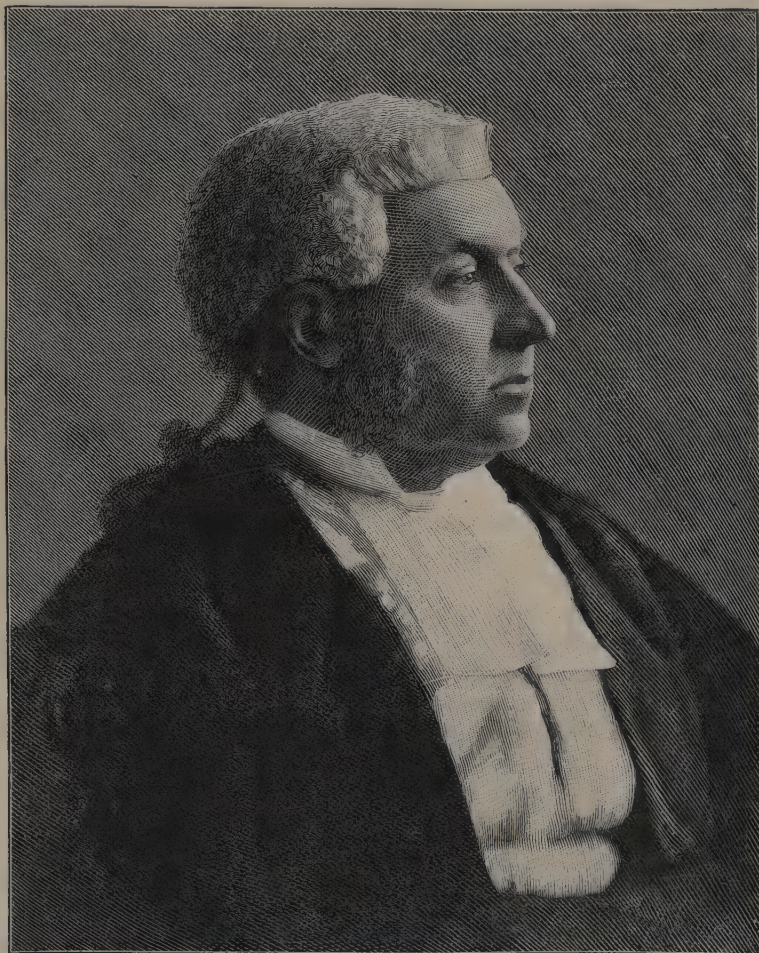
In Britain the first notable event after the general election was the meeting of the Trades Union Congress at Glasgow on September the 5th. It met to consider a troubled labour market, though the era of strikes was to reach its fullest development in the following year. Early in January a deadlock in the South Wales coal trade, affecting 100,000 men, was only averted at

the last moment by mutual concessions. However, in March between 300,000 and 400,000 pitmen in England and Scotland obeyed the call of the Miners' Federations, and betook themselves to a fortnight's "play," so as to exhaust the supply and avert a threatened reduction of wages. Though the majority went back to work after that period had elapsed, the miners of Durham decided by large majorities to continue on strike; and it was not until the 1st of June that the mediation of the Bishop of the diocese put an end to the widespread distress which had ensued, by formulating a judicious compromise. Also the engine-fitters on the Tyne and Wear had struck for several weeks against a proposed reduction of wages and the system of partitioning work; and later some 50,000 Lancaster cotton-spinners entered a similar protest by leaving their spindles. In the circumstances, the advanced section of the Labour party made a vigorous effort to carry matters at the Congress with a high hand, but in some respects it was not successful. Thus the attempt to cashier Mr. Fenwick, the secretary to the Parliamentary Committee, though again renewed was defeated by 400 votes to 165. Again the address of the president, Mr. Hodge, pointed rather to better organisation than to a universal eight hours' day; and the question of the importation of foreign goods during strikes remained undecided, on the ground that if factory hands admitted the principle of Protection, agricultural labourers would certainly follow suit. However, the Congress determined upon a resolution advocating the exclusion of pauper aliens, and there seemed to be a strong disposition to organise a Labour representation independent of political parties.

Mr. Chamberlain was quick to catch at the views of the wage-earning classes. Speaking at Birmingham on September the 14th, he advocated legislative restriction of the hours of toil, especially in the case of shop-assistants, who laboured from fourteen to sixteen hours a day. Again in the November number of the *Nineteenth Century* he propounded a comprehensive programme, including—(1) the legislative restriction of the hours of miners and other persons engaged in dangerous or exhausting occupations; (2) the early closing of shops, to be enforced by local regulations; (3) tribunals of arbitration in trade disputes; (4) compensation for injuries received in the course of employment, and, in case of death, pensions for women and children; (5) old age pensions for the deserving poor; (6) the limitation of pauper immigration; (7) the better housing of the

working classes effected through increased powers bestowed on local authorities; and (8) the empowering of these authorities to advance money for the purchase of their homes by the working classes. Mr. Chamberlain considered that many of the ideas of the New Unionism were visionary,

questions has been initiated by Tory statesmen, and most of it has been passed by Tory Governments. The Factory and Workshops Acts, the Mines' Regulation Act, Merchant Shipping legislation, the Acts relating to sanitation, artisans' dwellings, land purchase, allotments and small



SIR JAMES (AFTERWARDS LORD) MATHEW.
(From a Photograph by G. Jerrard, Regent Street, W.)

and he censured its attempt to force the Non-Unionist out of existence. He advised that a beginning of legislative interference with the hours of labour should be made with the miners, whose case was peculiar. The article concluded with a curious eulogy of the ability of the Tory party to deal with social problems. "The fact is, that in social questions the Tories have almost always been more progressive than the Liberals, and the Conservative leaders in their latest legislation have only gone back to the old Tory traditions. Almost all the legislation dealing with labour

holdings, and free education are all Conservative, and it is therefore historically inaccurate to describe the Tory party as opposed to socialistic legislation."

It was remarkable how the question of Home Rule appeared to have receded into the background. An article of Mr. John Redmond's in the *Nineteenth Century*, in which he restated the demands which he had put forward during the debate on the Address, certainly bore upon the point. So, perhaps, did a contribution by Lord Salisbury to the *National Review* on the

functions of the House of Lords. Again, the leader of the Opposition addressing a meeting of Nonconformist Unionists in London on November the 10th, waxed satirical at the expense of Sir James Mathew. "We have the spectacle of an English judge, who, when he is in this country, is a decorous and sober judge, and who never attracts any particular attention. He goes over to Ireland. He is subjected to the intoxicating Dublin air, or may be, to the influences which flow from Mr. Morley or from Archbishop Walsh, and, in place of a decorous English judge, he becomes an eager Irish partisan." Lord Salisbury further declared that the Commission was packed, its president a partisan, and that Home Rule would be a perfect saturnalia for insolvent debtors, and Mr. Goschen followed in a somewhat similar strain at the United Club. These onslaughts produced a spirited reply from Mr. John Morley at Newcastle on December the 8th. He asserted that all this talk about priestly domination, so far as English parties were concerned, was mere cant. After defending the Evicted Tenants Commission on the ground that it was a fair tribunal, and that its conduct was governed by the rules observed upon all such inquiries, he proceeded to give a hint or two on the forthcoming Home Rule Bill. It would, he hoped, "make an adjustment between what Great Britain is willing to concede, and Ireland is willing to accept. So far as we have gone—and we have gone a long way—I for one—and I know what I am saying—see no reason to despair. I see every reason to hope that, when February comes, the Government will face the House of Commons with a scheme which Ireland ought to accept, and which Great Britain ought not to, and will not, refuse." While people were pondering over these somewhat enigmatic sentences, Radicals, like Mr. Labouchere and Dr. Wallace, were declaiming against the retention of the Irish Members at Westminster, while Sir Edward Reed, a moderate Liberal, criticised the Government's difficulties with some frankness in a letter to the president of the Cardiff Liberal Association. However, his momentary independence was followed by explanations which detracted largely from its significance, and the Conservative expectations of a "cave" were rudely dispelled. Indeed, Mr. Justin McCarthy took occasion to publish a significant letter, wherein he pointed out that "nothing would be gained by trying to carry a few votes among the weaker and more distrustful members of the

Liberal party at the expense of all the votes of the Irish representatives."

Some time before the publication of Sir Edward Reed's manifesto, Mr. Gladstone had given a new turn to political controversy by two speeches: one delivered at Carmarthen, the other at the foot of Snowdon, after the fog had prevented an ascent of that mountain. In both he admitted that the times were ripe for the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church, and he added that "of course, Disendowment goes with Disestablishment." But the remark that attracted most attention was to the effect that the Welsh landlords treated their farmers much worse than the English. The former, said the Prime Minister, had reduced their rents 24 per cent. on an average during the last ten years; the latter only 7 per cent., while in four counties rents had actually been increased. The correctness of this statement was hotly denied by Lord Sudeley, and a vigorous correspondence ensued, into which the Duke of Argyll plunged with characteristic vehemence. It appeared that Mr. Gladstone had committed himself to the figures on the strength of information supplied by Mr. T. Ellis, one of the new Lords of the Treasury, in the course of a debate on the Welsh Land Bill, and certain "public and authentic returns." Mr. Ellis did not commit himself further, but Mr. Gladstone's secretary admitted, after some pressure, that the counties in question were three not four in number, and that the figures were those of the income tax returns. Whereupon the North Wales Property Defence Association retorted, with some warmth, that these tables showed none of the money spent on improvements, nor temporary reductions of rent, varying from 5 to 33 per cent., and that Mr. Gladstone had ignored the fundamental difference that Welsh agriculturists were engaged in stock-raising, whereas the English counties upon which he had based his comparison were essentially wheat-growing districts. There the matter rested; for the Land Commission, which was to sift these and kindred disputes, was not appointed until the following year.

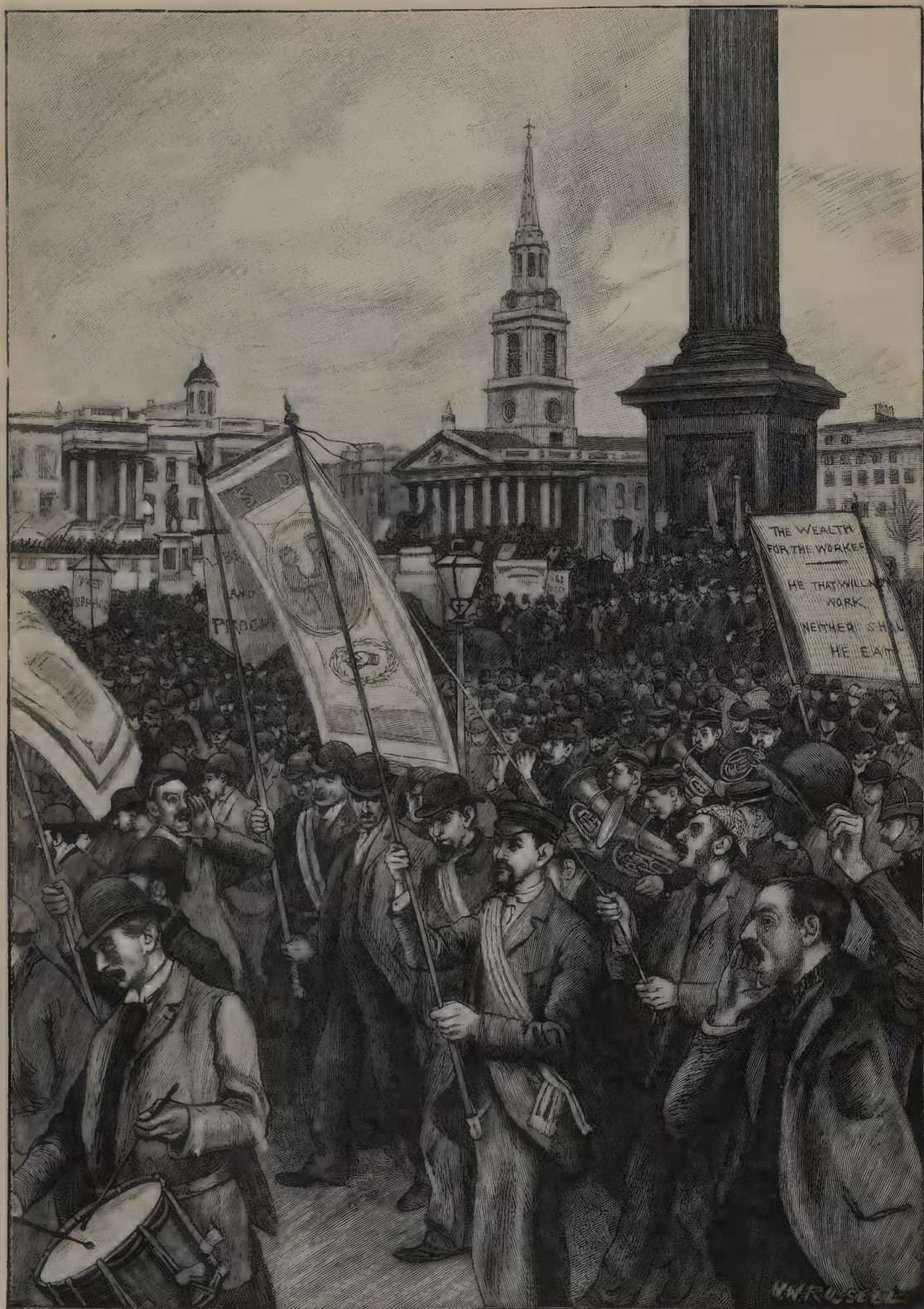
Mr. Gladstone had decidedly brought the claims of agriculture to the front. He was followed by Mr. Courtney, who, addressing his constituents at Liskeard, declared that the reaction in favour of Protection was of a temporary character. His remedies consisted in the repeal of the law of distress, so that landlords would no longer be tempted to take tenants who offered impossible

rents, and he advised the latter not to be too hasty in bidding for farms. But this moderate remedy did not appear to be considered sufficient by the Agricultural Conference, consisting of landowners and tenant-farmers, which met at St. James's Hall, under the presidency of Mr. James Lowther. Both he and Mr. Chaplin advised that there should not be a committal of the assembly to Protection; but a resolution to that effect was carried by an enormous majority, the exact phrase being that "the unfair competition of untaxed foreign imports with home produce and manufacture which are subjected to heavy internal taxation is an anomaly and an injustice." Other speakers declared that the incidence of taxation was unfair, and that the labourers did not pay their proper share, while an advanced section of the farmers advocated the introduction of the "three F's" into England. Mr. C. S. Read, however, declared tenant-farmers would speedily find themselves saddled with a mortgage of which the interest would consume the profits. One suggestion immediately acted upon was that of Lord Winchelsea, who advocated the formation of an Agricultural Union throughout the kingdom, and offered to contribute £2,000 towards the expenses. As for Mr. Chaplin, he traced the depression of the agricultural industry to three sources: the fall in prices which, according to him, had resulted, since 1889, in the loss to owners and farmers of a third of their incomes, and to labourers of 10 per cent. on their wages; foreign competition, and the appreciation of gold. Upon the last topic he dilated at considerable length, maintaining that the farmer had to sell a larger amount of produce than formerly to earn a sovereign, and that the shifting relations between gold and silver, which were fatal to commercial enterprise, could only be arrested by the adoption of bimetallism.

It was curious to find Mr. Chaplin quoting Archbishop Walsh with approval on the subject of the appreciation of gold; and the bimetallic creed was certainly embraced by people of very different beliefs on political questions, including stalwart Radicals like Mr. Samuel Smith, and stout Conservatives like Sir William Houldsworth. The idea of a double standard was, of course, hardly new; but it had recently gained ground partly because of the extraordinary fall in the rupee, and partly because of the Monetary Conference, convoked at the instance of the United States, which met at Brussels in November. To the international aspects of the question we will allude

later. So far as England was concerned, the "craze," as it was termed by its opponents, took little root in the City, where most financial authorities agreed with Sir John Lubbock in being monometallists. On the other hand, it had numerous followers in Lancashire, and in a speech made at Manchester on October the 27th, Mr. Balfour frankly avowed himself a bimetallist. He argued that the appreciation of gold had amounted to 30 or 35 per cent. in the last fifteen years, and that its limits could not be foretold. He urged, on Sir John's showing, that during the past thirty years the production of gold had diminished, while that of silver had nearly doubled. Hence injury was inflicted upon the community, and it had become necessary to adopt a double standard based upon international agreement as to the ratio, or by the universal taxation of silver so as to make it dearer. He avoided the difficulty that the unequal production necessitated the unequal value of the metal, by saying that relative values were determined, not by production, but by demand and supply; and that from an international ratio of exchange there would follow an automatic system by which the demand for gold and silver respectively would be regulated. For these heresies Mr. Balfour was severely taken to task by the *Times*, which was a staunch supporter of monometallist orthodoxy.

Meanwhile, Lord Kimberley, speaking at the Guildhall banquet (November 9th), had declined to divulge Cabinet secrets, on the ground that "this being the brooding time of the year, it was impossible to produce the chickens until they were hatched." Thereupon he was rallied by Lord Salisbury on his "poultry-yard metaphors," and the leader of the Opposition declared that whatever oviparous or other production the Government might contemplate, the eggs, if they were eggs at all, would undoubtedly be addled. Shortly afterwards, on the 23rd, the hint was forthcoming from Mr. Asquith that the Government, in addition to Home Rule, had become responsible for the introduction of "one man, one vote," and District or Parish Councils. The more immediate concerns, however, of the Home Secretary related to the vexed question of Trafalgar Square. The Government stood pledged to permit meetings in that central space, and Mr. Asquith was promptly reminded of the fact by the Metropolitan Radical Federation. Though he shifted his ground from "right" to "privilege," he stood by the purport of his declarations in Opposition. Meetings for recognised objects would thenceforth be allowed



PUBLIC MEETING IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE IN COMMEMORATION OF "BLOODY SUNDAY." (See p. 485.)

on Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and Bank Holidays, provided due notice was given to the authorities, and they were not continued after dark. The compromise was generally accepted as extremely judicious, and it proved entirely satisfactory in its result. The first organised assemblage was held on November the 13th in celebration of the anniversary of "Bloody Sunday." Some 25,000 persons were present, but, though vigorous language was used, the proceedings passed off quietly enough. The resolutions agreed to express thankfulness for the "partial restoration of the right of public meeting in the historic open-air forum," and asserted the duty of the Government to provide work for the unemployed. Soon afterwards a deputation, headed by Mr. John Burns, waited upon Mr. Fowler to enforce the latter view. The President of the Local Government Board had already acquired considerable credit for the manner in which he had staved off an invasion of cholera. So complete had been his preparations for medical examination by isolation, that though the epidemic was raging, during August, in Hamburg and other Continental parts, only some two or three cases occurred in England that could be certainly assigned to the deadly Asiatic type. His reputation was enhanced by his reply to the deputation, which ran to the effect that the State could not find work for the unemployed. However, he could, and would impress upon local authorities and employers the expediency of helping the industrious to earn wages. He afterwards reissued a circular of Mr. Chamberlain's to Boards of Guardians, wherein those bodies were urged to commence works of a remunerative kind by way of giving relief, such as the paving of roads, the improvement of sewers, and the laying out of cemeteries and public gardens.

Mr. Balfour appeared to approve of Mr. Fowler's principles when, addressing the National Union of Conservatives at Sheffield, he declared the doctrine that every man who desires work has a right to get it, to be both impossible of application and dangerous in the highest degree to the State. But, he continued, "it appears to me, that these municipalities which do endeavour to fit in the demand they have for work, so that it shall come at a time when work is slack, and who employ the capital at their disposal for the necessary municipal works in such a manner as to equalise from month to month, and from season to season, the demand for able-bodied labour, take a sound view of their duty." Mr. Balfour urged

that interference with the distribution of wealth must end in driving capital from the country, but he was an advocate of Poor Law Reform. "I believe, that is to say, that either in the shape of some pension scheme, or in the shape of some classification scheme, the community will insist, and insist rightly, upon doing more than has been done up to this time to mitigate the condition of the aged deserving poor." The needs of the working classes were soon afterwards acknowledged by Lord Rosebery and Mr. Asquith at the meeting of the London Reform Union, though they dwelt rather upon the benefits to be effected by self-government. At any rate, one part of the question was evidently ripe for inquiry, if not for legislation, and general satisfaction was expressed when, on December the 29th, Government appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into possible modifications of the Poor Law, or other assistance in the case of persons rendered destitute by incapacity resulting from old age. Lord Aberdare became chairman, and the Prince of Wales readily consented to take part in the investigation.

A few days previously, a report appeared on "General" Booth's "In Darkest England" scheme, signed by the Earl of Onslow, Sir Henry James, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. Edwin Waterhouse. Earlier in the year the director of the Salvation Army had returned from a colonial tour, undertaken in view of establishing his "over-sea" colony which, it will be remembered, was to form the third stage of his undertaking. He was received by many hundreds of his followers at Southampton, and on the 13th of February a grand review was held in Hyde Park, at which brigades and battalions some 5,000 strong deployed before their commander. Nevertheless, no definite steps seemed to have been taken to establish the colony, and criticism was busy with other features of the plan, notably its "one-man" constitution, and the absence of a definite statement of accounts. The "General" declined to surrender his autocratic power, but he consented to an investigation into the expenditure of the £100,000 subscribed. Lord Onslow and his colleagues admitted that the over-sea colony had not been realised from lack of funds, but they entirely acquitted the "General" of maladministration, though there was room for improvement in various details. They declared that of the City Refuges, at least half-a-dozen had been established, and were in good working order. They had relieved thousands temporarily and many hundreds permanently. The report confessed to a heavy outlay with regard to the establishment

of the Farm Colony at Hadleigh in Essex. It stated, however, that 300 men were at work, and that the cost of maintenance had been reduced from 8s. 9d. to 5s. 3d. a week. This document scarcely silenced objectors, particularly those who argued that the "Submerged Tenth" scheme was creating quite as much misery as it relieved, by attracting ne'er-do-weels and destitute persons to London, and that it was economically unsound. A report issued just a twelvemonth later by the Labour Department of the Board of Trade seemed to substantiate the latter argument. The property had been purchased for £19,000, but though the first returns showed a profit of £42, the next displayed a deficit of £1,600, and the third of £3,600. Besides, farming had practically been abandoned for brickmaking, since of the 241 colonists then resident 13 were employed in the former occupation against 106 in the latter. It also appeared that out of the 991 colonists who had passed through the farm between May, 1891, and June, 1893, more than half left after less than three months' trial, and no less than 137 were dismissed for drunkenness or misconduct. Only 47 stuck to work for more than a year, so that the training of the majority for an emigrant's life must have been decidedly perfunctory.

The year closed dismally with the widespread distress caused by the failure of the Liberator Building Society, and the affiliated institutions known as the "Balfour Group." Thereby £7,000,000 sterling, comprising the savings of small tradesmen and artisans, had been lost, and, in consequence, a fund was started for the relief of the more necessitous. Hobbs and Wright, two of the authors of the mischief, were arrested, but Jabez Spencer Balfour—who was alleged to be the head and front of the whole concern—had vacated his seat for Burnley and betaken himself to Argentina. Throughout the autumn panics had prevailed among small investors, and the Birkbeck bank in Chancery Lane had to withstand an extraordinary run. It lasted four days, during which long lines of frightened depositors struggled to withdraw their money, only, in more than one instance, to be robbed in the street. The management displayed the utmost resolution, keeping open its doors until 10 p.m., and paying over the counter more than a million and a half. When all demands had been satisfied, an attempt was made to discover the originator of the cruelly stupid scare, but without success.

The obituary of the year included the names of several statesmen of eminence, notably Lord

Sherbrooke, better known as Robert Lowe, whose long career had embraced a seat on the Legislative Council of New South Wales, and Cabinet appointments in England, not to mention a leader-writership on the *Times*. His brilliancy was, to a certain extent, neutralised by defective sight and a still more defective temper, while his Liberalism stopped many degrees short of confidence in democratic institutions. Lord Hampden, previously Mr. Brand, had left behind him a reputation as one of the most tactful yet authoritative of Speakers; he was besides a noted agriculturist. Lord Winmarleigh, too, as Mr. Wilson Patten, had proved himself a capable Conservative Minister, and a staunch supporter of Lancashire interests. A politician of a very different class was Thomas Cooper, the Chartist, who had lately been occupied in religious speculation, the ideals for which he suffered imprisonment having been, for the most part, fulfilled. Sir James Caird's profound knowledge of agricultural and economic questions was frequently placed at the service of the Government, especially with regard to Irish land, and the food supply of India. Sir George Campbell won a high reputation as an Indian official, but his Parliamentary career was scarcely successful; and Sir Lewis Pelly also acquitted himself with distinction as a diplomatist and administrator in the East. Sir John Lambert was a Civil servant whose talents for organisation and mastery of detail were fitly employed, first by the Poor Law Board, and then by the newly constituted Local Government Board. The Bar regretted the departure of a shrewd and sound Justice of Appeal in Lord Bramwell, and Mr. Montagu Williams who, having attained high reputation at the Old Bailey, became an efficient and sympathetic police magistrate, in spite of the painful disease to which he ultimately succumbed. We have already alluded to the death of Cardinal Manning, and it remains to notice the decease of divines so diverse as Dr. Claughton, the courtly Bishop of St. Albans, Dr. Wordsworth, the scholarly Bishop of St. Andrews, and Mr. Spurgeon, whose influence over London Nonconformity was in many respects unique. Dr. Freeman's labours as an historian have been appreciated in another chapter. We have also dealt elsewhere with the literary career of Lord Tennyson, who passed away on October the 6th. Six days afterwards he was buried in Westminster Abbey, the congregation including many of England's most illustrious men, while the Colonies were represented by their Agents-General.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The International Monetary Conference—The Rupee—The Herschell Commission—Famine Relief—The Indian Councils Act—The Opium Controversy—Frontier Expeditions—The Ameer's Troubles—A Mission Proposed—Egyptian Affairs—The Euan-Smith Mission to Morocco—West Africa—The Cape Franchise Bill—The Natal Deputation—Mr. Johnston in Nyassaland—The East Africa Company—The Railway Scheme—The Vote for a Survey—Mr. Jackson and Dr. Peters—The Lugard Expedition—A Protectorate Proclaimed—Defeat of Kabba Rega—Lugard enlists the Soudanese—Disorder at Mengo—The French Priests—Hostilities and Flight of the King—Restoration of Peace—Evacuation Determined—Lord Rosebery's Decision—The Portal Mission—Australia in Difficulties—The Crash in Victoria—Sir George Dibbs's Finance—Separation in Queensland—Mr. Ballance and Lord Glasgow—Canada and the United States—Russia and the Porte—The Balkan States—The German Army Bills—Panama and Panamino.

THE International Monetary Conference which met at Brussels on the 22nd of November, was assembled at the instance of the United States, and its convocation was eagerly hailed by the Indian Government as calculated to create a possible remedy for the alarming depreciation of the rupee. The feeling of English politicians was by no means equally unanimous, for while Lord Salisbury, who nominated the British delegates, approached bimetallism with a somewhat open mind, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Gladstone's Chancellor of the Exchequer, was a strong monometallist. From the first the proceedings seemed likely to end abortively, and on December the 17th the Conference was adjourned, nominally until July, 1893, but really without much hope of meeting again. In fact no approach to an international agreement upon the ratio between gold and silver was attained, and in the end, bimetallism was advocated only by the United States, though France, as the leading State of the Latin Union, expressed a very qualified adherence to the principle. Accordingly, a brief summary of the debates is all that seems necessary here. The plan for the re-establishment of a fixed parity between gold and silver, as broached by the United States, consisted—(1) in removing the various restrictions upon silver as full legal tender; and (2) in fixing a ratio between the two metals like that existing before 1873. Gold and silver, the Americans held, should be coined without restriction into money of full debt-paying power. After this proposal had been discussed, without being submitted to the vote, an alternative tabled by M. A. de Rothschild was laid before the Conference. It suggested in effect that the European Powers should agree to purchase silver to the extent of £5,000,000 sterling annually, provided that the United States would continue, as before, to buy 54,000,000 ounces a year, and that the process should cease if silver rose above 43d.

per ounce. With this idea was considered M. Moritz Levy's plan for withdrawing from circulation all gold coins of less value than twenty francs. However, the Latin Union would be no party to the proposal, while of the British delegates Sir C. Rivers Wilson, speaking on behalf of the British Government, declared for pure and simple monometallism. It would be most unwilling to withdraw the half-sovereign from circulation, and Mr. Bertram Currie spoke strongly against any attempt to raise the price of silver artificially. After this the Conference discussed the general question of bimetallism rather with a view of obtaining information, than in the hope of obtaining a settlement. The hostility of the German delegates to the theory was very marked.

In the circumstances Indian finance could expect no benefit from an international agreement, and the fluctuations of the rupee continued to disorganise the revenue. Whereas 1890-91 had shown a surplus of over Rx3,000,000, the revised estimates for 1891-92 exhibited a deficit of Rx80,000, where a surplus of Rx115,000 had been expected.* For the forthcoming financial year Sir David Barbour, the Finance Minister, anticipated an equilibrium, but before December arrived it was seen that there would be a huge deficit, due almost entirely to the fall in exchange. In India all sorts of remedies were proposed, including a double standard, a gold standard, the artificial enhancement of the rupee, and the payment of home charges in silver. Something had obviously to be done, and in the autumn the British Government appointed a strong committee, with Lord Herschell as its president, to consider the problem in all its bearings. In other respects Lord Lansdowne and his advisers had cause for anxiety. The cotton trade of Bengal showed an alarming decline, while in Madras and Bombay there was

* Rx = tens of rupees.

scarcity due to the deficiency of rain. However, the Governors, Lord Wenlock and Lord Harris, showed the greatest energy in starting relief works, and the former made an extensive tour to supervise the administration of these undertakings. At one time no less than 19,000 labourers were employed, and the works were not stopped until September, when the crisis had passed. Again the poverty of the peasants in

that they should have the right of interpellation or the power of asking questions; and thirdly, that members should be added to both classes of Councils with the view of augmenting their strength and their representative character. The Viceroy, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, would invite the representative bodies of India, such as the Municipalities, to delegate members who were then to be nominated by



HADLEIGH CASTLE AND THE SALVATION ARMY HOME FARM, ESSEX.

the Deccan, who were being despoiled by money-lenders, had not been remedied by the Agriculturists' Relief Act, and the Land Indebtedness Commission was engaged in considering how that measure could be amended.

An important measure was passed by the Imperial Parliament in the shape of the Indian Councils Act. It was introduced in the House of Lords by Viscount Cross, the Secretary of State, who explained that the time had come when both the Legislative and Provincial Councils required enlargement, and the elective principle could be cautiously introduced. Its provisions were that financial criticism should be conceded both to the Supreme and the Provincial Councils; secondly,

the Viceregal Council. The expressed approval of Lord Lansdowne materially affected the criticism of the Upper Chamber, and when the Bill arrived in the Commons, Mr. Curzon, the Under-Secretary, disarmed hostility by an able and conciliatory speech. Mr. Schwann, indeed, moved an amendment with the object of making the Councils more distinctly representative; but it was withdrawn at the instance of Mr. Gladstone, who deprecated an appearance of dissension when the House was united in principle, and urged that the Indian Government was best qualified to judge of the extent to which the new departure could be carried. The Indian Government lost no time in framing the new regulations by which the

additional members were appointed. In one respect the Viceroy was compelled to resort to reaction, namely, in the withdrawal of trial by jury from the eight districts of Bengal where the privilege had obtained. His dispatch showed that gross miscarriages of justice had occurred, resulting in the acquittal of Brahmins and other well-to-do persons against all evidence, and a consequent scandal to public morals. The opium controversy continued to smoulder, and a bulky Blue-book was published on the subject. It proved that the Indian officials, at any rate, held firmly by the traffic, and Lord Kimberley informed a deputation of the Anti-Opium League, that it could not be suppressed except at the cost of £13,000,000 sterling, which the British taxpayer would have to provide. He further informed the deputation that its demands appeared to be based on prejudicial information, and that though the drug had its abuses, it had also its uses. However, a certain number of opium-dens were suppressed in India; and in Burma—where opium-smoking was unquestionably injuring the natives, who habitually indulged to excess—it was totally prohibited.

The loyalty of the feudatory princes showed no signs of abatement, and the military expeditions were neither many nor important. Sir William Lockhart was despatched once more against the Black Mountain Confederacy, but though he destroyed Hashim Ali's fort at Baio, that truculent marauder still remained at large. Again, the dealings with the Burmese hill-tribes, the Kashins and Chins, were not uniformly peaceful. The former attacked a post established by Major Gale; while the Chins succeeded in beating back the 1st Burma Regiment, with the loss of seven Sepoys. Ultimately, however, they were reduced to reason; and in the direction of Afghanistan alone was there cause for disquiet. Once more Colonel Yanoff, at the head of a large expedition, appeared in the Pamirs, and he soon came into collision with the Afghans, under Gholam Hyder Khan. Ordered to withdraw, the latter refused, with the result that fourteen of his men were killed. As usual, the Russian Government disclaimed all aggressive intentions, and the Ameer, though strongly incensed, promised to abide by the decision of the British Government. Fortunately Colonel Yanoff retired in October, and later Lord Rosebery was reported to have entered into negotiations with Russia. The chance of a settlement appeared the greater because the Chinese authorities had also taken the alarm, and had pushed forward an outpost with the view of

claiming the whole of the Alichur Pamir. Still disturbances on the north-eastern frontier of his dominions did not deter Abdurrahman from harrying his subjects or coming to loggerheads with his neighbours. In the summer the Northern Hazaras rebelled, having been urged to that step by some Turkomans, who crossed the frontier with the connivance of the Russian authorities. They fled, however, before the Ameer's troops, and the rising was of less consequence than that of the Uzbeks, who were not subdued until they had cut off a convoy of arms and ammunition. Here, again, the movement was traced to external influences—namely, Iskak Khan, the Ameer's intriguing uncle, who was a possible Russian candidate for the succession. The Ameer's aggressions were at the expense of Umra Khan of Jondal, who was a vassal of the Indian Empire, and to anticipate whom he seized Bajaur; while, on the north-west frontier, his agents were busy among the Waziri and Bithawi tribes; and his officers had occupied New Chaman. Lord Lansdowne sternly ordered Abdurrahman to leave Bajaur alone, and later he expressed a desire that His Highness would receive a mission, with Lord Roberts as its chief, to confer upon the territories under dispute. The Ameer declared his consent, but he studiously refrained from fixing a date, now on the plea of illness, and again because it was necessary to "surround and starve out" the Hazaras of Central Afghanistan, who had also risen in rebellion, and were making a stand against the royal troops. He was evidently afraid of the illustrious soldier, and on one plea or another he put off the embassy until the Commander-in-Chief had resigned, and his successor, Sir George White, had been appointed.

Otherwise the year passed uneventfully, so far as Asia was concerned, except in China, where provincial risings were not infrequent, and outrages upon Christian missionaries, though less frequent than during the previous twelvemonth, had by no means ceased. In Africa the beginning of January witnessed an untoward event in the sudden death of the Khedive Tewfik, who, though hardly an able man, had loyally co-operated with the British occupation. The accession of his son, Abbas Pasha, a boy of seventeen, formed a strong argument against evacuation, more especially as he soon displayed a tendency to rely upon the reactionary elements in Egyptian society. As a result, the native and French press kept up the most irritating attacks against the British administrators, and Abbas Pasha himself began to interfere with the departments. At first, however,

all went well, and the Sultan's delay in sending the *firman* of investiture because he wished to extort some concessions of territory on the eastern frontier of Egypt, was productive of no serious consequences. The cotton crop showed an increase of 15 per cent. upon that of the previous year, which had been the highest on record, and the Budget gave a surplus of no less than £10,100,000. Remissions of taxation were effected, particularly the tax on salt, but the representatives of France and Russia prevented the lowering of the land-tax. Mr. Justice Scott, the judicial adviser, was also successful in removing a number of corrupt magistrates and in reforming prison discipline. The new Sirdar, Colonel Kitchener, had an easy time, as the Mahdists made no attempt on the frontier. In November Osman Digna appeared in the neighbourhood of Suakim, and attacked Fort Tokar. After a brief engagement, however, the Egyptian troops beat off the Emir with serious loss, and he retired to Kassala.

The barbaric Sultanate of Morocco caused a good deal of trouble to diplomacy during the year. In January British, French, Italian, and Spanish men-of-war were hastily summoned to Tangier in order to protect the European colony from the Angora tribesmen, who had risen in rebellion against the Sultan's oppressive government. The movement smouldered during the spring and summer, and was not suppressed until Muley Hassan directed a regular campaign against the rebels. Meanwhile, a British mission under Sir Charles Euan Smith had left Tangier with the object of arranging a commercial treaty with the Sultan, and removing the crushing restrictions on British imports. The accounts of its experiences varied considerably, and the presumption is that the monarch never intended to come to terms. However, the mission was received at Fez with apparent cordiality, and a certain progress was made with the negotiations. But Muley Hassan declined to sign on various transparent pretexts, and was continually foisting amended versions upon Sir Charles Euan Smith, and finally offered him a bribe of £20,000 if he would withdraw certain obnoxious proposals. The dramatic turn given to some of the interviews by a newspaper correspondent appears to have been an exaggeration, but at least the Sultan attempted to play upon the envoy's nerves by expressing much anxiety on account of the fanaticism of the population. Sir Charles, however, escaped the snare, and refused the guard offered him by the monarch. Further, when demonstrations organised by the

Governor and Deputy-Governor of Fez were made against the Residency by the citizens, the Sultan, who was suspected of having connived at the business, disavowed those officials, and agreed to punish them. His duplicity, however, had become so evident that Sir Charles Euan Smith at length broke off the negotiations and returned to Tangier. No sooner had he reached the coast than a French mission, under Count d'Aubigny, started for Fez in the hope of succeeding where its rival had failed. Rumours of important concessions were circulated by the French newspapers, but on the return of the Count in December it was discovered that they consisted only in permission to make sanitary improvements and roads in Tangier. Again the Sultan's cunning had won the day, and Morocco still remained a forbidden land to European traders and engineers.

On the west coast of Africa the French were displaying ambitious activity, sometimes at the expense of Britain. Their explorers, Commandant Monteil and Lieutenant Mizon, proceeded up the Niger, with the apparent object of making treaties with the Sultans whose territories had been declared to lie within the British sphere. Colonel Dodds, too, was forced to take the offensive against Behanzin, the ferocious king of Dahomey, and after a brilliant campaign he occupied the capital in November. Behanzin, however, still remained at large, and it was evident that hostilities would have to be resumed in the following year. Meanwhile, in the British territory of the Gambia a punitive expedition had been sent against the chief Fodi-Kabba, who had been robbing caravans and carrying off slaves. His village was destroyed by a force of 200 bluejackets, and 300 men of the West India Regiment, and the marauder acquired wisdom from this severe lesson. Another expedition was despatched from Lagos against the allied tribes of Egbas and Jibus, who had also taken to despoiling traders on their way to the coast. Colonel Scott, who was in command, defeated the enemy with heavy losses, and took Jebu-Ode, the capital of the latter people, on the 20th of May. The king surrendered, and some 20 chiefs and 400 men were killed. In Sierra Leone, on the other hand, a small force of police, despatched against the warrior-prophet Samadu, suffered a repulse.

In Cape Colony Mr. Rhodes, the Premier, made several declarations as to his policy of unifying South Africa, and it appeared that while he hoped for a common system of railways and Customs, the independence of the Dutch Republics

would be studiously respected. President Kruger, however, scarcely showed a disposition to make corresponding advances, for he continued to display hostility to Cape railway extension, his plea being that the Imperial Government would not fulfil its promises with regard to Swaziland. Moreover, he caused the indefinite postponement of a conference proposed by the Orange Free State to consider the extension of the Customs Union; and though during his election canvass for the Presidency against General Joubert he gave vague pledges that foreigners should no longer be debarred from citizenship, there was little hope that they would be made good. Curiously enough, the franchise was a burning question alike at the Cape and in Natal. Mr. Rhodes introduced what was practically a measure of extensive disqualification, combined with the exclusion of illiterates. The franchise was raised from £25 to £75, and the Bill was avowedly directed against the Kaffir element, which had shown little aptitude for politics, and as a rule abstained from the polls altogether. The Dutch, through the mouth of Mr. Hofmeyr, greeted the plan with cordial approval, and it passed through the Parliament by huge majorities; and though a petition praying the Queen to veto the Act was presented by its opponents, there could be no doubt that the bulk of the white population sided with Mr. Rhodes. In Natal responsible government still hung fire owing to the popular discontent against certain of the provisions inserted in the Bill by Lord Knutsford, particularly with regard to the control retained by the Home Government over native affairs. However, the issues were cleared by conferences between the Colonial Secretary and two delegates, Sir John Robinson and Mr. Sutton, and by the general election which took place in the autumn, and, as the year closed, the problem was ripe for Lord Ripon's solution. In the newly-acquired district of Mashonaland, colonisation continued, on the whole, peacefully enough, under the able superintendence of Dr. Jameson. The Boer *trek* had been effectively stopped, and Dutchmen both from the Cape and the Transvaal were taking up farms in large numbers; while, though the frontier difficulty with the Portuguese remained unsettled, the railway from Beira was being constructed apace.

In Nyassaland, on the other hand, the year did not pass without serious collisions between the slave-raiders and the Administration. News of a reverse inflicted by a chief called Sarifi, who surprised a British camp, and carried off a mountain

gun, had barely reached England, when there followed intelligence of a still more disastrous affair. An expedition, under Captain Maguire, was sent to chastise a powerful slave-dealer, named Makanjira, who lived on the shores of the lake. With a small force of Sikhs and native police he attacked and destroyed two slave-dhows, but then his boat ran aground, and lay exposed to the murderous fire which Makanjira's men delivered from the bank. Captain Maguire and the Parsee doctor were among the first to fall, and a retreat was not effected until the little band had been seriously reduced. For the present, Mr. Johnston, the Imperial Commissioner, was not strong enough to take the offensive against Makanjira, though he stopped the depredations of the minor chieftains, and detached Mponda, a rival of Makanjira's, from the confederacy. Further, he was unfortunate enough to get into difficulties with the missionaries of Blantyre, owing to his vigorous methods of raising revenue. They asserted that his hut-tax drove away the native converts, and deprived the settlement of its labour supply. Altogether the administration, energetic though it undoubtedly was, seemed to be deficient in tactfulness.

The East African sphere and the Uganda *hinterland* came, however, more prominently before the public than Nyassaland. Early in the year Zanzibar was declared a free port, and the policy received immediate justification in the considerable increase of the island's prosperity. The arrangement, however, pressed somewhat hardly upon the British East Africa Company, which had to organise a preventive service to stop the consequent smuggling. In other respects its relations with Zanzibar were unsatisfactory, and complaints were freely made by the directors that the Sultan was being favoured at their expense. This was especially the case when the whole of his dominions, "including the mainland territory under the administration of the Imperial British East Africa Company," was placed within the Free Zone of the Berlin Act. Thereby the fixed conditions upon which the Company's concessions were based became extinguished, but no satisfaction was obtainable from Lord Salisbury. Into the rights and wrongs of this complicated question, however, it is unnecessary to enter, more especially as the presumption is that the Company would have failed anyhow to execute its enormous task. The capital subscribed was wholly insufficient for so gigantic an enterprise. Some good work was undoubtedly done, particularly

by Mr. George Mackenzie, who effected a most statesmanlike settlement of a complication caused by runaway slaves, by giving compensation to their Arab masters. Also much progress was made with the exploration of the interior by Mr. F. J. Jackson, Captain Lugard, and others; and the Tana and Juba rivers were navigated. The Administrator, Mr. Ernest Berkeley, also succeeded in getting the turbulent district of

could not be thrown away on random philanthropy. However, as has been already said, he agreed to ask Parliament for a vote to cover a preliminary survey; but the proposal, brought forward late in the Session of 1891, was barred by Sir William Harcourt on the ground that Government had promised to introduce no contentious business. Accordingly the matter stood over until the following year when, early in the



MAGUIRE'S ATTACK ON THE SLAVE-DHOWS. (See p. 491.)

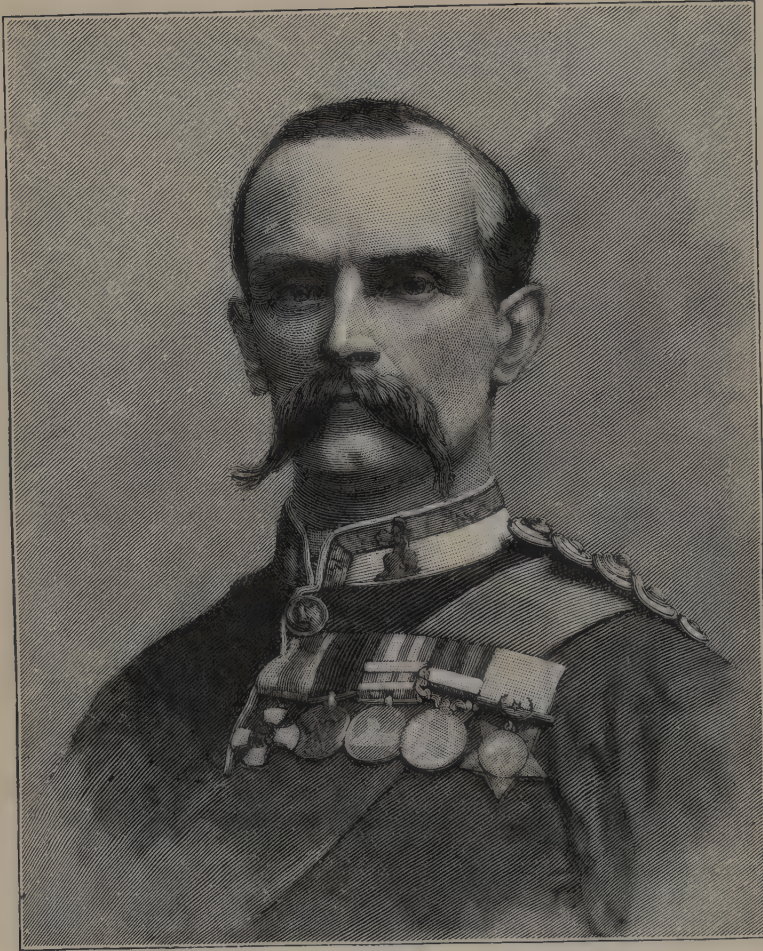
Witu under control, though the expelled Sultan, Fumo Omara, was yet to cause trouble.

Still, the Company was evidently drifting into difficulties, and with them came a disposition to look to the British Government for aid. An undoubted desideratum was a railway between Mombasa and Lake Victoria; and the Company urged, with some plausibility, that the line was a matter of Imperial concern. The British Government had unquestionably undertaken, under the Brussels Act, to check the slave-trade "by the construction of roads, and more particularly of railways, connecting the advanced stations with the coast." At the same time, Lord Salisbury had the British taxpayer to consider, and millions

session, a vote of £20,000 was moved by Sir James Fergusson, the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. He explained that the work had already been begun, in order that no time might be lost, and that any expense in excess of that sum would be borne by the Company. The chief objections on the Opposition side asserted that the information was of an indefinite character, and that if the House was committed to the survey, it would also be committed to the railway. Mr. Gladstone, in particular, declared that the explanation offered was wholly unsatisfactory, and he declined "every jot and tittle of responsibility" for the undertaking. Mr. Goschen's statement, however, that the railway would not be begun

unless Government was satisfied that the Company could carry it out, partially allayed hostility, and in the end the vote was carried by 211 votes against 113, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Morley, and Sir William Harcourt walking out of the House. Meanwhile, the survey party under Captain

Peters, or by Emin Pasha, who had started for the interior on a mysterious mission, which was cut short by his death at the hands of the Arabs. His original instructions had been to avoid Uganda, and to try to gain touch with Mr. Stanley, who was returning to the coast. On nearing the lake,



CAPTAIN (AFTERWARDS COLONEL SIR F.) LUGARD.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

Macdonald, R.E., had started on its mission, and eventually reported the railway to be a feasible undertaking, though some steep gradients existed near the lake. The project lapsed, however, with the accession of the Liberal Government to power.

The Company's position in Uganda was, of course, intimately connected with the question of the railway. Mr. Jackson's entry into that country, to which allusion has already been made, was undertaken on his own responsibility in order to forestall a German occupation either by Dr.

however, he received the most pressing demands for assistance, both from the King Mwanga, and the English missionary, Mr. Gordon. The whole country was in a state of anarchy, the Moham-medan faction was at war with the so-called Christians, while no love was lost between the Protestants and Catholics. The king was almost entirely in the power of the French missionaries, and strong presumption existed that they were trying to assume control to the exclusion of European, and especially British, influence. Accordingly Mr. Jackson had no choice but to go

forward, when Dr. Peters retired precipitately into German territory. He was received with some ceremony by the weak and cruel monarch; but, owing to the strong opposition of Père Lourdel, failed to conclude a definite treaty. It was agreed, however, that he should return to Mombasa accompanied by two envoys from Uganda and Usogo, leaving behind him Mr. Gedge, his second in command. Shortly afterwards the conclusion of the Anglo-German agreement of July 1st, 1890, safeguarded the country, at any rate, from the Teutonic explorer.

Mr. Gedge soon discovered his situation to be untenable, owing to the prevalent confusion. He retired to the south shore of the lake, and counselled the abandonment of Uganda, at least for the time being. But already the strong pressure of public opinion in England, and especially of the missionary societies, reliant on the emphatic declarations of Mr. H. M. Stanley, had forced the Company into more resolute action. Further, Sir C. Euan Smith, the Consul-General at Zanzibar, telegraphed that a strongly equipped expedition should be sent to Uganda, and the Foreign Office intimated that "it is presumed that the principal object which the East Africa Company has in view, after establishing its position on the coast, is to secure paramount influence in Uganda, and that steps have been taken for that object by the despatch of caravans." After this strong hint the Company could hardly leave matters to drift, and an expedition 300 strong was fitted out, as rapidly as circumstances would permit, and placed under the command of Captain F. D. Lugard. He advanced up country along the Sabaki, constructing fortified stations at intervals of fifty miles. He had reached Dalgoreti, about 300 miles from the coast, when he received orders to press forward with all speed. Crossing the Nile on the 13th of December, 1890, he encamped at Mengo, the capital of Uganda, on the 18th. Establishing his camp at Kampala on a commanding position, he proceeded to fortify it quietly and unostentatiously. Mwanga, who had been completely taken by surprise, agreed to sign a treaty, to be valid for two years, whereby he placed his kingdom under the protection of the Company as personified by its Resident, who was to exercise full authority over all Europeans in Uganda. That officer was to be president of a committee of four chiefs elected by the Council of State for the administration. Free trade was to prevail within the whole British sphere, except in arms, ammunition, and slaves, which were absolutely prohibited. At

first Captain Lugard lived in expectation of constant attack; but the chiefs of the rival factions, who were for the most part remarkably intelligent men, soon appreciated the value of his presence. Matters had so far settled down that he was able to lead the combined forces of the Christians against the Mohammedans, who, in alliance with Kabba Rega, the King of Unyoro, were burning villages within sight of the capital. On the 7th of May, 1891, after a somewhat scrambling engagement, he drove the enemy back into Unyoro, but pursuit was impossible owing to the flooded state of the rivers.

Leaving Captain Williams, his second in command, at Kampala, Captain Lugard next proceeded to establish order in the provinces. On the southern frontier he concluded agreements with the chiefs, whereby they undertook to prevent the importation of arms and gunpowder from German territory. Turning northwards to the Salt Lake, discovered by Mr. H. M. Stanley, he built a fort to protect the valuable salt deposit. At Kavalli's on Lake Albert he found the remnant of Emin Pasha's Soudanese soldiers some 1,000 strong and armed with Remingtons, together with a rabble of women and children. As they constituted an obvious element of disorder, more especially as looting was their only means of existence, he induced their leader, Selim Bey, to take service under the Company. Taking back one company to Uganda, he established the remainder in a line of forts along the frontier of Unyoro, so as to protect Toru and Ankoli from the raids of Kabba Rega, whose warriors had retired before him. Mr. de Winton was placed in command, but, on his death from fever, the Soudanese unfortunately relapsed into disorder. Further, Captain Lugard had mapped a route from Luambwa on Lake Victoria by way of Mount Ruwenzori, and the Salt Lake to Lake Albert, with the view of opening up a trade in ivory and salt.

Thus Captain Lugard had laid the foundations of British supremacy over a region extending between Lake Victoria and Lakes Albert and Edward. Unfortunately, on his return to Mengo, he found that in spite of the efforts of Captain Williams dissensions were still rife. A fruitful subject of dispute was the disposal of the estates or shambas of the dispossessed Mohammedans. The king gave his judgment in favour of the Roman Catholic claims, particularly as to the island of Sesse on Victoria Nyanza, which was especially valuable as affording shelter for canoes, though the understanding had been that it should

be divided with the Protestants. This decision naturally produced soreness among the beaten faction; still the peace might have been preserved, had it not been for the arrival of a fresh set of French priests from Europe with their Bishop, Mgr. Hirth, on the 12th of January, 1892. They promptly spread the rumour that the Company was about to retire from Uganda, and the king in consequence became extremely insolent. In his book, "The Rise of Our East African Empire," Captain Lugard states that, though Bishop Tucker behaved admirably, some of the English missionaries, on their side, acted with indiscretion. On the 24th a Protestant was brutally murdered by a Catholic in Mengo, justice was refused by the king, and Captain Lugard, when he went up to demand satisfaction, was met by threats and insults. A few days afterwards hostilities were begun by the Catholics, and as the Protestants were the smaller faction, Lugard was forced to take their side to save them from extermination. Besides, he distinctly asserted, and the assertion was never denied, that Mgr. Hirth had distributed French rifles to his partisans. Owing to the aid of the British officers and the Maxim gun, the Catholics or Wa-Franza were easily routed and fled into the country of Buddu, carrying the king with them. The property of the priests was saved from destruction, and they were given shelter within the fort, Captain Williams surrendering his bed to the Bishop. "They constantly assured me," wrote Captain Lugard, "that they owed their lives to us," yet at the same time they wrote home highly-coloured accounts to Europe of the "cruelties" perpetrated by the British officers.

The beaten faction at once sued for peace, but Lugard declined to treat, unless the king was restored. After Mgr. Hirth had done his best to thwart a settlement, Mwanga effected his escape by stealth, and on March the 30th he was re-installed in the capital. On the same day a new treaty was concluded, whereby the king solemnly accepted British protection in perpetuity, and agreed to stricter conditions as to the importation of arms and the suppression of slave-trading and slave-raiding. In virtue of this arrangement a large number of slaves were liberated, and received certificates of freedom. A partition of the country was also effected, whereby the Catholics, somewhat to the vexation of the Protestants, received the province of Buddu as their share. Soon afterwards, Captain Lugard held a palaver with the Mohammedans, with the result that they received

three provinces for their share. The natives once more began to sow their crops, and all promised excellently.

Unfortunately the Company had long since come to the end of its resources, and was preparing to evacuate Uganda. An announcement to that effect had been made in the previous year, and was actually transmitted to Uganda, much to the dismay of the two officers, of whom Captain Williams proposed to sacrifice his private fortune rather than incur such a monstrous breach of faith. The determination also produced considerable dismay in England, and the Church Missionary Society agreed to provide £26,000, provided the Company would postpone evacuation until the 21st of December, 1892. As the time was running out, the Company, on the 17th of May, reminded Lord Salisbury of this arrangement, but he, in view of the general election, acknowledged the communication without comment. Lord Rosebery had thus to deal with the question, and no sooner was the Liberal Government installed, than the religious bodies, particularly those of Scotland, began to press for an answer. On the 30th of September Lord Rosebery announced the decision of the Government, namely, that while accepting the principle of withdrawal, they were willing, in order to avoid the assumed danger of immediate evacuation, to bear the cost of continued occupation until the 31st of March, 1893, reserving to themselves "absolute freedom of action with regard to any future measures consequent on the evacuation." Meanwhile, Captain Lugard had returned to England, leaving Captain Williams in Uganda, and was addressing crowded audiences, while the Conservatives availed themselves of the privileges of opposition to advocate a course which they had done little to assist while in office. It was hoped that the Government would decide upon the immediate declaration of a Protectorate; however, a preliminary mission of inquiry was deemed advisable. On the 10th of December, the Government issued instructions to Sir Gerald Portal, the Consul-General at Zanzibar, to proceed to Uganda and to frame a report "as expeditiously as may be," on the best means of dealing with the country, whether through Zanzibar or otherwise. He left the coast on the 1st of January, 1893.

The record of Australia during 1892 was of a melancholy character, though the colonists faced their troubles with dauntless resolution. A reckless anticipation of the future had characterised most of the Administrations, and in the autumn

the crash came. The public debts had been swollen to unwarrantable extents, by frequent applications to the London money-market, and the proceeds had been devoted to undertakings which, though excellent in themselves, should not have been set going simultaneously. An unwise system of Protection tended to the same result; and the working classes, as we have already remarked, were congregating in towns, while the country remained undeveloped. These abuses reached their fullest extent in Victoria, where the crisis was precipitated by a wild speculation in building property in the neighbourhood of Melbourne. With the collapse of the "land-boom" there coincided an alarming shrinkage in the revenue, the deficit being £1,570,000. Further, the railway companies were discovered to have indulged in reckless administration, particularly in the matter of running trains at unremunerative fares. Several of the banks closed their doors in rapid succession, and building societies followed their example. By the end of the year the loss incurred was placed at £10,000,000, of which £3,500,000 belonged to English depositors, and even so the worst remained to be encountered. Here again mismanagement, combined in some instances with positive dishonesty, was disclosed, and some of the culprits were persons of high position. Heavy punishments were inflicted on defaulting managers and directors, while schemes of reconstruction and amalgamation were speedily announced. Even so the unfortunate depositors, forcibly turned into shareholders, saw their money locked-up for indefinite periods. The catastrophe involved frequent chopping and changing of the Ministry, and the exchange of the post of Agent-General in London between Mr. Munro and Sir Graham Berry caused not a little scandal. To the latter gentleman fell the task of rehabilitating the finances, and while wisely refraining from borrowing, he was compelled to have recourse to additional duties, coupled with rigid economies. In New South Wales the disaster was not so marked at first, but it extended into the following year, and the disclosures with regard to the Sydney Deposit Bank resulted in criminal convictions. Mr. Dibbs had to face a deficit of £1,150,000, and to make his accounts square he resorted to heavy import duties, besides raising £3,000,000 by Treasury Bills at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In the summer he paid a visit to England with the object of consulting London financiers, and returned Sir George, though he had previously disparaged

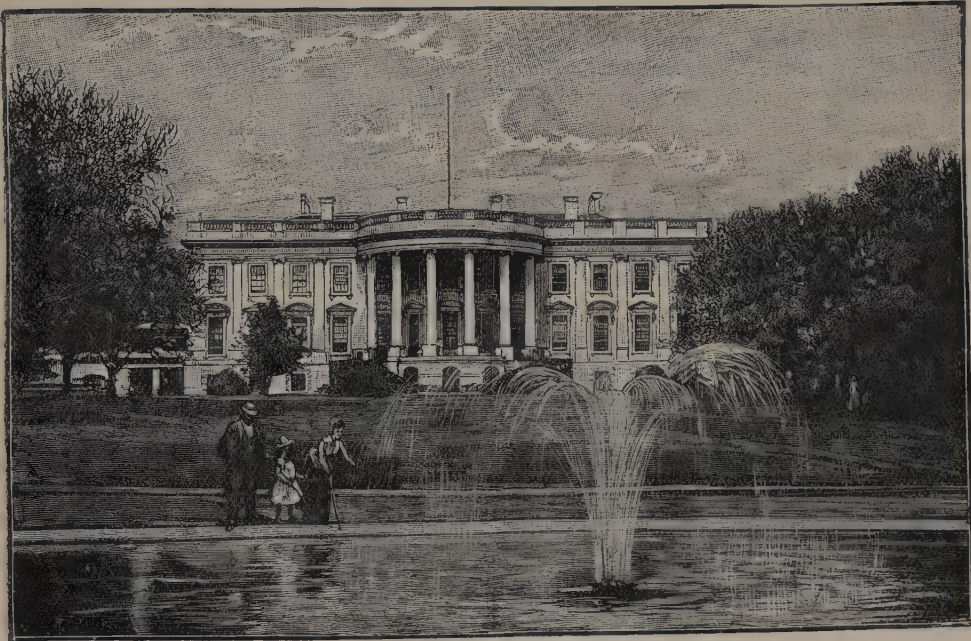
titles. However, his spirited conduct in refusing to yield to the demands of the Labour party by providing work for the unemployed won general approval. It was followed by an equally commendable suppression of the riots in connection with the strike at the Broken Hill silver mines, though the sympathisers organised a huge demonstration with the view of coercing the Government. In Queensland the crash was suspended until the following year, but a falling revenue and a considerable deficit gave ample warning. Meanwhile, the desire of the North Queenslanders for total separation was by no means satisfied by the Government Bill dividing the colony into districts, though they were partially conciliated by a measure permitting Polynesian labour in the sugar plantations for ten years under strict supervision. For the rest the Budget of South Australia showed a slight surplus, but the Government had recourse to a loan of £1,000,000, and the Tasmanian deficit was stated at £180,000. In Western Australia alone the finances appeared satisfactory, Sir John Forrest proving himself an able and economical Premier.

New Zealand affairs were in agreeable contrast to those of Australia. There a policy of retrenchment and avoidance of the London money-market had been started just in time, and though the public debt stood at an alarmingly high figure, the community escaped the crisis. A curious complication, however, occurred between the New Governor, Lord Glasgow, and Mr. Ballance's Ministry. The Upper House had rejected several measures passed by the Assembly, including an Eight Hours Bill, and the Premier proposed that the hostile majority should be swamped by fifteen new Members recruited chiefly from the Labour party. Lord Glasgow, however, refused to agree to more than nine, and the matter was referred to the Colonial Office. Lord Ripon suggested a compromise, whereby the additional number was fixed at twelve, and it was cordially accepted by both parties.

In Canada the Government exhibited a steady desire to purify the State from the maladministration which had come to light in the previous year. Sir John Abbott proved an able Premier, but ill-health unfortunately drove him to resign in the autumn, when he was succeeded by Sir John Thompson. That statesman was quite the ablest in the Dominion, though his religion, the Catholic, stood rather to his disadvantage. Earlier in the year he had visited Washington, in company with two colleagues, Mr. Mackenzie Bowell and Mr.

Foster, and had attempted to negotiate closer commercial relations with the United States. However, Mr. Blaine proved obdurate on the subject of limited reciprocity, and an unrestricted arrangement of that nature was repudiated by the colony as a preliminary to annexation. Also, there was a disposition to look to the mother-country for preferential treatment, and when the hope was discovered to be illusory, extreme politicians even advocated discrimination against Great

easiness to Lord Salisbury, or to his successor, Lord Rosebery. The nations were too much engrossed in their own troubles to have time to take exception to their neighbours' proceedings, more particularly France and Russia, the Powers most calculated to disturb the peace. In the latter country famine and cholera attacked the unfortunate peasantry, and the local authorities failed miserably in the time of necessity. Besides, a protective policy was choking the national re-



THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON.
(From a Photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington.)

Britain. The idea was successfully combated by the Government: and if the financial condition of the country could have been bettered, it was satisfactory enough as it stood. The Minister of Finance, Mr. Foster, when introducing his Budget, declared that the revenue was buoyant, the surplus substantial, and the debt stationary. Naturally enough, the Presidential election in the United States was watched with the keenest interest, and when Mr. Cleveland was returned by a Democratic majority of some 400,000 votes over Mr. Harrison, the modification of the McKinley Tariff was regarded as a foregone conclusion. Its repeal had formed one of the chief planks in the Chicago "platform," and the Democrats stood committed to the levying of duties for the purposes of revenue only.

European politics must have caused little un-

sources, and piling up such a deficit that the Finance Minister, M. Vishnegradsky, was forced to resign. Though the Black Sea fleet was increasing apace, the Government made no demonstration against Turkey, except when the Sultan received M. Stambouloff, the Bulgarian Premier, with some ceremony. Taken to task, the Porte replied that the visit was of no political character, and, owing to the strenuous backing of England, it resisted the Russian demand that ships flying the commercial flag should pass through the Dardanelles. The Turkish Government, however, feared to infuriate the Czar by the surrender of Shishmanoff, an employé in the Russian Post Office at Constantinople, at whose instigation Dr. Vulcovitch, the Bulgarian representative, had been murdered, and the crime went unavenged. Of the other Eastern States it is enough to say that

Servia continued to welter in the turmoil created by Milan's abdication; and that in Greece the finances had reached such a state of disorder that a repudiation of the debt seemed imminent. In Austria, too, the Bohemian difficulty continued in an aggravated form, but Count Kalnoky, the able Foreign Minister, derived great consolation from the "very friendly terms" that existed between the Courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, though he acknowledged that the relations between the two Governments were only those of "normal friendliness."

In Western Europe Germany underwent several constitutional crises, and Prince Bismarck kept up his virulent attacks against Count von Caprivi. The abandonment of the Prussian Education Bill early in the year was followed by the latter statesman's resignation of the Prussian Premiership, in which office Count Eulenberg succeeded him. But the chief commotion concerned the Army Bills, whereby the three years' period of service was reduced to two, and the military strength fixed for five years instead of ten. Even with these concessions, the Reichstag showed every disposition to reject the measures, when they were introduced in December. However, France could not afford to point the finger of scorn at her rival, for the twelvemonth witnessed a series of the most deplorable scandals. The revelations concerning the Panama Company disclosed a terrible amount of corruption among politicians and journalists, but

no steps to trace it were taken until the closing weeks of the year, when the defendants were summoned before the Court of Appeal. Simultaneously the Chamber forced a Commission of Inquiry upon the Government, and the Premier, M. Loubet, resigned in consequence, and was succeeded by M. Ribot. The former had previously displayed weakness in his arbitration between employers and employed at the Carmaux strike, which had been caused by an absurd squabble over the privileges of a working-man Mayor. Also Paris had been alarmed by a series of explosions before the police captured their perpetrator, an Anarchist named Ravachol, to whom the jury actually gave the benefit of extenuating circumstances, though he was subsequently guillotined for a murder committed earlier in his vile career. But bad as was the condition of France, that of Italy seemed equally unsatisfactory, more especially from the financial point of view. As usual the Ministry had to confess to a deficit, and a vote of want of confidence drove the Marquis di Rudini from office in May, when he was succeeded by Signor Giolitti. A dissolution resulted in the return of an apparently solid Ministerial majority; but the close of the year witnessed some disclosures of the relations between the Government and the banks of issue, and "Panamino"—as the Italians termed the scandal—threatened to cut short Signor Giolitti's tenure of power, no less assuredly than M. Loubet's.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1893—Irish Politics—The "Pure Scotchman"—Lord Winchilsea's Agricultural Union—The Independent Labour Party—Home Rule Rumours and Comments—The Queen's Speech—The House of Lords on Home Rule—The Debate in the Commons—The Release of Egan—The Breach of Privilege Debate—The Home Rule Bill Introduced—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—The Irish Parliament—Retention of the Irish Members—Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bryce, and Lord R. Churchill—End of the Debate—Bills Introduced—The Welsh Disestablishment Bill—The Local Veto Bill—The Report of the Evicted Tenants Commission—The Estimates and the Budget—Party Meetings—Anti-Home Rule Deputations—The Second Reading Debate—Mr. Gladstone and Sir M. Hicks-Beach—Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. McCarthy, and others—The Last Night—The Division—Speeches out-of-doors—The Albert Hall Demonstration—The First Clause—Clause II.—Lord Salisbury in Ulster—The Third Clause—Mr. Sexton's Resignation—The Financial Arrangements—The Closure Debate—Heated Discussions—The "In-and-Out" Clause Withdrawn—Mr. Conybeare and Mr. Sexton—The Financial Statement and the Civil Service—Ireland's Contribution—The Fight—The Apologies—The New Clauses—The Report Stage Closed—The Third Reading Debate—The Division—The Duke of Devonshire at Otley—The Bill in the Lords—Earl Spencer and the Duke of Devonshire—Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury—Lord Kimberley's Reply—Rejection of the Bill—Manifesto of the National Liberal Federation—End of the Session.

THE opening of 1893 found politicians discussing the Dublin explosion. Mr. Conybeare evolved the remarkable theory that it was the work of a dismissed Castle official, who had perpetrated the smaller outrage of a year previously, and that Mr. Balfour and the Castle authorities "knew perfectly well" who the person was. Mr. Healy, speaking at Nottingham, contented himself with deploring "the miserable and terrible occurrence," and he hoped that Mr. Asquith would not be deterred by the deed from an act of clemency similar to Mr. Morley's. His most significant remark was that Mr. Gladstone's offer of 1886 to reduce Ireland's contribution to the expenses of the United Kingdom to one-fifteenth of the whole was not nearly generous enough, and that it would be rejected without hesitation by all Ireland. He held that the Government had "come to stay," and that if the House of Lords rejected the Bill, the country would send the Liberals back to power with a threefold or fourfold majority. In Ireland the feud between Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites continued with unabated violence, and the former used some remarkably strong language. The Ulster Unionists held several demonstrations during January, and at one of them Lord Londonderry expressed his conviction that, of the two courses before him, Mr. Gladstone would bring in a milk-and-water Bill which would not alarm the English Home Rulers. Meanwhile, Mr. Morley's policy in increasing the number of Catholic magistrates and permanent officials was favourably viewed by all except political bigots, though his dismissal of Colonel Montgomery from the Board of Management of the Donegal Lunatic Asylum aroused some comment. He received,

however, a damaging blow from the law courts, where an action for contempt against the inspector of Kerry resulted in the finding that his order forbidding the police to grant protection to persons engaged in eviction proceedings after nightfall was illegal.

In England the first fortnight of the year was singularly uneventful, considering the momentousness of the impending crisis. Mr. Gladstone, even while in the south of France, stirred up Conservative wrath, by a letter acknowledging a presentation copy of an American work, wherein he described himself as "a pure Scotchman," and added that "no race stands in greater need of discipline in every form" than the English, "and among others that which is given by criticism vigorously directed to canvassing their character and abilities." Also Lord Winchilsea was endeavouring to secure support for his projected Agricultural Union, and it was accepted by a meeting at York. At the same time many of those present hinted that the existing Agricultural Chambers answered all practical purposes, and that the creation of a distinct agricultural party was an impossibility. Lord Winchilsea's idea that brewers should be forced to make beer of English barley and hops was evidently Protection under a very thin disguise. Simultaneously a conference of the Independent Labour party was being held at Bradford, where its president, Mr. Keir Hardie, claimed that it controlled $18\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the electorate of Great Britain. Alderman Ben Tillet advised that the Conference should keep away from their name any term of Socialism, and ultimately an administrative council of fifteen members was formed, which advocated abolition alike of piecework and the monarchy.

A less visionary remedy than these was devised by Mr. Mundella, the President of the Board of Trade, who, on the 25th of January, announced the creation of a special labour department virtually independent of the Board of Trade, with a Commissioner of Labour, a chief labour correspondent, a staff, and a monthly gazette of its own.

With the return of Mr. Gladstone in excellent

prepared to co-operate heartily with England, and to work out any scheme they might accept in a moderate and constitutional spirit. He also paid handsome compliments to Mr. Morley's administration, and declared that his own action with regard to Trafalgar Square was justified by its results. In answer, the Duke of Devonshire, at Skipton, remarked that Mr. Gladstone had



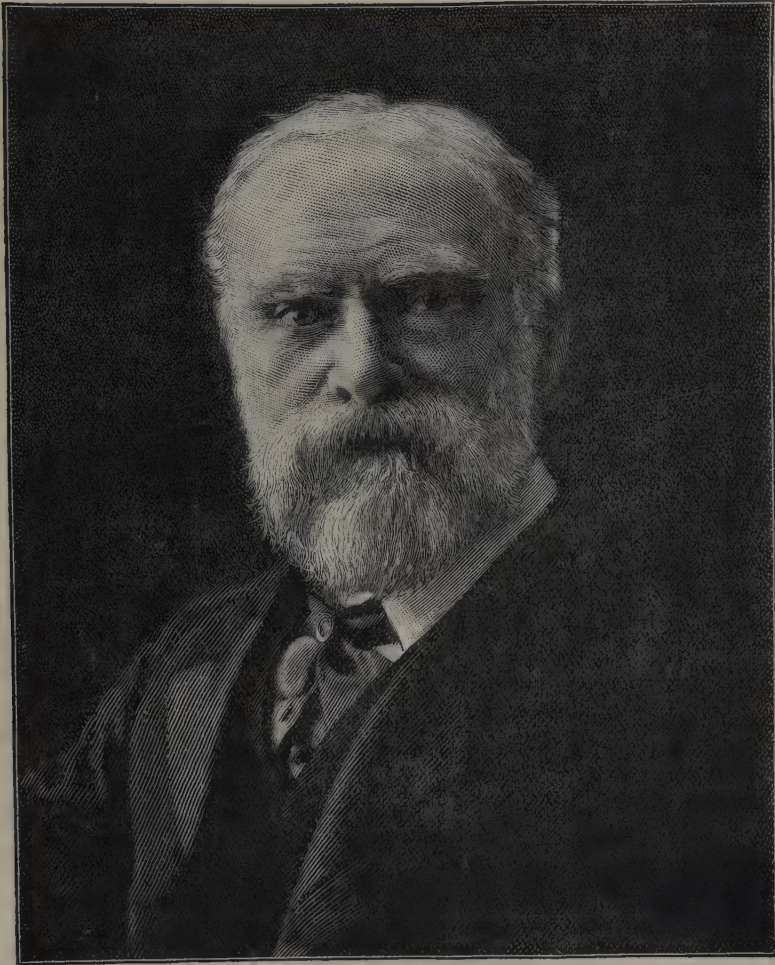
THE CABINET COUNCIL ROOM.

health, Cabinet Councils met at brief intervals, and the Home Rule Bill was evidently being framed apace. The secret being admirably kept, the tension in consequence was great. The *Speaker* published a remarkable forecast, or rather a series of suggestions with regard to Home Rule, the gist of which was that Ireland should be dealt with liberally in the matter of finance, and that difficult points, such as the admission of Irish Members to the English Parliament, the Irish judiciary and the police, might be postponed. On the 20th of January, Mr. Asquith made an eloquent speech to the National Liberal Federation at Liverpool, and argued that the experiment could only succeed if Irishmen were

only been summoned to form an Administration because he was leader of the largest of a number of groups, and that it yet remained to be seen if the combination would endure. Mr. Asquith had objected to the analyses of elections with the view of showing that a large English majority was against Home Rule, but the Duke replied that the process became important when it was proposed to place a portion of the United Kingdom under a separate and totally different Constitution from the rest. Shortly afterwards Sir Henry James, at Bury, complained of the dead-set made against his seat by the Liberals, while Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham passed some bitter comments upon the consultation of the Anti-Parnellites

by the Government. The motto of the Ministry appeared to be "Only Irish need apply." He denied that his attempts at compromise in 1886 and 1887 had debarred him from criticism. Things had moved on since that date, and arrangements which seemed feasible then would be sheer

which would "content the Irish people, secure relief to Parliament, and furnish additional securities to the strength and union of the Empire." The other measures promised were a Registration Bill, a Bill embodying the principle of "one man one vote," a Local Veto Bill, Suspensory Bills for



THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE.

(From a Photograph by H. S. Mendelssohn, Pembroke Crescent, W.)

madness now, since there was no sign that the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster would be seriously maintained. Meanwhile some bye-elections had encouraged the Conservatives, as Sir Joseph Crossland won a seat at Huddersfield, and at other places Government majorities were reduced.

Parliament met on the 31st of January, and the Queen's Speech, besides the usual allusions to foreign politics, was found to contain a large number of measures. First came a Bill to "amend the Provision for the Government of Ireland,"

the Scottish and Welsh Churches, an Employers' Liability Bill, and a Parish Councils Bill. In the House of Lords the debate turned a good deal upon foreign affairs, and Lord Salisbury spoke at some length upon Egypt and Uganda. The Queen's Speech had hinted at an inquiry into agricultural depression, but the leader of the Opposition declared that the evil was due to two causes: bad weather and low prices. "The Government cannot get rid of the one if they would, and would not get rid of the other if they could." He condemned Mr. Morley's administration,

and said that its keynote was to get the support of sympathisers with crime. He stated the essentials of the Irish difficulty as follows—"The whole question is not only coloured by, but it is absolutely conditioned by and entirely consists in, the fact that Irish society is divided to its base; and the differences between the two sections—differences of race, tradition, long history, and mutual ill-will—remove them from the category of those other populations where the majority and the minority alter in their constitution with each passing question of the day." Lord Kimberley declined to divulge the secrets of the Bill, but he said that it would be no milk-and-water affair, and that the policy of Home Rule afforded the best chance of healing the disunion between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. He admitted that too much priestly influence prevailed at Irish elections, but there was no danger of the Protestants being oppressed. The Address was passed after a speech from the Duke of Devonshire, the object of which was to show that nobody knew whether the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament was to be real or merely nominal. Two days afterwards Mr. Morley's *régime* was arraigned by Lord Londonderry, who accused him of "truckling" to disorder, and Lord Ashbourne condemned the release of the Gweedore prisoners. Lord Spencer and Lord Herschell made effective replies, the latter arguing that though the Evicted Tenants Commission had a political object, it was a good one, and would be justified by the report.

In the Commons the debate had to give way to a long wrangle between Anti-Parnellites, Parnellites, and Irish Unionists, over the writ for South Meath. Accordingly, it was late before Mr. Balfour arose and, after touching upon foreign affairs and agricultural distress—which would, he hoped, be investigated by a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry, and not by a Commission—proceeded to blame the "unfortunate choice" of the Government in the matter of the Evicted Tenants. He also assailed Mr. Morley for suspending those clauses of the Crimes Act which were needed to secure convictions for recent outrages in Ireland, and severely censured the Government for the release of the Gweedore criminals after three years' imprisonment. Mr. Gladstone's reply was that Mr. Balfour had no right to condemn the Evicted Tenants Commission until its report was produced; and he indignantly repudiated the notion that the release of the Gweedore prisoners was a political transaction,

effected to obtain the support of a political party. After Mr. Dunbar Barton had commented on the Lord-Lieutenant's refusal to receive deputations, which, he said, destroyed any hope that the royal veto would be ever employed, the discussion travelled to the Scottish and Welsh Suspensory Bills. Mr. Parker Smith declared that they would paralyse the churches, and yet might not be followed by legislation for years. Sir George Trevelyan answered that they were in themselves a pledge that immediate action was intended. On the third day, Colonel Saunderson raised a prodigious storm by describing Father Macfadden as a "murderous ruffian." After the Speaker, Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Balfour had intervened, the offender adroitly substituted the words "excited politician." The ensuing duel between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Morley still kept the House in a heated condition. The former in his bitterest manner attacked Mr. Morley for releasing "political prisoners" and quoted the Nationalist threats against the Government if they were kept in confinement. In a spirited reply, Mr. Morley declared that he prided himself on the step. Then came a long string of amendments, beginning with Mr. Wharton's expressing regret that no measures for the relief of agriculture were mentioned in the Queen's speech. It was rejected by 272 votes to 232, after Mr. Morley had declined to accept Mr. T. W. Russell's suggestion of an interference with the judicial rents, and Sir William Harcourt in a closely reasoned speech had confuted the Bimetalists, and protested most strongly against exceptional State action for a particular industry. Mr. Keir Hardie's amendment, advocating prompt legislation in the interests of the unemployed, was defeated by 206 to 109, after an exceedingly futile discussion; and Mr. Jesse Collings was beaten by the large majority of 84 (312 votes to 228) when he advocated the relief of the agricultural labourers after a delicately ironical speech from Mr. Gladstone. Of more moment was the debate on Mr. John Redmond's amendment, asking for the reconsideration of the cases of all Irish prisoners convicted under the Treason Felony Acts, which was rejected by 397 votes to 81. Mr. Asquith had to defend his recent release of the dynamiter Egan, and he did so in a manly speech which won the respectful recognition of Mr. Balfour. He flatly declined to regard a political motive as palliating outrages, and declared that Egan had been let out on ticket-of-leave simply because he had already undergone nearly nine years' imprisonment, and the evidence connecting



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, FEBRUARY 13, 1893: MR. GLADSTONE INTRODUCING
THE SECOND HOME RULE BILL.

FROM THE PAINTING BY R. PONSONBY STAPLES.

him with the intention to use bombs was of an exceedingly flimsy character. A breach of privilege case varied the monotony of these debates, Lord Wolmer having at a Liberal Unionist banquet most ill-advisedly described Mr. Gladstone as "relying on a majority of forty paid mercenaries," a statement which the *Times* adopted. He was obliged to withdraw the expression, and the House agreed without a division to Mr. Sexton's motion, that the *Times* had committed a gross and scandalous breach of privilege. Finally, Mr. Gladstone was compelled to suspend the 12 o'clock rule, and to resort to a Saturday sitting before the last amendment, Mr. James Lowther's, advocating the legislative restriction of the immigration of destitute aliens, was rejected by 234 votes to 119.

On February the 13th Mr. Gladstone rose to move the first reading of the Bill "for the better government of Ireland," in a House which had been crammed to overflowing some five hours previously. His speech, which was closely argumentative rather than rhetorical, began by reminding the House of his assertion made seven years earlier, that they had come to a parting of the ways, and that the choice lay between Irish autonomy and coercion. The "dissentient Liberals" had largely denied the statement, but its truth had been entirely verified, since all schemes for satisfying Ireland with less concessions had vanished in thin air, and coercion had taken its place as a permanent law in the Statute Book. From the Act of Union until the end of the third decade in the century, there had been twelve years entirely free from coercion, but only two years between the Reform Bill and 1886. Mr. Pitt had promised Ireland her proportion of legislation under the security of equal laws, yet only two Irish statesmen, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Castlereagh, had since sat in the Cabinet of Great Britain. (This statement was not altogether correct, as the *Spectator* enumerated some ten or twelve.) England might if she chose resist for an indefinite period the demand of all her partners in the Union, but the great change from the adverse majority of 211 in 1886 to only 71 in 1892, was an omen of better things. Mr. Gladstone next proceeded to give an outline of his scheme, and said that the statutory Irish Parliament would involve no dissolution of the Union, and that there was to be no return to a double Sovereignty. Certain duties would be delegated by the Imperial Parliament to the subordinate Legislature at Dublin, and all powers relating to

the Crown, the Regency, the Viceroyalty, treason, alienage, titles, external trade, and coinage, would be reserved for the supreme body. The statutory Parliament, too, would be incompetent to restrain religious and personal freedom. The safeguard of the minority was to consist in a Legislative Council of 48 members, elected under a £20 rating franchise, which would give a constituency of 170,000 persons. The popular body was still to consist of 103 Members elected as at present; and in order to get rid of deadlocks, if a measure had been passed twice, either at an interval of two years, or at a lesser if a dissolution intervened, the two Chambers were to sit and vote together as a National Assembly, the result being final. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was to be strengthened by Irish members, and with it would lie the decision whether any Legislative Act of the Dublin Parliament was *ultra vires*. The office of Viceroy was to run for six years, and it was to be non-political, like the Colonial Governorships. The Constabulary were to be retained for a fixed time under the supreme authority, but were to be gradually disbanded or reconstituted as a police force. As to the representation of Ireland at Westminster, it was a detail not an essential, and Parliament must decide. At present he proposed to reduce the number of Irish representatives to eighty, and to lay down rules under which they should be admitted only to Imperial or Irish debates. The Imperial Government would collect and retain the Irish Customs duties as equivalent to its share of common expenditure, but Ireland would start with a net balance of £500,000, representing the interest on a capital sum of £17,000,000. Customs, Excise, Post Office, and Telegraphs, were to be uniform for all the three kingdoms. Mr. Gladstone had spoken for two hours and a quarter without showing any sign of fatigue, but he wisely sat down without attempting a peroration.

That ready debater, Sir Edward Clarke, was chosen to lead the Conservative attack, and he argued that there was no excuse for revolutionary change in the present state of Ireland, that at best the Legislative Council would be an ineffective drag upon the Commons, and that the provision for excluding Irish Members from voting on British measures was unworkable. Irish Members could always force an entrance by proposing that any Bill should be extended to Ireland. After that the debate collapsed, except for the vigorous attack of Colonel Saunderson; but the second day's debate was relieved from dullness by a vigorous

in spite of this satisfactory result the Suspensory Bill proceeded no farther. Nevertheless, enough had emerged to arouse the keen hostility of the English Church party, which eventually took shape in a vigorous campaign through Wales, headed by the Bishop of St. Asaph, and an imposing demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall in London on the 16th of May. The two Archbishops and almost all the diocesan and suffragan bishops were present and a crowd of distinguished laymen, among whom Lord Selborne was, perhaps, the most conspicuous. The Archbishop of Canterbury's opening speech was genuinely eloquent, and he stirred his audience by the words "We will not go down. By God's grace we stand, we advance." He also assured Wales of the absolute unity of the Church in defence of the Church in Wales, and committed himself to the startling sentiment that "he would rather see Nonconformity established and live under it as not conforming to it, than live under no establishment at all." The Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham made able and moderate speeches, and Lord Selborne argued the legal side of the question. The Bishop of London asserted that the robbery of the Church meant the robbery of the poor; while Professor Jebb insisted that the national Church had adapted itself more and more as the generations went on to the wants of the people.

Even more vigorous was the opposition against another important measure, Sir William Harcourt's Local Veto Bill, which was introduced on February 27th. Ten per cent. of the ratepayers in any small borough, ward of a large borough, or country parish could, according to this drastic scheme, demand a ballot every third year, on the grant or continuance of any liquor licence, and a majority of two-thirds would entail its withdrawal. There was to be no compensation, and no respite, after the first three years, except until the next annual renewal of licences. Various establishments were exempted, such as railway-station refreshment rooms, eating-houses, and clubs, and, of course, private dwellings of every kind. Sunday closing was to be enforced by a bare majority of the ratepayers. In some respects the Bill hardly satisfied the Temperance party, which had hoped for a universal Sunday closing; but Sir Wilfrid Lawson expressed, on the whole, the most cordial approval. Its opponents, on the other hand, declared that it was a piece of class legislation, interfering with the poor and not the rich, that the eating-houses would simply become public-houses under another shape, that it would lead to secret drinking, and

that the absence of compensation was grossly unfair. So vehement was the antagonism that the Government, despite Sir William Harcourt's stout denials, soon showed a disposition to drop the Bill. Early in April a public meeting, over 10,000 strong, was held in Birmingham to protest against the proposal, and Mr. Chamberlain held that it "involved the maximum of inconvenience, and the minimum of real temperance reform." Later, a huge and admirably-organised demonstration in favour of the Bill was held in Hyde Park, when Sir William Harcourt was present as a spectator. Nevertheless, partly owing to the pressure of business, and partly to the intense hostility of the brewing, distilling, and licensed victualling interests, the Local Veto Bill was permitted to disappear.

Before Easter very little progress was made with legislation. The Government were anxious to get the second reading of the Home Rule Bill out of the way before the holidays; and certain Members of the Opposition, availing themselves of the inexperience of the new Chairman of Committees, Mr. Mellor, resorted, in consequence, to more or less undisguised obstruction. On the other hand, the confiscation of private Members' nights was none too popular even with the Ministerialists. The most instructive debate was that on the report of the Evicted Tenants Commission, which was produced in March. Mr. Justice Mathew and his colleagues decided that the combinations into which the tenants entered could not be denounced as fraudulent and dishonest, though they were pronounced by high authority to be criminal. They therefore recommended that the Land Commission should determine the rent at which the petitioners were entitled to be reinstated. If the landlord so desired, the evicted tenant would be obliged to purchase, though the Commission might extend the time for the payment of instalments; and Boards of Guardians were authorised to lend money to restock the farms. The Commission was to settle what compensation, if any, was due from the evicted tenant to the "interloper." Thereupon, Mr. T. W. Russell proposed to reduce the vote for special Commissions by £2,000, the cost of Mr. Justice Mathew's inquiry. In a slashing speech he declared that the Commission had simply been organised to relieve Mr. John Dillon and Mr. William O'Brien of their responsibility towards the victims of the Plan of Campaign. The evictions had been "deliberately brought about for the purpose of making government in Ireland

impossible, and of humbugging the English electors," and any settlement, according to the recommendations of the report, would "be in the nature of a reward to tenants for doing wrong." He pointed out that the proposal whereby Poor Law Guardians were to lend the returning tenants money would lead to singular injustice, "since Lord Inchiquin, for example, paid the whole of the poor rates on his property under £4." Mr. Morley replied, with force, that the Unionists, by section 13 of the Land Purchase Act, had proposed to make special provision for the evicted tenants, and to place them in the position of debtors to the State. He denied, most emphatically, that the Commission had been packed; on the contrary, its object was to bring landlord and tenant together, and to close the agrarian sore. After speeches from Mr. Balfour, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Charles Russell the motion was defeated by 287 votes to 250. "A want of confidence" debate was raised on Mr. Dunbar Barton's motion that the House should be adjourned to consider the release of a dynamiter named Foley, who had been convicted of using explosives at Tipperary. Mr. Asquith declared that the Opposition should have moved a vote of censure, and the challenge was accepted by Mr. Balfour. However, in the interval the wrath of the Opposition had cooled, and after a rambling discussion on the state of Ireland, the vote was negatived by a majority of 47. For the rest the debates on the Army and Navy Estimates were unusually dull and—to anticipate—Sir William Harcourt's Budget, introduced on April 23rd, attempted no sensational finance. He had to deal with a declining revenue, a trifling deficit, and the prospect of a much greater one. In the circumstances he left the death duties alone because a change would not immediately bring in a considerable sum, and added a penny to the income tax, or, as Mr. Goschen phrased it, "put a penny in the slot."

Meanwhile, both sides were maturing their tactics, and speeches were being made all over the country. At a meeting of the Conservative party held on March the 2nd, Lord Salisbury announced that the Opposition leaders would meet the second reading of the Home Rule Bill by a proposal that it be read that day six months, and that they would be no party to the measure being "rushed." On the other side, an important resolution was reached at the Foreign Office on March 27th, when Mr. Gladstone informed his followers that if the Government measures were to be carried, especially the Home Rule Bill, they must surrender

nearly the whole time of Parliament to the Ministry. The Bill must have precedence for all the days on which it was set down, while Government business must have precedence on Tuesdays, and there must also be morning sittings on Fridays. In other words, the Government took up the whole time of the House except occasional Wednesdays. He reminded the House that twelve distinct pledges had been given to the country in the Queen's Speech; and though he would not talk of obstruction, yet the Opposition had taken twenty-three days on the Address and Supply, when eleven should have been enough. All sections of the party approved this programme, and Sir Joseph Pease urged, that next to Home Rule the Parish Councils Bill and the Employers' Liability Bill should have precedence, an arrangement ultimately adopted. Mr. Labouchere was loudly cheered when he remarked that more time might be saved if the Ministerialists talked less, and left the debating to Mr. Gladstone, Sir William Harcourt, and Mr. Morley. If everyone held his tongue after the first three days, the Unionists would soon get tired of beating the air. Three days afterwards, Mr. Gladstone moved that Government business should have precedence at all sittings, except those Fridays at which morning sittings were held. His tone was moderate but decidedly firm, and though Mr. Balfour urged that the object of the arrangement was to permit every section of the Liberal party to forward its fad, and to prevent any adequate discussion of Home Rule, and though Mr. Goschen urged the unexampled character of the motion, it was carried in a thin House, by 168 votes to 88.

During this interval of suspense, Mr. Gladstone refused to see a deputation representing the trading interests of Dublin and of the three southern provinces of Ireland, on the ground that an interview could lead to no good end. Its members then waited upon the Conservative leaders, Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Randolph Churchill, and subsequently upon the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain. Strenuous speeches were made, particularly by Lord Randolph and Mr. Chamberlain. The former declared that he had never known in English history "more cruel and wicked conduct on the part of any British Minister towards a loyal people," than Mr. Gladstone's "in thus secluding and immuring himself." He had long felt that the first effect of Home Rule would be to drive not only English and Scottish capital, but that of Irishmen as well out of the country.

Mr. Chamberlain went a step farther, and pointed out that the transfer of Irish business to Great Britain would entirely defeat the financial arrangements which Mr. Gladstone proposed under the Bill. The Premier can hardly have paid much attention to Lord Randolph's diatribes; very shortly afterwards he consented, nevertheless, to receive two commercial deputations, one from Belfast, and one from London. That from the

classes, had not depreciated the value of private property in England. He also showed that Mr. Sexton, when Lord Mayor of Dublin, had been able to raise a loan for the Corporation on exceptionally favourable terms, though, as a matter of fact, the transaction occurred before the Liberal party had adopted Home Rule.

The second reading of the Home Rule Bill was preceded by a great demonstration at Belfast, at



THE CONFERENCE ROOM, FOREIGN OFFICE.

northern city stated that seven banks in Ireland were already poorer by £938,000 stock, and that seven railways had lost £1,000,000 since the Home Rule Bill had been introduced. Mr. Gladstone did not deny the depreciation of securities, but he attributed it to political leanings and to an unreasoning panic on the part of the propertied classes. The London magnates, among whom were Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Lidderdale, the late Governor of the Bank of England, argued that not only would capital be withdrawn, but that Ireland would in the future be unable to borrow in order to develop her resources. Mr. Gladstone replied that his previous measures, though opposed by the propertied

which Mr. Balfour was present. The march past occupied four hours, and some 80,000 men, at the lowest computation, joined in the procession. The leader of the Opposition creditably refrained from advocating armed resistance, but any sentence that gave the slightest hint of that emergency was wildly cheered; and he had an equally enthusiastic reception at Dublin, where he was drawn through the streets at the head of a torchlight procession. Mr. Gladstone, in the course of a speech that arrayed many powerful arguments, refrained from alluding to the Irish minority. He began by asking how this great controversy, once opened between England and Ireland, could be terminated otherwise than by the

concession of the Irish demand? The opponents of the Bill had given no answer, except Mr. Courtney, who urged that if England had sufficient patience, she would find that the Roman Catholics would become like the Protestants, friendly to the Union. The Prime Minister contended, however, that the process would take two centuries at least. Indeed the Irish were nearest their acceptance of

by force had ever prospered; (2) that those which had flourished had been favoured by race, language, and geography; (3) that voluntary concessions of Home Rule had invariably promoted attachment; (4) that unions, not incorporating, but autonomous, had been attended in all cases with complete or considerable success. With regard to the Bill, Mr. Gladstone pointed out that there was little



MR. BALFOUR IN DUBLIN: TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION. (See p. 508.)

the Union during the first twenty-eight years of its existence, and Catholic Emancipation and Reform had only fostered the movement for the modification, or repeal of that measure. He regarded the physical force agitation as temporary merely, and said that since the concession of an enlarged franchise the Irish people had respectfully pressed their desire on Parliament. It was absurd to suppose that the three or four millions of Irish who wanted Home Rule could be indifferent to the favourable judgment and sympathy of Great Britain. Turning to the history of the world he argued—(1) that no incorporating union maintained

danger, if the Irish Members were retained, that they would take part in votes of confidence upon purely British questions. Such divisions had almost invariably turned upon Imperial or Irish questions. If retained under the “in-and-out” clause, they would be prevented from being frequently present by the business of their own Parliament; and even, if kept for all purposes, though that device would open the door to intrigue, they would not habitually interfere with British questions. He declined to enter polemically into the financial arrangements, and while admitting that no scheme could be wholly free from

inconvenience, the drawbacks must be weighed against the great importance and vital moment of bringing about the real union of the countries and the consolidation of the Empire. Sir M. Hicks-Beach, who moved the rejection of the Bill, declared that, eloquent as much of Mr. Gladstone's speech had been, the greater part of it was entirely beside the question that the measure be read a second time. Mr. Gladstone's historical views had been adopted within the last seven years, and they were entirely inaccurate and illusory. He did not contend that the Irish Government was perfect, but the Bill would establish infinitely more misgovernment and injustice than had ever been known in that country. It would neither, he thought, establish an autonomous Legislature confined to purely Irish affairs, nor would it secure the supremacy of the Imperial Legislature. No Irish Parliament would be content with the limitations laid upon it, while the safeguards of the Protestant minority, the Civil Service, and the landlords, were wholly inadequate. The veto, he maintained, was a sham, and would never be used twice. As to the results of the Bill, capital would be driven from the country and the employment of labour restricted. The financial proposals were quite unworkable, the Irish Legislature would be incapable of performing its duties, bankruptcy would follow, and fresh burdens would be imposed upon the British taxpayer. How were the provisions for the protection of the British Exchequer to be enforced? The ninth clause regulating the retention of the Irish Members would reduce the House of Commons to impotency, and the result would be the purchase of their support by constant loans and grants. Mr. Macartney also enlarged upon the inefficiency of the so-called safeguards.

As the debate proceeded, the silence of the Liberals caused it to assume a one-sided character. The chief speech on Friday, April the 7th, was that of Mr. Dunbar Barton. He argued that Ulster was larger than Wales by 100,000 persons, that the Province returned a majority of 5 against Home Rule, and, if the Celtic counties of Donegal, Monaghan, and Cavan were omitted, a majority of 14. No Government would dare to force upon any colony of that size a rule which it repudiated. On the Monday Mr. Chamberlain dealt with Mr. Gladstone's points that the Bill was inevitable, and that the Bill was safe. He denied both arguments, urging that the Union had never been fairly tried, first, because Catholic Emancipation was withheld, and next because the Irish famine interrupted every effort

at reform. Mr. Gladstone had entered upon the right path, but he had suddenly swerved aside after but sixteen years' endeavour. As to the safety of the Bill, Mr. Chamberlain maintained that it was passionately rejected by one-third of the Irish population, and that the Nationalists, so far from being satisfied, demanded a more generous treatment of finance, and repudiated all finality as regarded the safeguards. The speaker scored a clever point in his concluding remarks: "Trust them not at all," he quoted from Tennyson's "Merlin and Vivien," "or all in all," whereat the Ministerialists cheered. "Yes," observed their opponent, "but in the poem we learn that, when the great enchanter yielded to the temptress, he brought about his own annihilation." Mr. Justin McCarthy, who followed, admitted that large concessions would be needed in Committee if the Bill was to be accepted by the Irish party. The next night produced a remarkable speech from Mr. Davitt, who allowed that in 1886 he was against the retention of the Irish Members, "because the House had been identified in his mind with past misgovernment," but he had entirely changed that opinion. Mr. T. W. Russell dwelt on the gerrymandering of the Irish representation under the Bill, though he guarded himself from advocating the separate treatment of Ulster as yet. Thursday's debate was flat, except for Mr. John Redmond's speech, which enforced Mr. McCarthy's point, with the addition that the Irish Parliament must be left absolutely unfettered. Mr. Chaplin's remarks resolved themselves into passages of arms with the Prime Minister, from whose previous utterances he quoted largely; while Mr. Wallace waxed sarcastic at the expense of the "in-and-out" clause, and still more the proposal to retain the Irish Members for all purposes. Matters improved considerably on the following night, when Mr. Asquith ridiculed the supposed unfitness of the Irish for self-government. If so the widening of the franchise in 1885, with the full consent of the Conservatives, was an act of criminal folly, and still more the Local Government Bill proposed by Mr. Balfour only a year previously. The true inference would be that Ireland should be immediately disfranchised. He stated most emphatically that the Government would not allow the Irish representatives to be excluded from the Imperial Parliament. Lord George Hamilton left Mr. Goschen to answer the Home Secretary, and dwelt upon the impossibility of executing Imperial orders after the Irish Executive had been made virtually independent. The ex-Chancellor of the

Exchequer maintained that though the Irish Members might be "converts from the gospel of plunder, and penitent apostates from the creed of disintegration," there was no proof that their constituents had changed their minds. He argued that there was nothing to prevent the Irish Parliament from resolving, at the end of three years, that in consequence of the appreciation of gold rents ought to be reduced 30 per cent. ; or that all criminals, who had committed crimes that, by any stretch of the imagination, could be called political, must be immediately amnestied. Mr. Atherley Jones announced his intention of voting for the Bill, though he attacked the federating tendency of the "in-and-out" clause. Lord Randolph Churchill maintained that the Bill would only increase, instead of lightening the labours of Parliament, that the present Houses would become "one body with two centres of gravity," and that, as the Limerick Corporation had baffled the British Government with all its resources when it tried to levy an extra police-rate, the unfortunate Exchequer Judges could not possibly deal with the whole Irish Government. Mr. Morley, in reply, made a clever debating speech, which urged that the restrictions placed upon the Irish Legislature were less severe than those readily endured by the States of the American Union, and that the legal points raised by Lord R. Churchill were mares' nests. The greater part of his remarks, however, was devoted to a reply to Mr. Goschen's criticisms. The Budget might be disturbed to a certain extent, but Mr. Goschen had already diverted £7,000,000 from the control of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whereas the present Bill would only abstract £5,500,000. As to Ireland's contribution it was that paid at present, and thankfully accepted by Conservative Governments. He ended with a declaration that the Liberal party would never desert the Nationalists. After Mr. William Saunders had announced his intention of voting against the Bill, because, as a Radical, he could not support the principle of a Second Chamber, two Irish Unionists, Mr. Rentoul and Mr. Horace Plunkett, explained their position with moderation and ability. There followed an exceedingly eloquent speech from Mr. Sexton, who produced the colonial analogy to show that, though many nations might be centralising their government, it was not so with the British Empire. He hinted at a rearrangement, after six years, of the provision retaining the Irish Members at Westminster, and dwelt at some length on the unfairness of the financial proposals, since Ireland

needed more than the cost of her administration, and must raise loans to develop the country. The final passage set forth that it would be to Ireland's interest to avoid British interference by always doing justice, and that Ulster would not fight because the Irish Legislature would never give her cause. Mr. Carson made the curious point that the Bill might be so worked as to abolish trial by jury, since criminal appeals were to go before the Exchequer Judges, and Colonel Saunderson, in an amusing speech, asserted that every Irish smuggler would from henceforth smuggle with a clear conscience, since he would thereby reduce the tribute to Great Britain. On the last night three important speeches were made, those of Sir Henry James, Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Gladstone. The first maintained that the Supreme Government would, under the Bill, be absolutely unable to enforce any order which the Irish Government chose to resist, without employing the soldiery, and so practically initiating a civil war. The leader of the Opposition dwelt on the fact that many Ministerialists regarded the Bill as a first step to a Federation, but that no Minister had been bold enough to advocate a Federation in so many words. "A childish imitation of the American Constitution," he said, "by States so absurdly unequal as England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, is simply ridiculous." He urged that the right of Ulster to resist a new Legislature to which it strongly objected was a very different matter to the right of the Irish people to resist forcibly the laws of a Parliament at which they were already fully, and more than fully, represented. He further argued that it was not easy to attach much importance to the supposed consent of the Irish Members, since for eight or ten years together they had used diametrically opposite language on the same subject. At last Mr. Gladstone arose, and at the outset he appeared rather wearied and fatigued. He admitted again the complication of the financial arrangements left by the Union, and said that, if fairly faced, they could be overcome. The land question had purposely been reserved for treatment by the Imperial Parliament, and it would have been suicidal to couple a Land Bill with a Home Rule Bill. He begged to be excused, owing to the lateness of the hour, from reference to the safeguards or to the state of foreign opinion, but he would assert that but for the existence of the Land League, the Act of 1881 would never have been entered on the Statute Book. The Bill, he said in conclusion, would close a controversy of

700 years. Why then should it be rejected? It could only be because the declarations of the Nationalist Members were distrusted and disbelieved. He did not share in those feelings, though he allowed that in the excitement of past times some of them had used strong expressions. But none of the language about aversion to this country had been used since the period when the door of hope was opened. We had given free institutions to people of our race, except the Irishmen, over the whole world freely and without repentance, and those institutions had been crowned with success. Mr. Bartley rose to continue the debate, but his uncalled-for interposition was promptly closed. The division gave the Government a majority of 43—Ayes 347, Noes 304. Mr. W. Saunders finally voted with his party, and only fourteen Members were absent, all of whom had paired.

It would be impossible to give anything like an adequate idea of the speeches made out-of-doors by Unionist orators while the debate was in progress. Relays of Conservative and Liberal Unionist M.P.'s proceeded to all parts of Great Britain, and while Lord Randolph Churchill was haranguing the north, Mr. Chamberlain delivered at Birmingham what the *Spectator* hailed as "the speech of his life." The most pregnant passage was one arguing that a federal form of Government was quite unsuited to an Empire scattered over the whole globe. "We cannot exist as we have existed in the past, as we exist at present, if we disperse the unity of Parliament, if we disperse the power of the Executive, if we disperse the responsibility which now rests on the Imperial Parliament. That is our position. It may please Mr. Gladstone in a spirit of abasement, it may please him as a conscience-smitten penitent, to wrap himself round in a white sheet and proclaim to the civilised world the injury which England has done to Ireland, to offer to break off a piece of our Imperial structure, and to hand it over to the Nationalists as an atoning gift. But we, the responsible citizens of to-day, are conscious of no such guilt. We will take part in no such ceremony of surrender." The Liberals, as befitted a party acting on the defensive, attempted no counter-campaign, nor did they reply to the demonstrations held in London, of which the most remarkable was that of 1,200 Irish delegates—half from Ulster and half from the Southern Provinces—at the Albert Hall on April the 22nd. The Duke of Abercorn, who presided, described the Bill as calculated to establish the supremacy

of bad men, and the subserviency of good, "with no good points, and bristling with clauses which negated its illusory safeguards." It "condemned Ireland to perpetual poverty, and proclaimed a truceless war—a war of races, a war of classes, a war of creeds." After an eloquent but decidedly diffuse speech from Dr. Alexander, the Bishop of Derry, Mr. Atkinson, the ex-Solicitor-General, declared that the Bill was worse than Separation, because it placed Ireland under the perpetual domination of one class, the small farmers, whereas, if Ireland was separate, there would not exist in the four seas the power to crush that Loyalist minority. In the evening the delegates were entertained at a banquet at St. James's Hall with the Duke of Devonshire in the chair. He declared that in the carrying of the second reading, Mr. Gladstone had only advanced as near to his goal as if, desiring to reach the moon, he had ascended to the top of St. Paul's Cathedral. A similar intimation was conveyed by Lord Salisbury, at Hatfield, whither the delegates were invited on the 25th. He compared the contest to a game of whist with English and Irish Unionists as partners against the Liberals and the Fenians. The latter had won one trick, but "only stand firm to the determination that there shall be no Home Rule Bill, and the hand will yet be ours." On the same day they waited on the Lord Mayor and presented him with an address. Sir William Ewart made the remarkable declaration that the Ulstermen were so sure that ruin would follow the Bill that they had already made arrangements for convening an assembly of 600 with "authority to declare the policy and to direct the actions of the Irish Unionists." He repudiated the idea of the separate treatment of Ulster as a bribe, which would involve the base abandonment of the Unionists in the other provinces.

On the second reading of the Miners' Eight Hours Bill, which was carried by 279 to 201, Mr. Gladstone took the opportunity to declare that he was in favour of local requirements being decided locally. For example, he had, in 1886, proposed to exempt the north-eastern corner of Ireland from the Home Rule Bill, and that proposal, to which the Nationalists had consented, "had never been withdrawn." This concession with regard to Ulster was made to smooth the Bill through Committee; nevertheless, the debates were both protracted and acrimonious. Mr. Mellor by no means proved the firmest of chairmen, and charges of obstruction were freely brought against the Opposition, and as fiercely repudiated. Undoubtedly

the debate wandered at times; on the other hand, a measure bristling with technicalities was calculated to confuse a popular Assembly. The first night witnessed a debate on the Supremacy question, which Mr. Morley cut short by moving the closure. Thereupon Lord Randolph Churchill, with some heat, moved to report progress, and a wrangle ensued. Mr. Byles seized a remark of Mr. Chamberlain's that the Irish party had been "squared," and asked how much it would take to "square" Mr. Chamberlain. After Mr. Mellor had in vain attempted to make the Member for

declared that the institution of the Council was quite an open question. On the motion that Clause 1 stand part of the Bill, there was some fierce give and take between Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Gladstone, in which the Premier retaliated with wonderful vigour. Eventually the first clause was carried by a majority of 42 (309 to 267) after a scene of disturbance provoked by some unknown Irish Member, who shouted to Mr. T. W. Russell, "What the devil are you talking about?" Mr. Bolton and Sir E. Reed both appealed to the Premier to make the supremacy



MATFIELD HOUSE.

the Shipley Division apologise, Lord Randolph Churchill's motion was rejected by a majority of 42, and Mr. Balfour's for adjournment by 304 votes to 257. Mr. Gladstone objected to Mr. Bartley's motion that the Irish Legislature should be described as "subordinate to Parliament," on the ground that the expression was invidious and was never used of Colonial Legislatures, and the argument was ratified by 292 to 257. Then followed Mr. Redmond's demand that the Irish Legislature should be called the Irish Parliament, which Mr. Gladstone refused to accept because the Queen was not a part of the Irish Legislature, and Mr. Morley because the word would arouse jealousy. After Mr. Redmond had been defeated by a huge majority of 466 votes to 40, there arose a very confused debate over Mr. T. W. Russell's unsuccessful proposal to omit all reference to the Legislative Council. Here again Mr. Gladstone

of the Imperial Parliament thoroughly clear. As a result, though Mr. Victor Cavendish's amendment proposing that the powers of the Irish Legislature should be specifically enumerated, was rejected, the Government accepted Sir Henry James's amendment to Clause 2, that, notwithstanding anything contained in the Home Rule Bill, the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom should remain "unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things within the Queen's dominions." The clause was carried by an application of the closure, after Mr. Goschen had come to loggerheads with Mr. Mellor because he protested against the imposition of that check before the Opposition could answer an important speech of Mr. Fowler's, and the House rose for the Whitsuntide recess.

The short holiday was turned to account by the political parties. Mr. Bryce, assisted by Mr.

Blake, delivered a spirited defence of the Government at Aberdeen; while Lord Salisbury went to Ireland and addressed large and enthusiastic audiences, both at Belfast and Londonderry. He made little attempt, it was noticed, to spread the false hope, in which the Unionist newspapers were fondly indulging, that Mr. Gladstone's majority would fall to pieces; and he declared that amendments were being moved, not with the view of improving a measure essentially and intolerably bad, but to riddle it so thoroughly with discussion that the British public, which was only beginning to grasp its dangers, might become fully aware of them before the appeal to the country. How far that object was obtained when the House resumed on May 30th, appeared somewhat doubtful, though there was an important debate on Lord Wolmer's amendment to Clause 3, providing that the new Legislature should have no power to discuss or pass resolutions on those subjects which were beyond its functions. The speaker urged that the Imperial Government might be seriously embarrassed by a resolution passed at Dublin on a Regency question or on foreign policy. Mr. Gladstone replied that no means existed of preventing the Irish Legislature from expressing its opinions, and that it could not be debarred from a right exercised by municipal corporations. The Government escaped defeat, however, by a majority of 21 only (259 to 238). The monotony was interrupted by Mr. Arnold-Forster, who drew attention to the condition of Clare, Kerry, and Limerick, and particularly to the persecution of Mr. Bindon Blood, who had been fired at no less than four times for the offence of getting rid of his servant's son, who was suspected of complicity in two murders. Mr. Morley tacitly admitted the story, but he maintained that agrarian crime had decreased under his administration, though he allowed, that if all kinds of crime were taken together, the figures showed a slight increase. Then Mr. Gladstone agreed to exclude the creation of a force analogous to the constabulary from the powers of the Irish Legislature. As the nights wore on, the extreme Liberals strongly advocated drastic measures for hastening the progress of the Bill, but Mr. Gladstone declined as yet to resort to wholesale closure, or to the permanent suspension of the twelve o'clock rule. The discussions during the week ending on June the 10th dealt with somewhat abstruse questions, and the Government accepted several amendments from the Opposition. Thus, negotiations for the extradition of criminals,

the treaty-making power and all other relations with foreign countries, were expressly withdrawn from the functions of the Irish Parliament. Further, aliens "as such"—a somewhat over-subtle phrase of Mr. Sexton's—were excluded from the legislation of that body, and it was deprived of power over the law relating to merchant shipping. Sir William Harcourt also promised to see if safeguards could not be introduced against reckless dealing with the currency, and clause 3 was passed on June the 13th.

By way of interlude there came a crisis in the quarrel between Mr. Sexton and Mr. Healy over the control of the *Freeman's Journal*, and the former gentleman placed his resignation in the hands of Mr. McCarthy. He withdrew that document, however, after the Irish Parliamentary Committee had rescinded a resolution declining to interfere, but Mr. Morrogh, M.P. for East Cork, departed from Parliamentary life, because he would not "submit to individuals whose action was based on their personal interests." The amendments moved by the Opposition during the next few days were lost, though Mr. Wyndham raised an important discussion, by attempting to define the phrase "due process of law." Eventually, the words "in accordance with settled principles and precedents" were accepted by Mr. Morley in spite of Mr. Sexton's severe comment on the "unaccountable fatuity of the course of concession lately pursued by the Government." On the 22nd Mr. Gladstone made a most important announcement. The new financial arrangements were to last for six years, when they were to be revised, and the common contributions would be only the Customs, Excise, and Post Office. There was to be no change "in fixing, managing, or collecting existing taxes," but new taxes could be imposed in Ireland by the Legislature. Thirdly, Ireland's contribution would be one-third of her ascertained revenue; and fourthly, the Imperial Parliament would only place additional taxation on Ireland for war or special defence. It was also understood that the Irish Members during the first six years would remain in their full numbers and for all purposes. The chief expression of hostility to the new development came from Mr. Redmond, who announced that when the clause depriving Ireland of the right to collect her own taxes came on, he should oppose it "as unjust and humiliating to Ireland." On Wednesday, the 27th of June, Mr. Gladstone announced his intention of following Mr. Smith's precedent on the Crimes Bill, and applying the

closure at stated intervals. Clauses 5 to 8 must have passed through Committee by July the 6th; clauses 9 to 26, except those omitted or postponed, by July the 13th; clauses 27 to 40 by July 20th, and the remainder with the schedules and the preamble by July the 27th. The debate on this drastic remedy, which the Conservative newspapers promptly dubbed "closure by compartment," was very spirited. Mr. Gladstone emphatically declared that the question was whether the majority or the minority should have legitimate power in the House of Commons, and he quoted the precedent of 1887. Mr. Balfour retorted that it was no precedent at all. The Crimes Bill, he said, was a mild repetition of Mr. Gladstone's own policy, simple in its operation, and could be relaxed or even withdrawn by an order of the Executive. The present Bill bristled with the gravest constitutional problems, every clause involved almost a revolution, and once passed, it could not be repealed except by British bayonets. He pointed out that the House had not even been allowed a second reading debate on the new financial clauses, as they were not in existence when that stage was reached. Several amendments were proposed, and on that of Mr. T. W. Russell declining to fetter liberty of speech, Mr. Chamberlain hurled censure at the Treasury Bench, but they were all rejected by majorities ranging from 23 to 34, and the proposal itself was carried by a majority of 32 (299 votes to 267).

The tone of discussion became heated after this, both outside and inside the House. Thus, the Parnellites issued a grandiose manifesto against their opponents, the followers of Mr. McCarthy, "who had sat silent when restriction after restriction had been grafted on the Bill." Within doors Mr. Gladstone described a speech of Mr. Arnold-Forster's as distinguished with the most wanton introductions of venomous matter that he had ever experienced, and Mr. Balfour accused Sir John Rigby, the Solicitor-General, of failing to keep his temper. However, the Ministerial majority adhered firmly together, and amendments were one and all rejected. The first wholesale application of the closure found the House still engaged on clause 5, and when it and clauses 6, 7 and 8, establishing the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, and providing for the settlement of disagreements between them, were put from the Chair, the passions of the young bloods of the Opposition found vent in hissing and "booing." On the ninth or "in-and-out" clause, Mr. Gladstone, after various amendments

had been rejected, announced that the proposal would be withdrawn, and the Irish Members were to be retained to the number of eighty for all purposes, both British and Imperial. The sudden change of front produced a small Liberal revolt, headed by Mr. Rathbone and Mr. Wallace. The latter described the Bill as transformed from one giving self-government to Ireland, to one destroying self-government in England. On the following day, after six hours' debate altogether, the discussion was cut short by the closure, after Mr. Gladstone had replied with vigorous sarcasm to Mr. Balfour's remark that the Government was not worth attacking. The division gave the Government a majority of 25, five Liberals, Messrs. Wallace, Rathbone, Bolton, Atherley Jones, and Dr. Clark, voting with the Opposition, and two, Messrs. Shaw and Illingworth, abstaining. Then eighteen clauses were silently closed, the majorities varying from 33 to 35. The disorder of the House had been shown a few days previously, when Mr. Conybeare was called to account for a letter reflecting severely on the conduct of the Speaker. His explanation only made matters worse, and provoked Mr. Peel not a little. Finally a grudging withdrawal was obtained, through the intervention of Mr. Sexton, and Mr. Conybeare escaped suspension by expressing regret for having published, not written the letter. Mr. Sexton himself, however, thought fit to disregard a ruling of Mr. Mellor's to the effect that Mr. Brodrick's certainly injudicious definition of the Celtic race as "impecunious and garrulous" was not out of order, and attacked Mr. Milman, one of the clerks of the House, for some advice he was supposed to have given. "Am I to swallow an insult to my countrymen at the dictation of an English clerk?" he asked; and the wrangle continued for nearly an hour, before Mr. Gladstone persuaded the irate member to cease from defying the Chair.

These irregularities proved the precursors of a yet more deplorable scene, in which the House of Commons utterly disgraced itself. On Friday, the 14th of July, the House went into Committee of Supply on a financial resolution explanatory of the Bill. Sir William Harcourt set forth that the revenue derived from Ireland would amount to £6,922,000, and the expenditure on Irish objects to £4,634,000. The difference between the two totals, about £2,300,000, would be taken as Ireland's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer. But the Government proposed to give Ireland two-thirds of the revenue derived from the taxes

and Crown lands, which amounted to £4,522,000, the miscellaneous receipts, which stood at £138,000, and an allowance of one-third on the cost of the constabulary, or £500,000. The discussion was held over until a more convenient opportunity, after Mr. Goschen and Mr. Chamberlain had urged that, on the Government's own showing, Ireland's contribution would be nearly £800,000 per annum short of the amount which she ought in strictness to pay. On Monday Mr. John Morley explained the treatment in store for the officials in the permanent Civil Service. A transitional period of five years would be instituted, during which retirements might take place, with six months' notice on either side, and special terms of compensation. After the five years Civil Servants would retire on the full pension earned before or during the transitional period. The payments would be made by the Treasury of the United Kingdom, and during the five years a joint-committee would consider cases under dispute. Mr. Balfour's amendment, that no official should be dismissed until he had been offered a position of equal importance in England or Scotland, was defeated by 42 votes; but the subject was still before the House when on the 20th the third application of the closure disposed of some ten clauses. The Government majorities varied from 35 to 26, except on Mr. John Morley's promised amendment to prevent the Irish Parliament from creating an armed constabulary, which was carried by a majority of 488.

So far the discussions had been fairly orderly, but tempers rose as the hour for the final application of the "guillotine" approached. Thus, a personal altercation took place between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain over the financial clauses. The Prime Minister made an attack on the Member for West Birmingham after the debate of Tuesday had closed, and on the following day the latter said a few words with reference to "the ferocious speech" of the Premier. As for the arguments used, the Opposition maintained that the Government had determined to manufacture an initial surplus of half-a-million for Ireland at all costs, and to that end Ireland's contribution had been reduced from one-twenty-sixth to one-thirtieth. Also Sir John Lubbock contended that "while Ireland was to pay one-third of her revenue for common purposes and keep two-thirds for herself, England was to pay more than two-thirds for joint expenses and keep less than one-third for herself. Moreover, even as regards this small proportion, Englishmen were not to spend it

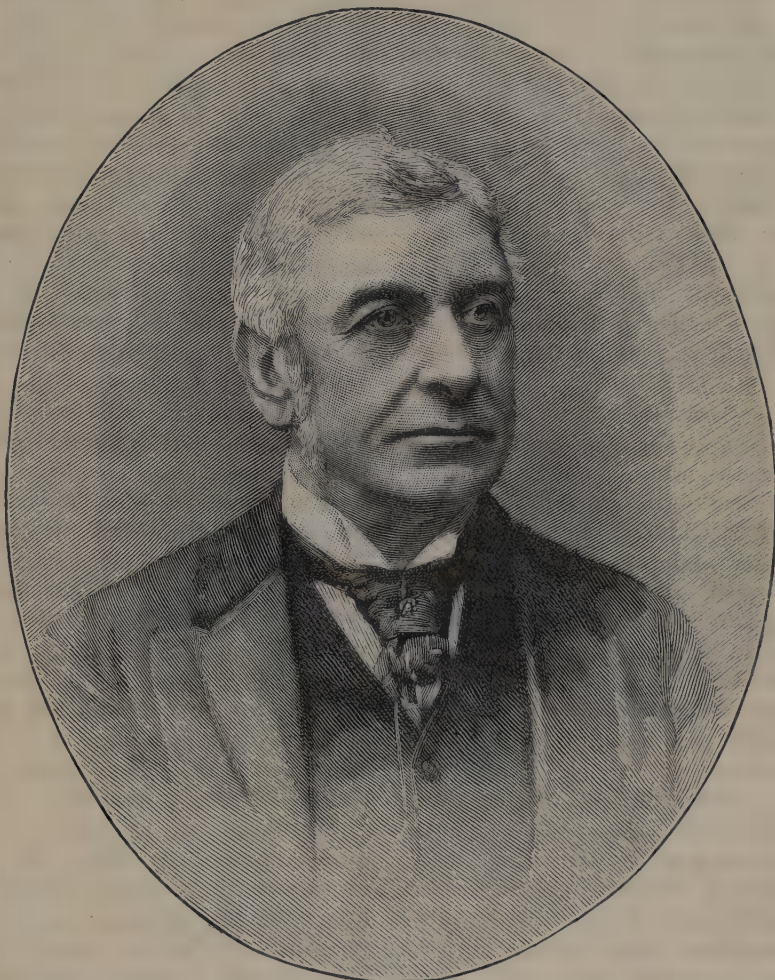
as they liked, but Irishmen were to have eighty votes in deciding what Englishmen should do with the small amount of their money graciously left to them for their own purposes." In reply Mr. Fowler pointed out that in common justice the Irish Legislature must be given a fair start, and that the cost of collecting the Irish revenue would be not £200,000, as the Opposition thought, but only £120,000; while Sir William Harcourt arrayed figures to show that, judged by the average of the last three years, Ireland would pay precisely what she was paying at present. The second reading of the financial clauses was carried by a majority of 35, and Mr. Redmond's opposition to the provision for a delay of six years in giving Ireland the control of her own taxation was rejected by 249 to 53, or a majority of 196, several Anti-Parnellites voting with the Ministerialists.

When the hour for the application of the closure arrived, Mr. Chamberlain was in the midst of an impassioned speech. If Mr. Gladstone said "white," remarked his former colleague, his followers cried "It is good;" and if he exchanged the word "black" for "white" the same voices ejaculated "It is better." "Never since the time of Herod has there been such slavish adulation——" Here he was interrupted by the cry of "Judas! Judas!" raised, it afterwards appeared, by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, and clamour drowned the remainder of his speech. As the House cleared for the division, several Unionist Members, remaining seated, called the attention of the Chairman to the expression, and shouted that it should be taken down. Mr. Mellor, somewhat unnerved, first declared that he had not heard the expression, and ultimately acceded to their demand. Among these remonstrants was Mr. Carson, and Mr. Logan, imagining apparently that he was singled out for opprobrium, crossed the floor, and sat down, somewhat abruptly, by Mr. Carson's side on the front Opposition bench. Mr. Hayes Fisher, from behind, seized Mr. Logan by the back of the neck, and thrust him violently forward. The Irish Members rushed across either to rescue him, or, in several cases no doubt, to see what was going on. At the gangway they were met by Colonel Saunderson, Mr. Burdett-Coutts, and Colonel Waring, and the fight began. Subsequent accounts did not clearly identify the striker of the first blow; but it seems Colonel Saunderson and Mr. Crean smote one another with some vigour, that Mr. Healy was in the thick of the *mêlée*, that Members had one another by the throat, coats were torn, and hats sent flying in all

directions. The strangers in the gallery rose and loudly hissed the House of Commons, as well they might. Finally the Speaker appeared, and the scene, which had lasted twenty minutes, came to an end. Mr. Peel obtained from Mr. T. P. O'Connor an apology for his use of the word

Mr. Balfour thereupon expressed their wish that the matter should terminate, and Mr. McCarthy's demand that the Irish party should be especially exculpated went unregarded.

Committee of Supply, the Education Estimates for England and Scotland, and a debate on agri-



MR. MELLOR.

(From a Photograph by C. Vandyke, Gloucester Road, S.W.)

"Judas," and then insisted that recrimination should cease. All the while Mr. Gladstone had been standing at the table with an expression of pain on his face. A conference was held between Mr. Fisher, Mr. Logan, Mr. Marjoribanks, Sir William Walrond, and Mr. Wharton, to arrange the apology which the first two should make to the House. There was some punctilio as to which of the two offenders should be the first to rise, but eventually Mr. Fisher took precedence, and both made the freest acknowledgment of their misdeeds. The Speaker, Mr. Gladstone, and

cultural depression contributed most opportunely to restore the House to a calmer and better mind. Further, Mr. Gladstone caused it to be known, in answer to a miners' deputation, that sittings would be held in the autumn for the despatch of business, and the possibility that holidays might be altogether extinguished undoubtedly quickened progress. Mr. Labouchere departed for Marienbad, after publishing a letter to the chairman of the Radical Association at Northampton, in which he admitted that the policy of forcing the whole clauses of the Home Rule Bill through the House

by means of the closure was decidedly dubious, and urged that the session should close as quickly as possible, and a new session begin early in the autumn to be devoted entirely to the Newcastle programme. His advice was not taken, however, and the House turned its attention to the new clauses. Those prepared by the Government were carried by majorities of 40 or thereabouts, and Mr. Gladstone accepted Sir Henry James's provision which deprived the Lord-Lieutenant of the power which he then possessed of suspending the Habeas Corpus Act by proclamation. But numerous clauses for modifying the representation of Ireland, and altering the composition of the Second Chamber were rejected, though Mr. Morley carried a modification of Mr. Henry Hobhouse's amendment forbidding the Irish Legislature to give undue preference to Irish industries prejudicially to those of Great Britain. On August the 18th Mr. Gladstone gave notice of his intention to closure the Report stage, without putting to the vote any amendments, except those standing in the name of the Government, and his motion was made on the 21st. The speeches, of necessity, dealt with old arguments, the Prime Minister urging that the step was a necessary and logical corollary of the previous resolutions, while Mr. Chamberlain declaimed *more suo* "against this political dictatorship, this policy by which the interests of Great Britain have been surrendered and betrayed, and against the tactics by which the House of Commons has been insulted and degraded." Fortunately, Sir William Harcourt restored good humour by bantering Mr. Chamberlain upon stimulating his enemies to the encounter by blasts of his horn; and Mr. Balfour, in a similar vein, declared that Mr. Gladstone had wandered more than any other speaker from the points under discussion, but the House, weary though it was, could easily forgive an orator so fascinating and delightful. The Government had its way by a majority of 38 (200 votes to 162), and the new clauses were got out of the way on the 25th, no amendment of any importance being carried except Mr. Morley's modification of Mr. Bolton's proposal that the Irish Executive should consist of such persons as might be approved by the Crown. Mr. Gladstone had rebuked Mr. Bolton for acting through-out contrary to the instructions which he had received from the electors when he entered the House. However, he subsequently allowed that he was wrong to interfere between the hon. Member and his constituents, and handsomely

withdrew the expression. On the following day the closure cut short the Report stage, after Mr. Morley's amendment providing that the Lord-Lieutenant should appoint the Irish Judges had been carried by 38 (228 to 190).

When the debate on the third reading was reached (August the 30th), every argument on the general principles of the Bill had long since been exhausted. Even Mr. Gladstone could do no more than reproduce his old historical parallels of Home Rule in Austria-Hungary, Sweden and Norway, and the rest; and he adduced, once more, examples from European literature to show that the policy of England towards Ireland was universally censured. The most vigorous portion of the speech was that in which he dwelt upon the most copious criticism which the Opposition had used against the Bill, and he stated that their pleas would be much nearer the truth if a "not" was inserted before each of the operative verbs. He quoted Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's witty remark that it seemed, in the eighteenth century, as if the "nots" had been taken out of the Ten Commandments in order to be distributed over the articles of the Creed. Otherwise the Prime Minister's speech was not particularly remarkable, though its charm of delivery was said to have produced a marked impression on the House. Mr. Courtney moved the rejection of the Bill in a fairly vigorous speech, his main argument being that, as the country had been kept in the dark as to the provisions of the Home Rule Bill—in spite of the remonstrances of Home Rulers like Mr. Asquith,—it became the positive duty of the Opposition to hammer its objectionable features into the minds of the electorate, so as to prepare the constituencies for an intelligent vote when the question was submitted to them. The next day's debate, beyond a fairly successful but somewhat nervous maiden speech from Mr. Disraeli, was noteworthy only for Mr. Redmond's outspoken declaration that the Bill could be accepted as an instalment only, not as a full satisfaction of the Irish demand. Its finance was grossly unjust, and the limitations on the power of dealing with the land and collecting the revenue were utterly inconsistent with the spirit of Home Rule. On the third night Sir Charles Russell made an eloquent defence of the retention of the Irish Members, on the ground that the country had pronounced most decisively against their exclusion, and that, after all, they were only kept, in reduced numbers, where they were before. Mr. Plunket put in

a remonstrance on behalf of the Irish landlords, while Mr. Dillon declared that the Bill would be accepted in good faith by the Irish people, and Mr. T. W. Russell expressed once more the determination of Ulster not to be placed under the heel of the Nationalist party. Sir Henry James infused a certain amount of life into the moribund discussion by a speech in which he declined to regard the crisis as a popular revolution. On the contrary, it was a revolution made by one man, and it had been palmed off on the English people through the resources of the Newcastle programme. On Friday, September the 1st, the long agony came to an end; indeed the debate might well have concluded a day sooner. Mr. McCarthy repeated Mr. Dillon's acceptance of the Bill "on behalf of the Irish people," and Mr. Chamberlain passed the contents of the Bill under general review. Incidentally he stated that when he joined the Government in 1886, he told the Prime Minister that he accepted office on the understanding that Mr. Gladstone's purpose was inquiry, and that he was not committed to anything. The Premier interposed with a correction; he had said that "the Government was not committed." Sir Edward Grey defended the Home Rule principle, but said very little about that particular Bill, and Dr. Wallace made one of his humorous speeches about the retention of the Irish Members. "Irishmen insisted on leaving the greater part of their farewell luggage in his house. He did not want their luggage left, but if they insisted, that gave them no power to wander all over the house, and do whatever they pleased. They ought to be very thankful that he did not throw their luggage into the street." Mr. Balfour summed up the Opposition arguments in a tone almost of triumph. Never again, he declared, would the Government be able to come before the constituencies and use all the resources of disingenuous rhetoric to declare that you can give to Ireland all she wants, and take away nothing that she values from Britain. The issues were clear, and the Opposition would abide by the verdict of the country. The division gave Mr. Gladstone a majority of 34 (301 votes to 267), or nine less than that which carried the second reading. The Premier, it was said, received the announcement of the numbers without the slightest show of emotion; but the Ministerialists, jaded though they were, raised a vigorous cheer.

The Duke of Devonshire, who moved the rejection of the Bill in the House of Lords, had

already given an outline of his reasons in a speech at Otley. He would resist it for three reasons: because it would injure Ireland, because it would undermine the British Constitution, and because it had never been discussed, but pressed through the House of Commons by means of the "gag." That instrument, he declared, had been more mischievous in giving the Gladstonians an excuse for not opening their mouths on the new Ninth Clause, than in silencing the Opposition. On the 5th of September Lord Spencer moved the second reading in a concise but well-reasoned speech, which dealt partly with his own position. During his Viceroyalty he had attempted to administer the Coercion Act, and he could not help feeling that he had failed. He felt bound to reconsider his attitude, and the events of 1885 increased his sense that it was untenable. A Conservative Government was willing and able to enter upon office when in a minority, and with the help of the Irish vote. The continuity which had hitherto existed in the administration of the law had been abruptly broken. "These two considerations had a profound effect on my mind, and convinced me that a change must be made in the policy which both parties had hitherto pursued." The Duke of Devonshire then rose, and began with the contention that the House of Lords knew the limits of its power. To oppose the decided will of the country would be "unwise, impolitic, and unpatriotic," but in the present case they were not so acting. On the contrary, it would be most unwise to pass the Bill unless they were certain that the country was emphatically in favour of Home Rule. Supposing the Bill to become law, and a Dissolution to take place, followed by the return of a strong Unionist majority. What would be the position of the new Irish Parliament, confronted by a hostile Government at Westminster? "Consider what in that case would be the responsibility of your Lordships' House. You would be told that you had had the power to prevent these evils, that you had had the power to impose an interval during which the true will and desire of the people might be ascertained, but that you had failed to use this opportunity." The Duke dwelt with emphasis upon the circumstance that the Bill had been hurried through without adequate debate to enlighten the constituencies, and he proceeded to unfold what he considered to be its dangers. Also he pointed out that colonial experience showed that the grant of a dependent Parliament had always been followed by practical independence, and this in the case of

Ireland could not possibly be conceded. Among the subsequent speakers was the Duke of Norfolk, who, on behalf of the English Catholics, declared that the Bill dangled temptations before their co-religionists which could only be grasped by an unholy alliance with a movement whose strength was founded on means condemned by the Church.

Next night the Duke of Argyll gave vent to a burst of genuine but not very apposite oratory, dealing largely in historical reminiscence and illustrated by Mr. Gladstone's speeches. Lord Ashbourne followed with a speech directed to the Constitutional aspects of the proposed innovation. He dwelt especially upon what he regarded as the utter absurdity of the so-called safeguard of the Veto. Lord Rosebery's intervention in the debate confirmed the impression that he was not an out-and-out Home Ruler. He described himself as not an enthusiastic witness for the principle; it was not for him a fanaticism, or even a question of sentiment, or even a question of history, but merely a question of policy. He considered that in 1800 the Union was not only inevitable, but a great act of statesmanship. At present it required modification, and he suggested that the Lords would have done well to read the Bill a second time, alter it freely in Committee, and then arrange a conference with the Commons "which might have led to a future result." The case of the Government was put more strongly by Lord Herschell, and he too suggested that the House should pass the second reading, and amend the Bill in Committee. He pointed out that the necessity for union was much less than at the commencement of the century, because the Irish had dwindled from a third to one-eighth of the population of the United Kingdom. He also argued that the concession of the franchise to Ireland implied, of necessity, the cessation of coercion. He ended with a prophecy that as the Lords had been beaten on every occasion when they resisted the Commons, so would they be beaten again. Lord Halsbury twitted the Foreign Secretary with having given an excellent exhibition of diplomatic tact. He would be able to point to the speech at some future time and say, "I spoke in favour of some measure of self-government for Ireland, but I never approved of one single clause of this Bill." Lord Salisbury wound up the debate in a speech of decided moderation, in which he succeeded in keeping down his tendency towards indiscreet sarcasms. He, however, complimented the Liberal Peers on the intellectual resource and ingenuity they had displayed in

avoiding all reference to the Government Bill, and he delicately mocked Lord Rosebery for his evasion of the Ulster difficulty. The hollow excuses which had been made by Ministers for their sudden conversion in 1886 formed one of the saddest examples of political degeneracy that had marked our times. Their celerity in turning like Derivishes was, he said, quite peculiar to the Gladstonian party. The policy of the Government was one of despair, and founded on the alleged failure of the Union, a failure which he emphatically refused to admit. Irish society had for centuries been divided to its base by the bitterest differences, and the only corrective was the fusion of the smaller community, the Irish, with the British. He severely rebuked the rashness of shattering their whole political structure in order to plunge into the most perilous of new experiments. To those who asked what was his alternative policy he replied first in the words of Mr. Gladstone, "Patient continuance in well-doing," and secondly in the words of President Lincoln "Keep pegging away." The Bill had not only been passed by a South-Irish majority, by men elected by the carefully watched illiterates, and under the orders of Archbishop Walsh, but passed by men on whom a criminal brand had been placed by the order of three of the highest Judges. He indicated the foreign and domestic dangers of handing over Ireland to these men, the bitterest enemies of this country, and censured the weak, optimistic trust placed in their goodwill by the Government. Finally, he declared, amidst loud cheers, that if the House allowed so mean and treacherous a revolution to pass, they would be untrue alike to their highest traditions, to the trust bequeathed to them from the past, and to the Empire of England. In reply for the Government, Lord Kimberley denied that the Irish Members were criminals in the ordinary sense of the word, though they might, in former times, have made mistakes in their ideas of patriotism. He considered that the retention of the Irish Members was the best of the available methods, and he taunted the Duke of Devonshire with having changed his mind on that particular point. The question of a separate Legislature for Ireland was distinctly before the country at the General Election, though the particular Bill was not; and he charged the Unionists with an unreasonable and unfair distrust of the Irish people. It was a melancholy thing that after nearly half-a-century of the Union, a country should be in the discontented state of Ireland, and all because her people were denied that limited amount of

autonomy which, as experience showed, was the surest foundation upon which the government of any people could rest. At seven minutes past twelve on Friday, the 9th of September, the Home Rule Bill was thrown out by a majority of ten to one (419 votes to 41). Among the non-Ministerial Peers who voted with the minority were Lord Coleridge, Lord Aberdare, Lord Thring, Lord Farrer, and the future Viceroy of India, Lord Elgin. Despite the late hour, a Conservative crowd awaited the result outside, and received the news with cheers. Lord Salisbury and other members of the former Government were also warmly greeted as they appeared.

It had long been decided that Mr. Gladstone would not recommend a dissolution on the rejection of the Bill by the Upper Chamber, and to that decision the Government adhered. Nevertheless, the entire absence of excitement both in Great Britain and Ireland appeared to show that there was no strong body of feeling behind the measure. Mr. Harrington ominously remarked at a Parnellite meeting, that he doubted if the House of Lords could be induced to repent by-and-by, since they could justify themselves "by the fact that the majority of the English people were against the Home Rule Bill." However, the National Liberal Federation issued a manifesto in which the assertion was made, that "the wishes of two million electors are to count for nothing as opposed to the wishes of four hundred Peers representing themselves alone." The permanent Tory majority of the House of Lords was pitted against the popularly elected majority in the House of Commons. The issue had been raised, and the question of ending or mending the Upper Chamber, might therefore displace all other subjects of reform, and cry aloud for vigorous and unflinching treatment. The document, nevertheless, concluded rather lamely: "We for the present reject the pretensions of the Peers to force a Dissolution, and propose to enter upon a real era of reform." Mr. Gladstone had already set forth the intentions of the Government. Supply must be got through,

and then there would be an adjournment until November the 2nd. Eventually it appeared that the autumn sittings would be devoted to "non-contentious" business, including the Parish Councils Bill and the Employers' Liability Bill. At first certain irresponsible Conservatives, led by Mr. Hanbury and Mr. Bowles, seemed disposed to insist upon a minute discussion of Supply. However, their own side was anxious to be free of St. Stephen's, and the debates were prosaic and tolerably instructive. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman gave a somewhat weak defence of the appointment of the Duke of Connaught to the Aldershot command, when Lord Roberts was willing to take the post, since he was compelled to ignore the deciding circumstance, the wishes of the Queen. Mr. Hanbury had his say in the so-called "cordite scandal," and while he seemed to show that the powder had demerits, the charges of jobbery brought by the *Pall Mall Gazette* against Sir Frederick Abel and Professor Dewar were by no means justified. Mr. Fowler declined to accept Sir John Gorst's semi-Socialist suggestions for finding work for the unemployed on workhouse farms. On the Irish Estimates Mr. Balfour congratulated Mr. Morley "on the rapid and complete reward which had attended his good work in Ireland," and delicately remarked that evictions appeared to continue, that meetings had to be dispersed, and that a good many other things which had occurred in the past still occurred. As usual, there were some miscellaneous discussions on the second reading of the Appropriation Bill, but the Indian Budget was produced by Mr. George Russell in an almost empty House, and on the following day, September the 22nd, the Members departed to enjoy their six weeks' holiday. So far the Session had been absolutely barren, unless we except a useful little Act, which had contrived to escape the general massacre, for preventing the enclosure of commons save with the consent of the Board of Agriculture. Thus, the vacant spaces in the neighbourhood of London were secured against the jerry-builder.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Marriage of the Duke of York—The Processions—The Religious Ceremony—The Archbishop's Address—The Progress through London—Opening of the Imperial Institute—Loss of the *Victoria*—Account of the Catastrophe—The Court-Martial—The Relief Fund—The Cholera—The Cotton Strike—The Hull Strike—The Coal Strike—Ultimatum of the Masters—Reply of the Miners' Federation—The Joint Conference—The Strike Begins—The Featherstone Riot—Distress in the Midlands—The Sheffield and Birmingham Conferences—Mr. Gladstone's Letter—Lord Rosebery's Arbitration—The Featherstone Commission—Speech-making of the Recess—The Rival Irish Parties—Meeting of Parliament—The Parish Councils Bill—Mr. Fowler's Speech—The Bill in Committee—The Employers' Liability Bill—"Contracting Out"—The Third Reading—The Two Houses at Issue—Lord Dudley's Amendment—Its Reception in the Commons—The Close of the Year—The Naval Scare—The Topic in the House—Obituary of the Year.

A YEAR of industrial disturbance and the depression of every trade was marked by one event in which the nation rejoiced, namely, the wedding of the Duke of York and his cousin, Princess Victoria Mary of Teck. From the very day of her great loss, speculation had been busy with the prospects of its retrieval; and the circumstance that if the Duke of York died childless the Crown must eventually pass to another family, the Fife, rendered his prompt marriage an urgent necessity. After a delay, due no doubt to the peculiar circumstances of the case, the public announcement appeared in the *Court Circular* of May the 2nd, and it was received with every sign of popular approval. In due course the royal wedding was celebrated on the 6th of July; and though the ceremony was wisely restricted to comparatively simple dimensions, the huge crowds of spectators that thronged the streets throughout the day formed a nobler setting for the scene than mechanical pageantry. In the neighbourhood of Buckingham Palace the Volunteers and police had no small difficulty in keeping the roadway, so great was the crush. At a quarter to twelve, Sir Edward Bradford, the Chief Commissioner of Police, led the way followed by half a squadron of the Blues. Then came the processions—the first consisting of the Royal guests (of whom Prince Henry of Prussia represented the German Emperor, and the Cesarewitch his father) and the Royal family. To the thirteenth and last carriage an uproarious welcome was given, for in it were the Princess of Wales, her father and mother, the King and Queen of Denmark, and the Cesarewitch. Immediately afterwards came the bridegroom's procession, the Duke of York and his father, the Prince of Wales, being both in naval uniforms. They were most warmly greeted, but louder still were the cheers with which the bride was acclaimed.

The last procession was that of the Queen, which was preceded by six sections of Life Guards, the Horse Artillery from Victoria, and the warlike Indian Cavalry with their curved sabres. The gallant bearing of the young Australians caused a visible thrill of admiration to pass down the lines of the spectators. More Life Guards closed the not ineffective display, which passed up Constitution Hill into Piccadilly, and so down St. James's Street to the Chapel Royal. The thoroughfares had all been profusely decorated, and the cheering and waving of handkerchiefs made the progress one of unflagging animation and delight. Though very small for the purpose—containing in fact no more than 150 people—the building had been made fairly spruce by means of carpeting and tapestry. The gallery at the lower end was devoted to the Diplomatic Body, while to Ministers was assigned the right-hand side of the Chapel, and to ex-Ministers the left. Uniforms and jewels lent splendour to the scene, more especially the gorgeous turbans worn by the Indian Princes who were present, including the Maharajah of Bhavnagar, and the Thakore Sahib of Gondal. The procession of the clergy was quickly formed, and at the stroke of the appointed hour, 12.30, the Royalties began to enter. The Queen having taken her seat, the Duke of York took his stand at the altar-rails, supported by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh. The bride's procession entered to the strains of the Wedding March from *Lohengrin*. Princess May, who was most charmingly dressed in silver and white brocade, with a veil of old Honiton lace, was supported by her father the Duke of Teck, and her brother Prince Adolphus, and followed by her ten bridesmaids, headed by the Princesses Victoria and Maud of Wales and ending with the little daughters of Princess Henry of Battenberg. The service was performed by

the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the assistance of the Bishop of London. As Dr. Benson pronounced the Duke and Duchess of York man and wife, the booming guns without proclaimed the event to the capital. After the Blessing he delivered a short address, in which he touched upon the responsibilities of the young pair. "This is an age and this a people," he said, "which, in spite of many outward changes, still, in its heart of hearts, looks to the highest to do the common duties of all better than all. They desire to have before their eyes and to be sure in their hearts, that, amidst all the splendour and care of a kingdom, there is, above its central hearth, all mutual honour and reverence, all sweetness of domestic life, all faith and worship of God, with the quiet spirit, which is, in the sight of God, of great price. To some it is given that not their simplest ways are indifferent. Discretion and moderation and wisdom of conduct, thought, and speech, are known to be consistent with deepest earnestness for all that is noble and true. Nay, discretion and moderation alone give to earnestness and enthusiasm fair play and fair chance. To your union a glorious Empire and a strenuous, laborious people look to perpetuate among them the tradition that translates principle into life, that lets no responsibility seek the desired ends by any but the purest ways." A hymn was sung, and the bride and bridegroom passed round the family circle, kissing each in turn, beginning with the Queen.

The return journey to Buckingham Palace was accomplished amidst every sign of popular enthusiasm, and then came an interval of waiting, so far as the spectators were concerned, while the wedding breakfast proceeded. About 4.30, members of the Royal Family began to show themselves on the balcony, and were heartily cheered. At length the Queen appeared to see the last of the young pair, surrounded by her daughters. As the carriage drove off, showers of rice were thrown by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh. By a happy inspiration it had been arranged that the Duke and Duchess of York should make a public progress through the most important thoroughfares on their way to Liverpool Street Station. Accordingly the route chosen was up the Mall into Pall Mall, and thence along the Strand, Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill, and Cheapside to the Mansion House. Everywhere the streets and buildings were profusely, and, in some instances tastefully decorated; and, though no public holiday had been declared, most of the

chief business houses had given their employed a half-holiday. The throng, accordingly, was enormous, and the Duke and Duchess were obviously touched by the unflagging demonstrations of loyalty which their passage evoked. After a brief halt at the Mansion House to receive an address of congratulation from the Lord Mayor on behalf of the Corporation, the terminus was reached, and the train departed at 25 minutes to 6 for Wolferton, the nearest station to Sandringham. In the evening all London reappeared to see the illuminations, which were very general and elaborate, the combination "G & M" being the favourite device.

Of less importance than the royal wedding, but still of some moment, had been the opening of the Imperial Institute, which was performed by the Queen on May 10th. Here again spectators began to collect in the neighbourhood of Buckingham Palace and along the road to the building at an early hour, and troops lined each side of the street. The procession of the Prince of Wales, which included his son and the Princess May, arrived at the Institute at noon. The Queen followed half-an-hour later, being escorted by a guard of honour, composed of Life Guards, picked men from the British, Australian, and Canadian Volunteers, and detachments of Indian cavalry. The inaugural ceremony was performed in a temporary building, containing about 2,000 spectators, including the diplomatic body, illustrious Englishmen of every profession, many celebrated colonials, and some Indian princes. Her Majesty's Judges and the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs attended in state. The Queen and the Royal Family entered the hall at a quarter to one, when the Prince of Wales, as president of the governing body of the Institute, read an address setting forth its object, and stating that all parts of the Empire had contributed to its creation. "The Imperial Institute," he continued, "will be an enduring emblem of the unity of the Empire, and of the common bond of loyalty and affection which makes its people one;" and he concluded with the hope that it would not only be a record of the growth and prosperity of the Empire, but would tend to increase that prosperity by stimulating enterprise and promoting scientific and technical knowledge. In a firm clear voice the Queen read a brief reply, declaring the satisfaction with which she inaugurated the building. She then declared the Institute open, and this declaration having been repeated by the Prince of Wales, he applied a gold key to a model of the building placed before the Queen's chair, thereby completing an electric



MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK: THE ROYAL PROCESSION PASSING ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL. (See p. 523.)

current by which the peal of bells in the Queen's Tower was set in joyous motion.

Unhappily these royal festivities were divided by a naval disaster of appalling destructiveness. On the 22nd of June the Mediterranean Fleet, under the command of Admiral Sir George Tryon, was manœuvring off the coast of Syria. Its flagship, the *Victoria*, was a steel-clad vessel of 10,470 tons, and though she had not absolutely escaped

morning, and the only conclusion is that the fatal blunder was due to impaired health. At any rate, he ordered the manœuvre at six cables' distance, or 1,200 yards, though at the slow speed which the vessels were maintaining it could only be safely executed at eight cables'. Staff-Commander Hawkins-Smith and Captain Bourke at once perceived the risk, and represented the expediency of the longer interval, the latter remarking that the circle of



THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE, SOUTH KENSINGTON.

criticism, experts considered her to embody the most approved principles of naval construction. It was afterwards remembered, however, that she had run on the rocks at Dragomesti Bay for the length of eighty feet, and was only saved by a change of wind, which raised the tide. On that occasion her captain, the Hon. Maurice Bourke, was reprimanded, and somehow the *Victoria* appears to have acquired the reputation of being an unlucky ship. On the fatal day the sea was perfectly calm, and the exercise to be performed, that of turning sixteen points inwards, involved little chance of collision provided the proper distances were kept. Admiral Tryon, unfortunately, had only come off the sick-list that

the *Victoria* was 800 yards, and the Admiral expressed his assent. Meanwhile, Rear-Admiral Markham, on board the *Camperdown*, had also seen that a collision would be imminent, and he kept his flag at the dip to show that he did not understand the signal. With his mind in a state of unaccountable confusion, Admiral Tryon semaphored "What are you waiting for?" and upon this his second-in-command imagined that he had no other choice than to obey. He thought that perhaps the first division was going to wheel round the second, which would have been a safe and feasible manœuvre, and as Admiral Tryon was a strict disciplinarian his officers did not persist in their remonstrances. Accordingly the

huge machines moved forward, and it was not long before the inevitable occurred. The *Victoria* moved across the *Camperdown's* path, and when Rear-Admiral Markham reversed his engines it was too late. A collision ensued, the *Victoria* was hit on the starboard bow by the *Camperdown's* ram, and within thirteen minutes she turned bottom upwards, and sank in twenty fathoms of water. At the supreme crisis the crew behaved with the most splendid discipline. An attempt was made to get out the collision-mat, and also to close the watertight compartments. The first was made under impossible conditions, and the compartments would not act, either in consequence of imperfection or owing to the angle at which the *Victoria* lay. Finally, when Admiral Tryon gave the order that every man should save himself nothing in the shape of a panic occurred. He himself remained on the bridge with his telescope under his arm, and as the ship went down he waved a farewell to his friend, Rear-Admiral Markham. He had previously remarked to Staff-Commander Hawkins-Smith, "It was entirely my doing, entirely my fault." An equally pathetic incident was that of the sailor who remained behind to extricate the diver from his ponderous dress; the latter was saved, but his preserver perished. Meanwhile the *Camperdown* and the other vessels had been prompt in getting out their boats, though so confident had been Admiral Tryon in the capacities of the *Victoria* that he had wished none to be sent, and nearly half the crew of 600 officers and men were rescued. But the total loss of life included 22 officers and 337 men, of whom some were drowned, and others cut to pieces by the revolving screw. Admiral Markham's report was published by the Government without delay, and its sober summary of the facts foreshadowed the findings of the court-martial which, under the presidency of Admiral Sir M. Culme Seymour, proceeded to try Captain Bourke and the other survivors of the *Victoria* at Malta. The verdict, which was delivered on the 27th of July, set forth: first, that the disaster was due to the Commander-in-Chief's order; secondly, that after the collision no mistake was made; thirdly, that Captain Bourke was not to blame; and fourthly, that, though it was much to be regretted that Rear-Admiral Markham had not carried out his original intention to semaphore to the Commander-in-Chief his doubt as to the signal, yet the court strongly felt "it would be fatal to the best interests of the service to say that he was to blame for carrying out the directions of his

Commander-in-Chief, present in person." The general opinion seemed to be that the verdict was, in the circumstances, absolutely just. All that could be done was to alleviate the necessities of the widows and orphans of the brave men who had died in the execution of their duty. The Lord Mayor promptly opened a subscription-list which finally totalled £50,000. This amount was handed over to the Royal Patriotic Fund, and duly distributed, though complaints unfortunately arose that the agency employed was somewhat slow in its action.

Hard upon this terrible catastrophe followed the cholera, and again the Local Government Board found all its resources taxed to the uttermost. Doctors had prophesied its reappearance, and, sure enough, before August was over it had begun to rage in Galicia and parts of Hungary. Next, cases were notified from Vienna, Berlin, some of the Rhine towns, and at Nantes in France. In the last instance, however, specialists were much divided in opinion whether the cholera was Asiatic or no. Early in September the disease had effected a lodgment at Grimsby, whither it was conveyed by one of the numerous vessels that entered the busy port, and where the convalescent patient was identified. Next it claimed victims in Hull, and then a case was reported in London, that of an unfortunate woman who was a cleaner in the House of Commons. Nowhere, however, was the epidemic severe, except at Grimsby, where some seven or eight patients died. As in the previous year, Mr. Fowler and his subordinates kept a vigilant watch on the ports and promptly isolated suspicious cases. They also refused to lend their ears to various wild suggestions for imposing a quarantine. The Local Government Board also issued brief instructions to householders, advising them to boil water from a suspicious source before drinking it, to use disinfectants, and so forth. Thanks to official energy, and to the lateness of the season at which the outbreak occurred, there were no reasons for a scare, and by the middle of October the danger had passed away altogether.

The industrial disturbances of the year were almost unprecedented in character, and they affected nearly every trade. The beginning of January found the Lancashire cotton strike in full progress, nor did it end till the 27th of March, when it had lasted twenty weeks. If the movement was in some ways misguided, it reflected great credit on the men, who sedulously abstained from riot and treated the

masters with civility in the streets. Besides, the compromise arranged formed a remarkable precedent in the history of labour. The strike had originally been organised as a protest against a 5 per cent. reduction in wages. The terms provided that the reduction should amount to a 2.91 reduction for the next six months, and a general provision for the settlement of such disputes in future. To attain that object a joint committee was appointed of three or more members from each federation. This body pledged itself "to bring its whole influence to bear" in furthering the interests of the cotton trade by aiming at "the opening of new markets abroad, and the alteration of restrictive foreign tariffs." Hard, however, upon this honourable peace there followed a great dock strike at Hull, in which the malcontents freely resorted to intimidation and stoning of the free labourers, and even cases of incendiarism occurred. The chief grievance of the men against the shipowners lay in the determination of the latter to enforce the Shipping Federation "ticket," which provided that "the undersigned will work in harmony with any workman who may be engaged, whether he is a member of a trades-union or not." But a demand was actually made of the masters that they should pay the arrears of their hands to the union, and compel their non-unionist workmen to join it. So serious did the crisis become that the local authorities asked for soldiers, who on more than one occasion paraded the streets. Mr. Asquith was arraigned for this procedure in the House of Commons by Mr. J. H. Wilson, a Radical Labour Member, but his reply proved conclusively that the Government was observing a strict neutrality and not attempting to intimidate the workmen. At one moment it seemed as if a split would occur among the employers, as Mr. Charles Wilson, a powerful shipowner, showed signs of wavering; but he was brought back into line, and after six weeks even the poor pittance of 6s. a week which the men were receiving as strike-pay was exhausted. In one week the deficiency was about £750, and Mr. Ben Tillet, who had arrived to direct operations, owing to the illness of Mr. J. H. Wilson, saw the necessity of surrender. After the negotiations had once been broken off they were brought to a conclusion on May the 19th, when it was agreed that the men who had been out should return to work "as soon as places might be vacant for them;" while the leaders undertook to use their influence to prevent the molestation of the free labourers. For the moment the seamen

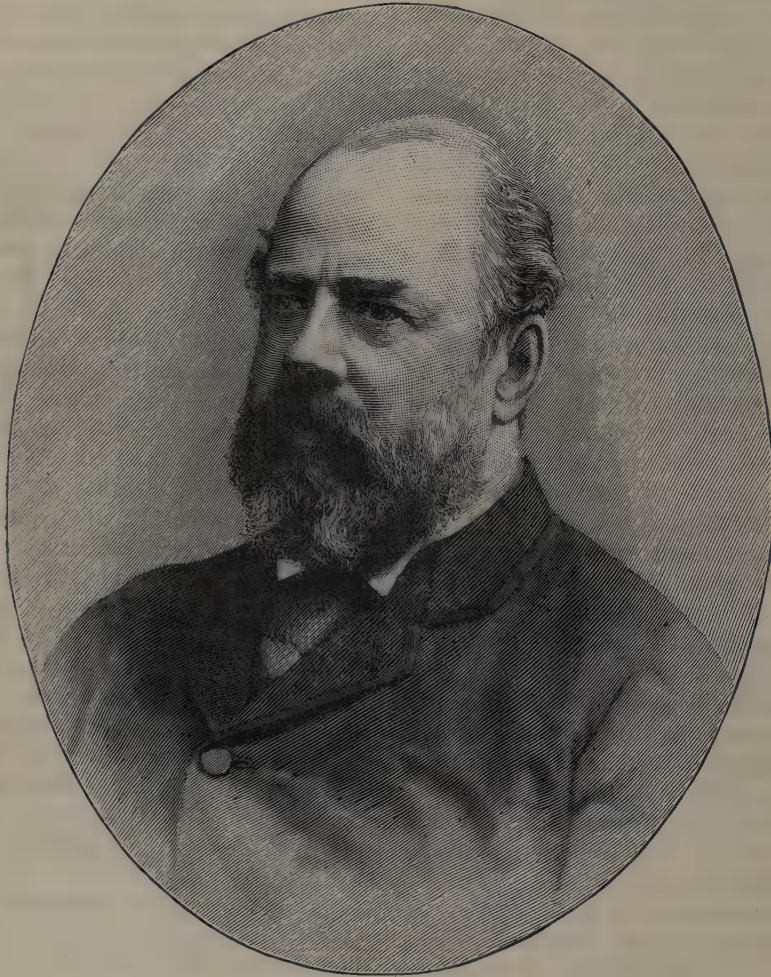
and firemen who had struck "in sympathy" showed a disposition to turn the occasion to advantage by insisting on extra wages. Fortunately they abandoned that design, and on the 22nd work was resumed.

Before July was half over it became evident that a gigantic coal-strike was at hand. The masters, whose guiding spirit was Mr. A. M. Chambers, urging that the depression of trade had resulted in a formidable shrinkage in the demand and consequent cheapening of prices, determined to enforce a reduction of wages. They insisted on a 25 per cent. drawback "calculated, not on the amount of the gross wages received, but of the advances obtained on the 1888 basis," or a reference of the whole dispute to arbitration. These proposals were considered by the Miners' Federation at Birmingham on July the 19th, though the South Wales men abstained, and those of Durham and Northumberland expressed themselves beforehand as opposed to a strike. Nevertheless, the movement, though practically confined to Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Midlands, embraced over two million persons. Mr. Pickard, M.P., came to the front as the leader of the men, and it was evident that they were resolved to proceed to extremities. Mr. Aspinwall of Lancashire carried a resolution against a reduction of wages, and Mr. J. H. Wilson's amendment in favour of arbitration was rejected by 198,000 votes to 50,000 in its favour. In the circumstances the joint conference between masters and men was bound to result in a deadlock unless one side gave way, and during the debate, which took place on the 21st, both parties to the end stood firmly by their original positions. By the end of the month the strike had become inevitable, and the secretaries of the Coalowners' Federation had published a statement of their case. They allowed that the men had a right to good wages, but they asserted that reductions must occur when trade was depressed and prices were receding. No attempt would be made to go below the wages of 1888, which were taken as the standard rate. If taken at 100, it had been increased by advances to 140. The proposed reduction was one-fourth of 100, leaving wages still 15 per cent. above the standard rate. These figures were met by Mr. Pickard by somewhat vague generalities about "the living wage," and the possibility of fixing a minimum price of coal. When the final decision was taken, South Wales, with the exception of the Ebbw Vale, proceeded to join the movement; but there the strike only lasted five weeks, and the collieries

were open again by the 11th of September. Before that, however, there had been some bad rioting, caused by a body of strikers who invaded the Ebbw Valley to make the men come out, and culminating in a savage fight at Llanelly.

In the Midlands no prospect of a settlement

A detachment of twenty-six non-commissioned officers and men of the South Staffordshire Regiment were summoned. They were powerless, however, pending the arrival of a magistrate to read the Riot Act, and the crowd employed the interval in burning and pulling down the works,



ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE TRYON.

(From a Photograph by Maull and Fox, Piccadilly.)

appeared, and distress speedily showed itself not only among the pitmen, but among the workers in the allied trades as well. Dangerous breaches of the peace followed, miners who remained at work, or seemed disposed to turn "blacklegs," being maltreated, sheds burnt and machinery damaged. A serious riot occurred on September the 7th at Featherstone in Yorkshire, when a large mob attacked Lord Masham's pit. Unfortunately, the chief constable was at Doncaster races, and the district was denuded of police from the same cause.

and throwing the wreckage into the shaft. In fact the military were actually withdrawn into the upper floor of one of the buildings connected with the mine, and there underwent a siege; stones being thrown into the windows so freely that they had to lie down, while preparations were made for blowing up a corner of the shed. At last a magistrate came, and the soldiers were ordered to clear the yard. They were forced, however, to use the bayonet, and afterwards ball cartridge, with the result that two men were killed, and



ARTHUR SALMON 94

FEATHERSTONE RIOTS: THE SOLDIERS FIRING ON THE PEOPLE. (See p. 528.)

several others wounded. As too often happens, both the victims, Duggan and Gibbs, were proved to have been peaceable men, who were simply engaged in watching the rioters, and the former, after two volleys had been fired and nobody hit, imagined that the cartridges were blank and therefore remained to die. However, the juries, perceiving that the soldiers had simply done their duty, returned a verdict of "justifiable homicide" in the first case, and "shot by the military after the Riot Act had been read, whereby he died" in the other. The second jury, however, added a rider severely censuring the authorities for having sent the police to the Doncaster races. After this the Home Office sent considerable bodies of troops into the disturbed districts, together with a detachment of mounted Metropolitan police, experienced in handling large crowds.

A ballot taken at the pits recorded by a small majority a decision against returning to work at the old rate of wages, but this, after some demur, was reversed by the Miners' Conference sitting at Nottingham. Several masters accepted the decision and most of the pits were re-opened on September 15th in the Forest of Dean. In the Midlands, however, the offer was not accepted and the distress became very acute indeed. The loss to the community at large was shown by the fact, that all the Northern and Midland lines began to reduce their train services, while prices rose in the most alarming fashion, owing chiefly to the manœuvres of the coal-merchants. Fortunately the autumn was remarkably mild and so fires could be reduced to a minimum. Still, as the weeks passed away, the situation became unmistakably grave. Mr. Chambers, the president of the Coal Owners' Federation, issued a statement which argued anything rather than surrender. In fact he declared that to yield was impossible, since it would mean the working of the pits at a loss. He argued, further, that the reduced wages would be 15 per cent. higher than those of 1888. On a week of five-and-a-quarter days, colliers, rippers, stonemen, and trimmers, earned £1 19s. 2d. in 1892. They would now earn £1 12s. 6d. Other labourers were earning £1 8s. 4d. as against a proposed £1 3s. 4d. An ineffectual attempt at a compromise was made by the mayors of Yorkshire, Derby, and Nottingham, who met in conference at Sheffield on October the 9th. Their proposal was that the men should return to work at the old rate, but that after six weeks there should be a reduction of 10 per cent. out of the 40 per

cent. advanced since 1888. The owners replied by offering a return to work at a 15 per cent. reduction, but the miners' representatives, assembled at Birmingham, declined to accept anything less than the old wages. This the owners rejected, though they threw out the suggestion of a joint committee, with an independent chairman, to consider the justice of a reduction. A conference followed on this basis, but after prolonged sittings it proved apparently abortive. The owners proposed arbitration, together with an arrangement that the money under dispute should be "pooled" or held over until the tribunal had decided. Mr. Pickard and his friends, however, insisted that the "living wage" must form a subject of adjudication, and no *via media* was discoverable.

Hitherto the Government had refrained from intervention in the dispute. Mr. Asquith had appointed a well-chosen committee, consisting of Lord Bowen, Sir A. Rollit, and Mr. Haldane, to inquire into the Featherstone riots and their report was published on December the 7th. Otherwise he had been content to provide against the repetition of similar outbreaks on a serious scale, as seemed not improbable at St. Helens. On the 13th of November Mr. Gladstone published a letter addressed to the Coalowners' and Miners' Associations, pointing out that the effect of the stoppage of industry "was extending and increasing" and that "lasting, if not permanent, injury might be done to the trade of the country." He announced, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government had felt it their duty to try to bring about a resumption of negotiations under the chairmanship of a member of their own body and had requested Lord Rosebery to undertake the task. Both the method of intervention and the choice of the arbitrator were felt to be extremely judicious and each body chose fourteen representatives, who met on the 17th at the Foreign Office. After a discussion of four hours and a half, the decision effected was—(1) that the men should resume work at the old wages, until the 1st of February, 1894, and that all collieries should be reopened without obstacles to their return; (2) that a Board of Conciliation should be established with a chairman who was to be an outsider, and to be chosen, in case of disagreement, by the Speaker of the House of Commons; (3) that the Board should sit for the first time on December the 13th and settle wages from time to time. The fight was over, having lasted some sixteen weeks, and when after some delay a chairman was found in the Speaker's nominee, Lord Shand, the Board set to work with

a will. In spite of the desperate efforts of the London Coal Ring, the price of coal had reached its normal level before the end of the year, but the net profits of those middlemen from the crisis were believed to have touched some two million sterling. The miners had suffered severely from want during the last weeks of the strike, and it had of course entailed retrenchment of expenses and the consequent discharge of workmen in nearly every trade in the country. In Scotland, too, the pitmen had struck for a $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. rise in wages, in view of the increased price of coal. But the masters stood firm and the movement collapsed on December the 11th, after a loss of £150,000 in wages alone. In fact, the loss to the community at large, borne, of course, largely by the artisan class, was calculated at £60,000,000, and though the computation was obviously conjectural, the decline of the revenue was most significant.

As for the report of the Featherstone Commission, it completely exonerated the military. Lord Bowen and his colleagues expressed their sense of the steadiness and discipline of the soldiers and found no ground for the suggestion that the firing was conducted with other than reasonable skill and care. The Commission, against the opinion of Sir Redvers Buller, asked whether soldiers, in dealing with a riot, could not be armed with a less formidable weapon than the magazine rifle. The civil authorities did not come equally unscathed from the inquiry, since the finding was that they had withdrawn police to the Doncaster races, had called in the military, and then failed to provide a magistrate, and had pressed Captain Barker, the officer in command, to weaken his force by dividing it. On January the 11th the report was shortly discussed in the House of Commons and received general approval, after Mr. Asquith had promised to give a small compensation to the friends of the killed, though not as a matter of legal right.

The brief recess was productive of comparatively little speechmaking, both parties being thoroughly exhausted. Nevertheless, Mr. Gladstone made an appearance at the Albert Hall, Edinburgh, on September the 27th, and arraigned the House of Lords for its reception of the Home Rule Bill. He declared that five hundred gentlemen responsible to nobody were opposing the representatives of 6,000,000 electors and that, having watched the House of Lords for six years, his conclusion was, that though they always opposed popular measures, yet those measures always passed. He

believed it might be necessary to consider the "independent and irresponsible existence" of the Upper House. At the same time he admitted that he had no "cut-and-dried scheme" in readiness, and rather hoped that they would repent of their own accord. He was generally reported to have said that the Home Rule Bill would reappear next Session, but this was apparently a mistake. Mr. Harrington, meanwhile, informed the National League that every man of common-sense in Ireland knew the Home Rule Bill to be dead; any attempt to revive the question must be by a new Bill. Mr. O'Brien, too, appeared more immediately concerned with the prospects of the evicted tenants, and, in answer to a deputation, he pronounced that the very existence of the Government depended on the passing of a Reinstatement Bill as quickly as was humanly possible. Mr. Goschen promptly replied to Mr. Gladstone at Edinburgh, his chief point being that Mr. Gladstone's statistics were erroneous. It was nonsense to say that 500 peers were arrayed against 6,000,000 electors. An analysis of the voters showed that on one side were 2,850,000, and on the other 2,700,000. The difference was 150,000 on the total, which represented $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the electorate, and but for the over-representation of Ireland, the majority would be not 34 but 17. He hinted that if in the following year the Government introduced a Registration Bill, unaccompanied by a redistribution of seats and a reduction of the Irish Members, the Lords would be compelled to use their veto. Lord Salisbury gave a new turn to political controversy by urging, at Ormskirk, the vital necessity of strengthening the navy. His argument was that we must be prepared to pay a heavy insurance, in order to prepare for the surprises which science had in store for us. No pecuniary sacrifice we might be called upon to face would be anything like the sufferings all classes must undergo, if an enemy were master of the Irish Channel for forty-eight hours.

On November the 2nd Parliament met again, and in a few days Mr. Gladstone made a statement showing that the Parish Councils Bill and the Employers' Liability Bill would monopolise the attention of the House. He declined, in answer to a strong appeal from Mr. Sexton, to come to the assistance of the Irish evicted tenants, but promised that the subject should be attacked as early as possible in the following Session. Mr. Fowler's speech, in moving the second reading of the Parish Councils Bill, was a model of suavity. His object was to complete the Local Government

legislation of Mr. Ritchie, and to simplify and improve administration in the rural districts. To that end the parish was constituted the unit, with a Council of not less than five or more than fifteen, according as the County Councils should determine. This body was to be elected by "one man one vote," and qualifications were to be abolished. It would take over the powers of the Vestry except in regard to church matters; the authority of the churchwardens, including the appointment of overseers, except in regard to church charities; and the functions of Boards of Guardians with reference to the sale of parish property. The Council would administer the Allotments Act, and could acquire land compulsorily for recreation grounds, and hire land compulsorily for cultivation, besides controlling rights of way and the water supply. But its borrowing powers were to be limited to a penny rate in the pound, unless the Parish and District Council consented, in which case money could be borrowed from the District and County Councils. As for the District Councils, they would consist of the Rural Sanitary Authorities, the Improvement Commissioners, and the Local Boards, reorganised and elected on the same principle as the Parish Councils. In his speech, Mr. Fowler set himself to answer the objections which had been raised against the Bill earlier in the year. With reference to the proposal that parishes with a population under 300 should be grouped, he promised that the Government would not insist on that limit, and that the County Councils should be given more facilities than they possessed under the Bill for grouping more populous parishes and allowing smaller ones to elect Councils. He denied absolutely that the measure was a side attack on the Church, declared his readiness to exclude the education question expressly, and promised that the fate of parish rooms should be carefully considered. He declined, however, to regard doles and charities under ecclesiastical trusteeship as purely ecclesiastical legacies. Also he was not prepared to abandon the District Councils or the Poor Law clauses. The Opposition, as represented by Mr. Walter Long and Mr. E. Stanhope, and afterwards by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Goschen, concentrated their criticism on the last provisions, contending that they were revolutionary and an excrescence on the Bill. However, the second reading was carried without a division, though Mr. G. W. Russell created some commotion by a sharp attack on the parson and the squire. Thereupon Mr. Gladstone rebuked his lieutenant with the remark

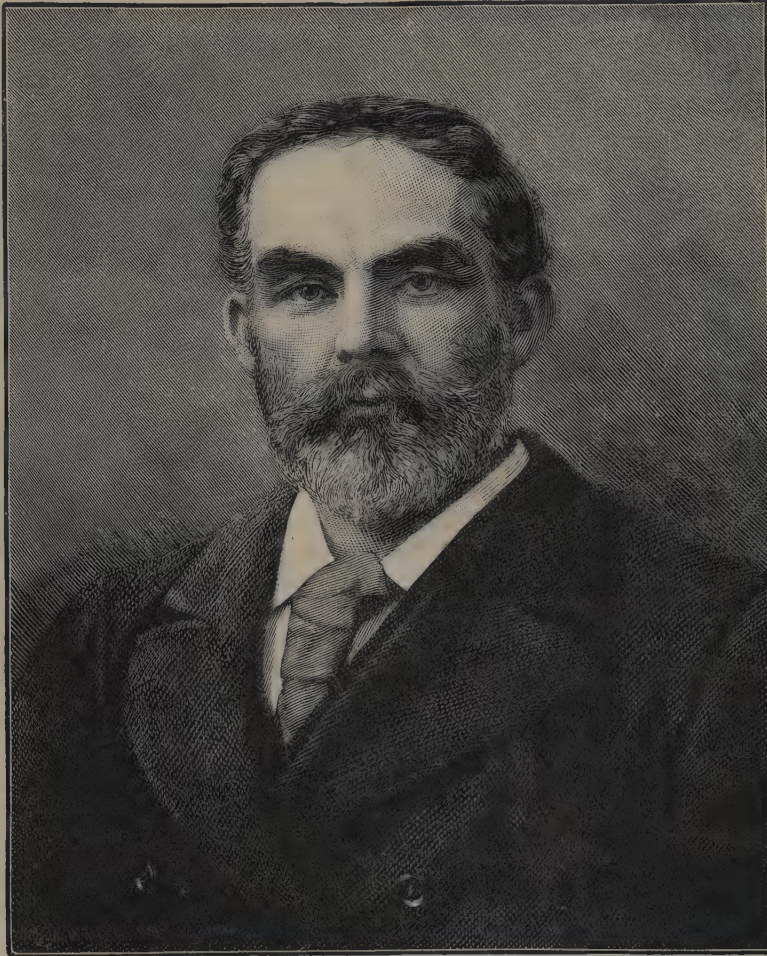
that subordinate members of the Government used to be allowed to express their personal views, but that they could not commit their colleagues except on matters concerning their own departments.

Before the Bill went into Committee the Opposition attempted, but failed, to relegate the Poor Law clauses to a separate measure. Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, however, a Liberal Member, carried his instruction against the Government, whereby married women, otherwise qualified for the purposes of the Bill, were enfranchised together with women lodgers and women servants. Mr. Fowler thereupon proposed a compromise, by which all women who were occupiers or ratepayers were qualified for purposes of local government. He also accepted an amendment of Mr. Heneage's, that parishes between 100 and 200 of population could have a Council imposed on them by the County Council with the consent of the parish meeting; that no parish over 100 could be grouped without its own consent, while the County Council should decide how those under 100 should be represented. Mr. Fowler stood firm on the hour of the parish meeting, which had been fixed between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m., and on the use of parochial schoolrooms free of charge. He also preserved the control of the Local Government Board over compulsory hiring or purchase of land instead of substituting, as the Opposition desired, that of the County Councils or even Parliament. Nevertheless, progress was very slow and a prolonged discussion arose over Clause 13, dealing with local charities. After Mr. Fowler had rejected an amendment of Mr. Strachey's, Sir John Rigby accepted one by Mr. Cobb in a similar sense, providing that in the case of non-ecclesiastical charities the Parish Councils could appoint the majority of the trustees. Mr. Stanhope hotly attacked the procedure of the Government as a breach of faith, but Mr. Gladstone by some most ingenious dialectics covered the change of front, and the direction of affairs passed for the time being into Mr. Cobb's hands. On December the 9th Mr. R. T. Reid gave voice to the Radical demand that the closure should be used more fully, but the Government did not take the hint. The brief Christmas holidays found the House engaged in considering Clause 21 of a Bill which contained upwards of 70 clauses. The debates on the Poor Law clauses had been most animated, and Mr. Fowler only partially allayed Conservative discontent by a qualified promise that Boards of Guardians should be allowed to elect their chairman and vice-chairman from outside. The

Opposition had certainly wasted much time over minute amendments, but as Mr. Fowler himself was responsible for nearly a hundred, the Bill could not be said to have been very carefully drafted.

The Employers' Liability Bill, which had been

support of the Trades Unions; but Mr. McLaren and Mr. Cobb could reckon on the united goodwill of several powerful interests when, on November the 8th, they produced a new clause whereby workmen could relinquish any right to compensation under the present Act, provided their



MR. JOHN BURNS, M.P.

(From a Photograph by Lombardi and Co., Pall Mall East, S.W.)

relegated to the Standing Committee on Trade, earlier in the summer, had, in the meantime, been placed in a position of considerable jeopardy. Both sides of the House were agreed that the doctrine of "common employment," whereby masters were absolved from paying compensation for injuries inflicted by one of their workmen on another ought to be entirely abolished; but as to the refusal of Government to allow the workmen to "contract out" or come to a special arrangement with their employer, opinion was pretty evenly divided. Mr. Asquith had the staunch

employers had formerly made with their workmen a contract whereby the latter had for valuable consideration deprived themselves of the benefits of the Act of 1880. Mr. McLaren maintained that in certain cases men obtained better terms under existing conditions than they would if "contracting out" was abolished. Thus the mutual insurance societies organised by the London and North Western Railway Company contributed five-elevenths of the funds, the London, Brighton, and South Coast Company as much as 62 per cent., and Sir William Armstrong and Co. two-

thirds. The Home Secretary, however, refused to accept the compromise, declaring that the Bill would not either directly or indirectly destroy the insurance societies. Mr. Fenwick, as a miners' representative, spoke in the same sense, maintaining that workmen, in most instances, did not enter into these agreements of their own free will. Also Mr. Burns asserted that he represented 3,000 railway men and that not one had objected to the clause; but Mr. Chamberlain subsequently threw doubts on the accuracy of his figures. Finally, the Government escaped defeat by 236 votes to 217, a result for which the slack attendance of the Opposition was largely responsible. Four more nights were occupied with further amendments and additions, of which the most important was Mr. Bousfield's, giving a workman a right to compensation when his temporary or permanent disablement had been caused by the neglect of reasonable precautions on the part of his employer. Mr. Forwood secured the exemption of shipowners from liability for injuries arising from errors of navigation, or perils of the sea; and Mr. H. S. Foster carried the non-application of the Act to fishing vessels where the fishermen were joint adventurers with the owners. Finally, Mr. M. Healy obtained a scaling-down of county-court fees in actions under the Bill.

The debate on the third reading (November the 23rd) was remarkable for the interposition of Mr. Chamberlain with a speech of much bitterness. He taunted the Government for carrying English measures by means of the Irish vote, an argument which the Liberal papers promptly styled Separatist. He further considered that the Bill would prove more mischievous than useful, since it omitted to provide, by insurance, for the many accidents which could not be traced to negligence or shortcoming. Worse still it would stimulate litigation and discourage rather than encourage those voluntary efforts which the greater employers of labour had made towards coming to a cordial understanding with their men. In fact the Bill was drawn at the dictates of the Trades Unions without consulting the larger employers, who would proceed to insure. Mr. Asquith replied with spirit that no Bill of recent years had been the result of more anxious consultation with all classes and he ridiculed afresh the idea that it would extinguish the provident funds of the great railways. As for Mr. Chamberlain's scheme of general insurance, it was in a very crude condition and the Government could not embark upon such a far-reaching experiment. After the

Home Secretary had attempted to closure the debate, the Bill was read a third time without a division.

Meanwhile, the relations between the two Houses had become strained, first by the wholesale amendment to which the Scottish Fisheries Bill had been subjected by the Upper Chamber; and, secondly, because that Assembly had for the second time struck out the "betterment" clause from the London Improvements Bill. The Earl of Morley attempted to heal the latter breach by proposing a joint-committee of the two Houses to consider the question and Lord Salisbury cordially concurred. Mr. Gladstone, however, refused all compromise, and when Sir John Lubbock moved the adjournment of the House, he was defeated by 177 votes to 139. These incidents may, or may not, have affected the temper in which the House of Lords received the Employers' Liability Bill. The debate on the second reading (November the 30th) showed that the majority was extremely hostile to the "contracting-out" clause. Before the Committee stage was reached, Lord Salisbury assured a deputation from miners' insurance societies in Lancashire, Wales, and Cheshire, that he would resist that particular clause as far as he could. Accordingly, on December the 8th, Lord Dudley, a large coalowner, moved that Clause 4 should not apply to any agreement for insurance against injury which had been made before the passing of the Act, if that agreement had subsequently been approved by a majority of the workmen voting by ballot. Nor should it apply to any agreement made after the Act, in respect of which the Board of Trade should have certified: (1) that it provided reasonable compensation in all cases of injury; (2) that the compensation was paid from a fund to which the employer was a contributor. This amendment was opposed by Lord Ripon on the ground that the workmen would be coerced into insurance, and by Lord Herschell because nothing but an undeviating liability would make employers sufficiently careful of their workmen's lives. Lord Salisbury replied that if the Bills passed without the amendment, employers would at once insure against the liability, and so be free from any inducement to be careful. Finally, Lord Dudley's proposal, amended by Lord Denbigh so as to require a two-thirds majority in the ballot for contracting-out, was carried by 148 to 23, that strict economist Lord Farrer voting with the majority.

Lord Dudley's amendment came before the House of Commons on the 21st, when Mr. Asquith

moved its rejection on the ground that it was mischievous in substance and impracticable in form. His most effective point was a quotation from Lord Salisbury, pointing out the impropriety of making the nominee of a Government department deal with such difficult questions as adequate compensation and the solvency of an employer. Mr. Chamberlain retorted that the Home Secretary's underlying motive was to obtain a cry against the House of Lords and that it was absurd to try to make workmen more careful by putting an extra liability on the employer. He remarked that the Shipping Federation had lately paid over £700 for the loss of life during a single gale, "but in not one single case could compensation be claimed under the law." Mr. McLaren explained that he could not support Lord Dudley's amendment, because it was not limited to existing societies. Finally, it was defeated by a majority of 62 (213 votes to 151), and when the year closed the fate of the Bill remained in suspense. The complexity of the question involved was illustrated by a Trades Union and miners' deputation, which waited on Lord Salisbury and argued most strongly against "contracting-out." The leader of the Opposition reasserted his now familiar arguments and had a passage of arms with Mr. Burns, who insisted on the last word.

The close of the year found the House still sitting after a mockery of a Christmas holiday and utterly jaded. As a relief to the monotony of the debates came a graceful compliment from Mr. Balfour, offered to Mr. Gladstone on his eighty-fifth birthday, which evidently flattered its recipient. Otherwise the Prime Minister found himself involved in a dispute with his Radical followers, about an annuity of £10,000 retained by the Duke of Edinburgh, on his succession to the Duchy of Saxe-Coburg, for the purpose of keeping up Clarence House. He also took the part of the Lord Chancellor in a quarrel with a Radical committee, comprising Mr. Storey and Sir Charles Dilke, about the appointment of magistrates. In the closing weeks of the year, Mr. John Morley was sharply cross-questioned about an outrage in Dublin which was attributed to secret societies. A tin box containing dynamite was thrown during the night into the yard of the Aldborough Barracks. Two men were arrested on suspicion and one of them, Patrick Reid, was afterwards shot dead in a low street called Cardiff Lane. His companions were supposed to have suspected him of turning informer, but though two men were apprehended by the

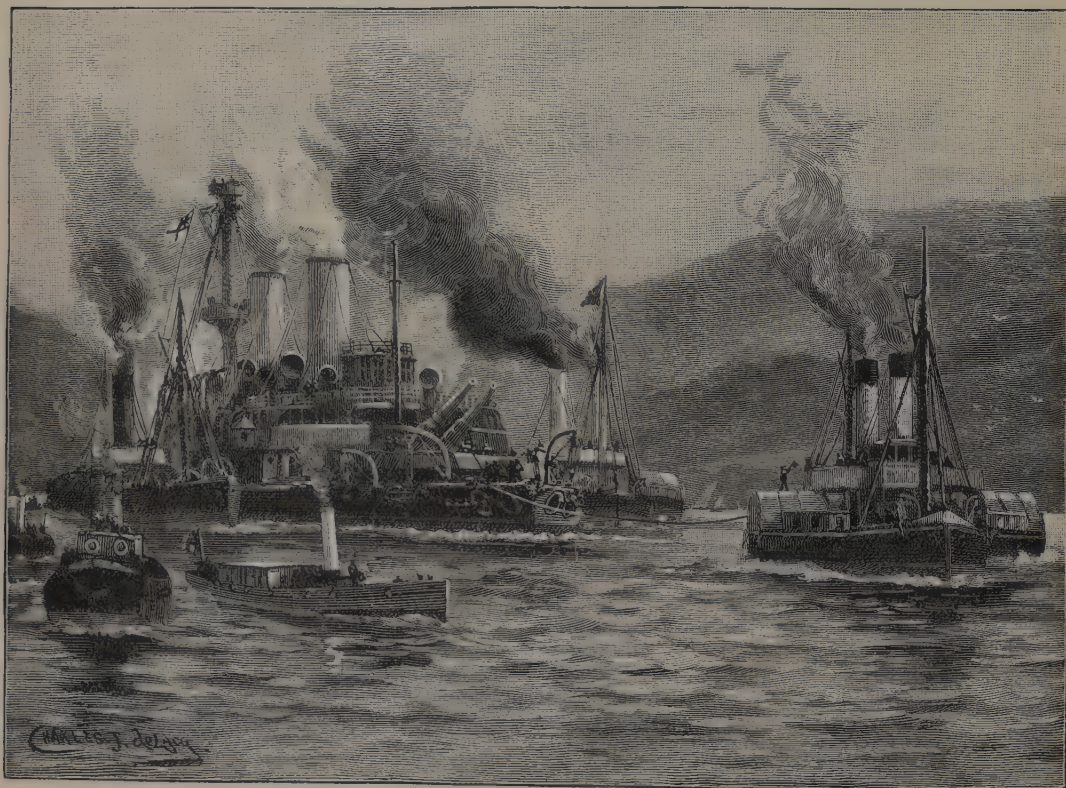
police, they had to be let go because of insufficient evidence. On the whole, however, the Chief Secretary was acknowledged to have administered the country most judiciously during an anxious period.

Outside the House, and to a certain extent inside, the state of the navy was a subject of constant agitation. The loss of the *Victoria* had been preceded by the running aground of the *Howe* off Ferrol and for many weeks she lay on the rocks before she could be towed off into the harbour of the town. Later in the year, the *Resolution* was reported to have displayed absolute unseaworthiness during a trip to Gibraltar. But the alarm was chiefly created by the formidable naval strength of the French in the Mediterranean, especially in torpedo-boats, as set forth by the *Times* correspondent during the visit of the Russian fleet to Toulon. Soon after the House reassembled, Mr. Gibson Bowles raised the topic in a long question, of which the purport was to know if the Government was satisfied with the adequacy of British forces to protect British interests in that sea, and if the House would be afforded an early opportunity of discussing the matter. Mr. Gladstone's reply was uncompromising: first, the Government was perfectly satisfied as to the adequacy and capacity of the navy to perform all the purposes for which it existed; secondly, the intentions of the Government could only be fittingly considered when the Minister responsible made his annual statement. At the Guildhall banquet, Lord Spencer evidently attempted to remove the unfavourable impression produced by the abrupt *non possumus*. He declared that much had been done to strengthen the navy of recent years, and that the Government was determined to continue and develop that policy. On December the 12th the London Chamber of Commerce held an important meeting which adopted resolutions in favour of a new naval programme. According to a memorandum circulated by Lord Charles Beresford, line-of-battle-ships should be raised from 45 to 60, and torpedo boats from 97 to 377, at the cost of £18,000,000, if Britain hoped to contend on equal terms with France and Russia. At last, on December the 19th, the topic was raised in the House by Lord George Hamilton, who laid down the doctrines that a considerable addition should at once be made to the navy, and invited the Government to make a statement of its intention before Christmas, so that immediate action might be taken. Mr. Gladstone's reply was that Lord

George Hamilton might disclaim party spirit, but he had distinctly brought national defence within the limits of party action. The motion, if carried, might be fatal to the control of Parliament over national finances and break up all established precedents. He argued from figures supplied by the Admiralty, that if we made no additions to our navy at all during the next five years, France and Russia would only have a preponderance of

the misconception was not removed, but the story lacked authenticity. However, no authoritative statement of Ministerial intentions was forthcoming, though a Liberal paper declared that the Government was prepared to spend £8,000,000 on the strengthening of the navy.

The obituary of 1893 contained many remarkable names. Lord Derby was deficient in the instinct which goes to make a successful Foreign



TOWING H.M.S. HOWE INTO FERROL HARBOUR. (See p. 535.)

eight battle-ships and those of less tonnage than ours. Mr. Balfour followed by rebuking Mr. Gladstone for engaging the House in a controversy about forms, when Lord George Hamilton had made a grave statement of the national danger. The motion was rejected by 240 votes to 204, after Sir William Harcourt had made the apparently convincing statement that the professional advisers of the Admiralty were perfectly satisfied with the existing state of affairs. Some days afterwards, however, he rose and explained that the assertion "should be confined to the relative forces of the various countries at the present moment, in respect of first-class battle-ships completed within the financial year." Rumour asserted that the sea lords had threatened resignation if

Secretary, but he was the embodiment of practical common-sense, and he thoroughly understood the working-classes. Mr. Edward Stanhope was more of an official than a statesman, but he had both principles and abilities. The Opposition lost a country gentleman of the best type in Sir Walter Barttelot, and an independent politician and excellent writer in Mr. Louis Jennings. Lord Brabourne was a man of culture, but his public career was disappointing. Sir Edward Hamley did much to raise the scientific knowledge of the army and did good service during the Egyptian campaign of 1882. Diplomacy was the poorer for the death of Lord Vivian and Sir Robert Morier, the honest and talented Minister at St. Petersburg. Sir Alexander Cunningham won renown in the Sikh

campaigns and he was followed to the grave by the ex-Maharajah Duleep Singh. Canada lost one of the makers of the Dominion in Sir Alexander Galt and an honest politician in Sir John Abbott. Mr. Ballance, the New Zealand Premier, had at least large ideas. Three men died who had left their mark on the history of Africa—Sir Samuel Baker, the explorer; Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the injudicious annexer of the Transvaal; and Sir William Mackinnon, the creator of the

East Africa Company. Sir William Smith was essentially a classical scholar, but he also edited the *Quarterly Review* with discernment; and Dr. Jowett, besides being an ideal master of Balliol College, played no small part both as a reformer of Oxford and a leader of the Broad Church party. Professor Tyndall's death, through a deplorable accident, deprived science of one of its most notable figures, but his incursions into politics were apt to be violent.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

The Toulon Demonstration and its Sequels—Panama and Anarchism—German Politics—Austria and Italy—Russia and Eastern Europe—The Durand Mission—Riots in India—The Herschell Committee on the Closure of the Mints—The Loan Bill—Lord Elgin becomes Viceroy—The Siamese Crisis—M. Waddington's Proposal—His Modified Plan—Lord Rosebery's Views—Action of French Agents—The Ultimatum—The Treaty and Convention—The Neutral Zone—Lord Rosebery's Despatch—Sir Edward Grey's Remark—The Khedive's *Coup d'État*—Simmering Disaffection—Riaz Pasha and the Legislative Council—Sir Elwin Palmer's Report—East and Central Africa—The Weeina Affair—South Africa—Raids of the Matabele—Action decided upon—Strength of the Expedition—Junction of the Victoria and Salisbury Columns—Battle of the Shangani—The Second Engagement—Occupation of Bulawayo—The Goold-Adams Column—Death of the Indunas—Another Battle—Forbes in Pursuit—The Wilson Patrol—The Last Stand—Death of Lobengula—Settlement of the Country—The Australian Crisis—Canada—The Behring Sea Tribunal—The Award.

THE leading international event during 1893 was the reception of the Russian squadron, commanded by Admiral Avellan, at Toulon, and the subsequent visit of the officers to Paris, Lyons and Marseilles. For over a fortnight (October the 13th to the 29th) France went Russian-mad and President Carnot and his Ministers threw themselves into the general enthusiasm. The Czar repaid the compliment by paying a visit to two French ships-of-war, which were lying at Copenhagen. Though this return for the civilities offered at Cronstadt was certainly not productive of the hard-and-fast alliance that the popular mind imagined, it undoubtedly tended to draw the nations closer together. By way of counter-demonstration the Italians gave a warm greeting to the British Mediterranean Squadron, under the command of Sir Culme-Seymour, on its arrival at Spezia, and the funeral of Lord Vivian was celebrated with almost royal magnificence. Still, the relations of the various States were, taking everything into account, fairly friendly. An indiscretion of the German Emperor's, who invited the Prince of Naples to the military manœuvres, during which

the headquarters were fixed at Metz, irritated the French newspapers not a little. Their resentment, however, was chiefly directed against England and Italy. A violent crusade against Lord Dufferin, the British ambassador, was conducted in certain broadsheets of the baser sort and it even moved him to retort in a speech delivered at the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris. He was accused of having spent 3,000,000 francs in corrupting French journalists, but it subsequently appeared that the charge was based upon the forgeries of a mulatto called Norton. But the ill-will between France and Italy was even more marked. It received an impetus from a quarrel between workmen of the two nations at Aigues-Mortes. The Italians were apparently the aggressors, but they were hunted down by the enraged mob, until seven were killed and fifty-four injured. Forthwith angry crowds proceeded to demonstrate in Rome, where the windows of the French Embassy were broken, and in other large towns. Fortunately, the Governments did not want the quarrel if the peoples did, and the difference was settled by the payment of mutual indemnities.

Meanwhile, the domestic affairs of France were not a subject for congratulation. In the beginning of the year the Loubet Ministry fell and was succeeded by a Ribot Cabinet. It lasted until March, when a fresh Ministry had to be formed under M. Dupuy. The miserable Panama scandal hung over public life and it ended not only in the condemnation of the directors but in the implication of various prominent politicians, including MM. Floquet, Rouvier, de Freycinet, and Clémenceau, in the corruption of the Company. A students' riot in Paris and strikes in the mining districts marked the approach of the general election. This was so far satisfactory that it resulted in the return of 300 moderate Republicans, chiefly at the expense of the Monarchists and the Boulangists, of whom the last ceased to exist. But the Socialists had carried nearly fifty seats, especially in the large towns. It was hoped that the Ministry would be secure of a solid body of supporters, but hardly had the Chamber re-assembled when M. Dupuy and his colleagues were forced to resign by the sudden defection of three Radical members of the Cabinet. With much reluctance M. Casimir Perier, the President of the Chamber, was induced by M. Carnot to form a Ministry composed, for the most part, of untried materials. Two days afterwards (December the 6th) France was horrified by an unparalleled instance of Anarchist daring. A man named Vaillant threw a bomb from the strangers' gallery into the midst of the Deputies. Fortunately the missile struck the ledge, and exploded in the air, so that nobody was dangerously injured. The admirable presence of mind displayed by M. Dupuy, now President of the Chamber, prevented all panic and Vaillant was arrested. The House proceeded to pass fresh anti-Anarchist legislation of a drastic character.

The domestic affairs of the members of the Triple Alliance differed from those of the Republic in degree rather than in kind. The beginning of the year found Count von Caprivi in the position of the good man struggling against adversity. The majority of the Reichstag was obstinately determined on the rejection of the Army Bills, and on May the 6th the debate on the second reading ended in the defeat of the Government by 210 votes to 162. The Empire was at once involved in the turmoil of a general election, which resulted in a victory for the Bill, its opponents, the Radicals, losing over 30 seats. Still, the gain of ten seats by the Socialists, and eight by the Anti-Semites was not encouraging to

the Chancellor. The Bill passed by a majority of 201 to 185 (July 14th) and the House rose. During the recess Prince Bismarck gave vent to a series of bitter speeches against the Government, but the Kaiser mollified his hostility by offering to place one of the Imperial palaces at his disposal when, in September, he became seriously ill. Count von Caprivi, however, found himself involved in fresh troubles by his negotiations with Russia for a commercial treaty. The project, resumed after a rupture, and consequent war of tariffs, was resisted by the Conservatives, by whose aid he had carried the Army Bills, as ruinous to German agriculture, and the end of December found him still engaged in fishing for a majority. In Austria Count Taaffe, the Premier, made an heroic effort to place the Government on a firmer basis by introducing an Electoral Reform Bill, which would have swept away property qualifications, and added 3,000,000 votes to the constituencies. Established interests, however, proved too strong for him, and he was compelled to resign in favour of Prince Windischgrätz, who formed a moderately Conservative Cabinet. Italy also witnessed a change of Ministry, but not before Signor Giolitti's character was gravely compromised by his attempt to stifle the bank scandals. In March came the Pope's Jubilee, which was celebrated with much splendour, and eclipsed the silver wedding of the King and Queen, which was held a month later, the German Emperor being among the guests. Anarchist outrages, and a general rising in Sicily, where the peasants were ground down by taxation, finally threw such discredit on the Ministry that on November the 22nd it collapsed. After an interval, during which Signor Zanardelli in vain attempted to scrape together a Cabinet, Signor Crispi was recalled to power. His statement acknowledged both the political and financial situation to be very grave, and he made an earnest appeal to the parties for a "truce of God."

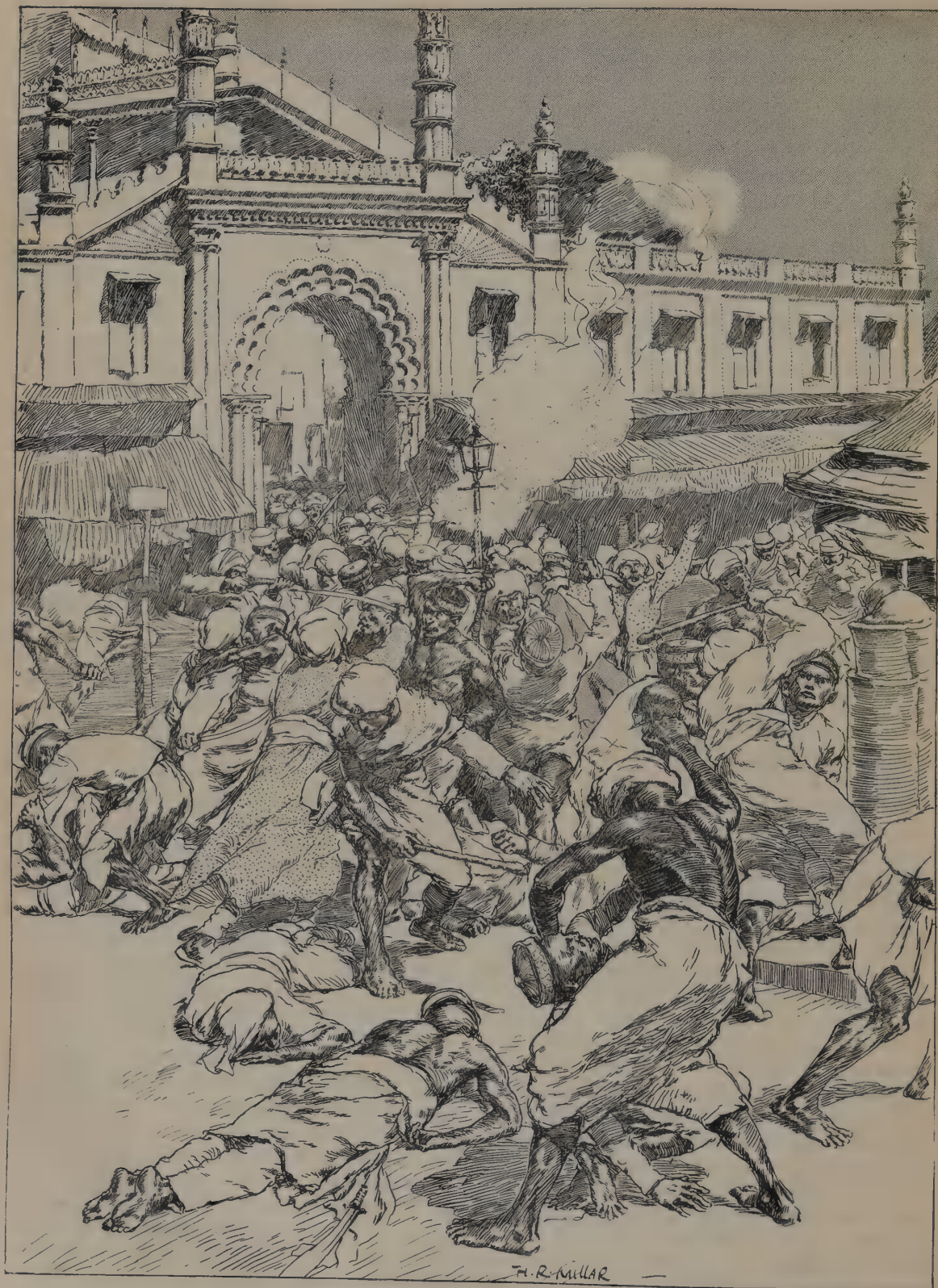
The Toulon demonstration, already alluded to, was attended by no hostile display on the part of Austria. On the contrary, the Emperor of Austria, in his speech from the throne, asserted that the relations with all the Powers were "very friendly." Later, Count Kalnoky said, even more definitely, that the good relations with Russia were being still further strengthened. Their cultivation was becoming one of the most important factors in Austria's policy in order to put a stop to the military tension in Europe. He also gave an important

definition of the treaty of alliance with Germany, from which it appeared that a *casus fœderis* would be established only if one of the two parties was attacked "without previous provocation" on its side. Nevertheless, the Russians continued to increase their army and navy with quiet persistency, particularly the Black Sea fleet. On the other hand, Russian diplomacy was unusually quiescent, though events in the Balkan Peninsula gave plenty of room for interference. Thus, on April the 13th the young King Alexander of Serbia effected a *coup d'état* by arresting the Regents and forbidding them the country. He then commissioned Dr. Dokitch, his former tutor, to form a new Ministry. This step was undoubtedly taken by the advice of the ex-King Milan, who had previously effected a dramatic reconciliation with Queen Nathalie at Biarritz. In Roumania the dynasty was strengthened by the marriage of Prince Ferdinand, the heir to the throne, to the Princess Marie of Edinburgh. Still more important was the marriage of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria to the Princess Marie Louise, daughter of the ex-Duke of Parma. Before this arrangement could be effected a change had to be made in the Bulgarian Constitution, whereby the heir to the throne need not be educated in the Orthodox faith. This modification of the Treaty of Berlin only called forth a mild remonstrance from the official journal at St. Petersburg, though it is needless to say that no representative of Russia was present at the wedding. On the other hand, M. Stambouloff scored a success by being admitted to a long interview with the Emperor of Austria. The history of Turkey was uneventful beyond the facts that General Brialmont, the famous Belgian engineer, pronounced the defences of the Dardanelles to be utterly inadequate, and that the disturbances in Armenia continued. The prisons were full of Armenian prisoners and so unjust were the sentences pronounced that several of the ambassadors at Constantinople lodged strenuous protests.

As usual the Russian press kept up its attacks upon the British policy in Asia, but the relations of the two Governments were friendly enough. A small boundary dispute in the Kushk Valley was settled by Colonel Yate and Lieut-Colonel Kuropatkin, and the negotiations with regard to the Pamirs were understood to be proceeding smoothly. In the autumn Lord Lansdowne at length persuaded the Ameer to receive a small mission under Sir Mortimer Durand, with the object of discussing frontier questions. Travelling

under Afghan escort, it reached Cabul on October the 2nd. Sir Mortimer and his officers were most hospitably entertained, and were shown the workshops for the manufacture of rifles and ordnance, which had been established by Abdurrahman's factotum, Mr. (afterwards Sir Salter) Pyne. After numerous palavers the mission departed, having settled various points, and the Ameer's allowance was raised by £37,500 per annum. Afghanistan retained possession of Asmar, but Chitral, Bajaur, and Swat in Kohistan were recognised as lying beyond Abdurrahman's sphere of influence. He withdrew his outposts from the Kurum Valley, and from Wana in Waziristan, and resigned to British control the immediate districts between Afghanistan and the Punjab. Again, he agreed to refrain from molesting Beluchistan and to allow New Chaman to be permanently occupied as a railway terminus. At a review held before the departure of the mission, the Ameer declared that the friendship between Great Britain and Afghanistan was now secure and that his soldiers would fight, if necessary, side by side with the British troops. Against this satisfactory result had to be set the deposition of the Khan of Khelat for wholesale murders and cruelties; an attack by the tribesmen upon Chilas, in repulsing which Major Averill Daniell was killed; and a reverse of the military police in Burma by the Kachins, in which Lieutenant Williams lost his life.

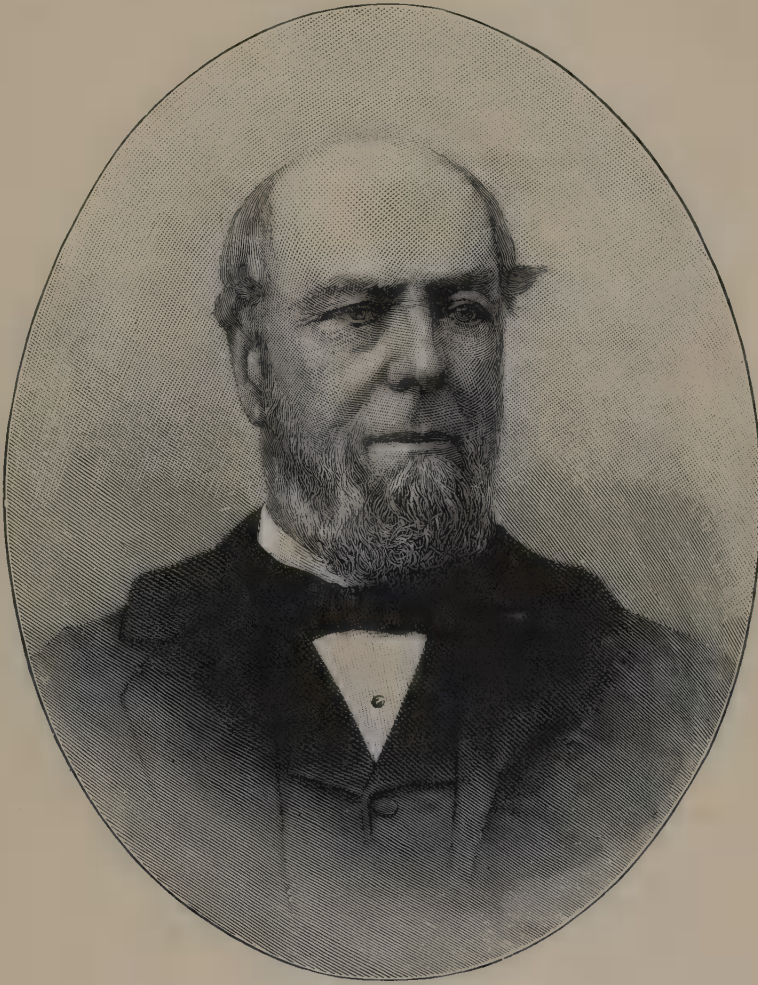
In India itself the concluding months of Lord Lansdowne's rule were gloomy enough. A useful reform was effected in the abolition of the presidency system in the army, whereby the country was divided afresh into four military districts, each under a Lieutenant-General, and recruiting was modified so as to draw soldiers from the fighting tribes. Before the old order had passed away, Lord Roberts's great career in India came to an end, and he was succeeded as Commander-in-Chief by Lieutenant-General Sir George White, V.C. But there was a serious agitation in Behar against the Government survey, which the zemindars feared would deprive them of the privileges held under the Permanent Settlement. Even more serious was the intense bitterness of feeling between the Hindoos and Mohammedans which showed itself throughout the peninsula. It began at Rangoon, where the magistrates refused to allow the Mohammedans to sacrifice a cow, the sacred animal of the Hindoos, in commemoration of the deliverance of Isaac by the angel. There the votaries of Islam were the aggressors and fifteen were killed in an attack on the police. In India,



RELIGIOUS FACTION FIGHTS IN BOMBAY. (See p. 541.)

however, the Cow Protection Society, which had spread through the whole of the North-West Provinces, was responsible for the disturbances. After a riot at Bareilly the movement spread through the country, and armed bands of Hindoos rescued cows and beat and pillaged Mohammedans.

"Din, din!" The police and the military at hand did their best, but in the evening the rioters had their own way in the suburbs. Despite the arrival of Lord Harris, and the despatch of reinforcements outrages continued and the soldiers were compelled to fire. Altogether 76 persons



LORD KIMBERLEY.

(From a Photograph by E. Passingham, South Audley Street, W.)

Hardly had Sir Charles Crosthwaite, the Lieutenant-Governor, restored order by fines and extra police, when Bombay was for five days given over to the wildest disorder (August 11th-15th). The two religious factions had been for some time intensely hostile, and the coincidence of the new-moon holiday of the Hindoos with the fast-day of the Mohammedans set the city ablaze. The Mohammedans complained that their devotions were disturbed by *tom-toms*, and they proceeded to attack a temple, shouting their war-cry

were killed and 1,557 arrested, either for active rioting or disorderly behaviour. Severe punishments were administered, and both Lord Harris and Lord Lansdowne in his farewell speeches, commented on the grave nature of the crisis.

Meanwhile, Indian finance was going from bad to worse. The rupee continued to fall and Sir David Barbour's Budget showed a deficit of Rx. 1,081,000 with a prospective deficit of Rx. 1,595,000. A loan of Rx. 3,000,000 was started in India to tide over difficulties, but it was

not very successful, and in addition a loan of £1,700,000 was placed on the London market. In June the report of the Herschell Committee appeared and, with certain modifications, adopted the proposal of the Indian Government—namely, the closure of the mints to the coinage of silver. The committee recommended, however, that an announcement should be put forth that the mints, though closed to the public, would be used by the Government in coining rupees in exchange for gold at the ratio of, say, 1s. 4d. per rupee, and that the Treasury would receive gold in payment of rupees at the same ratio. In other words, a gold standard was introduced, though not a gold currency, and the rupee became token-money. These alterations were accepted by Lord Lansdowne and the bold experiment began. Unfortunately speculators had been beforehand with the Indian Government and imported huge quantities of silver, which had been put into currency. The rupee, therefore, could not be retained at its artificial value, and Lord Kimberley created a violent commotion in the money-market by letting Council bills go at 1s. 3½d. instead of keeping them at the 1s. 4d., though they still remained unsaleable. Accordingly the Government, in the autumn session, was forced to introduce a Loan Bill for £10,000,000 in order to enable the India Office to make its European remittances. The debates in both Houses showed much uncertainty of opinion, though Indian ex-officials, like Sir R. Temple, appeared to take a less gloomy view of the situation than authorities on banking like Mr. Goschen and Mr. S. Montagu. In the House of Lords Lord Salisbury summed up the condition of affairs neatly enough—"We are trying to create a rupee vacuum in India, but everyone familiar with physics knows that there is nothing more difficult than to create a vacuum which shall be proof against the incursion of outside gases." Thus Lord Lansdowne was inevitably compelled to leave a *damnosa hereditas* of debt and uncertainty to his successor Lord Elgin, who had been appointed Viceroy after Lord Cromer had declined, for private reasons, and Sir Henry Norman, the Governor of Queensland, had first accepted and then excused himself on the score of age.

Though little of moment occurred in the vast Chinese Empire, events developed with startling rapidity in Siam. Their cause, however, was not publicly known until the following year, when a substantial Blue-book appeared. It seemed that so far back as April 4th, 1889, M. Waddington, the French Ambassador, had approached Lord

Salisbury with a proposal for the neutralisation of Siam. Their accounts of the conversation differed slightly in terms, but they agreed in substance. Thus Lord Salisbury reported to Lord Lytton that "the French Ambassador called upon me to-day by appointment to make a proposal for the neutralisation of Siam. He stated that the French Government had a twofold object in view. They wished to establish a strong independent kingdom of Siam, with well-defined frontiers on both sides, and they desired to come to an arrangement by which a permanent barrier might be established between the possessions of Great Britain and France in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Such an arrangement would be advantageous to both countries, and would prevent the complications which otherwise might arise between them." The matter was referred to the India Office and that department apparently pigeon-holed the paper. On July the 12th Lord Cross was informed that the French Government desired some kind of answer, and on July 24th he at length expressed his general approval. He accompanied this message with a rough map intended to illustrate the boundaries of Siam, which might have been the production of an intelligent errand-boy. On the 27th of August Lord Salisbury intimated to M. Waddington that Her Majesty's Government was, generally speaking, well disposed towards his suggestion. However, the French Government, apparently considering that a waiting game was the best, dropped the business until February the 16th, 1892, when M. Waddington came forward with an entirely new proposal. "His Excellency said that his Government were of opinion that, in order to avoid further differences between the two Powers, it might be advantageous that each Power should bind itself to the other not to extend its influence beyond the Mekong. Neither Power had yet advanced practically to the banks of that river, but this engagement would prevent either Power suspecting the other of desiring to encroach upon what was essentially Siamese territory." To this Lord Salisbury objected that it looked very like a plan to partition Siam. M. Waddington replied that he did not propose any engagement of a positive character; his proposal was not an assertion of present rights, but as he expressed it "a prophylactic." Again the question was referred to the India Office, and once more that department was apparently incapable of action. No reply was forthcoming when the Conservatives went out of office.

The indefatigable M. Waddington thereupon

recurred to the subject in conversation with Lord Rosebery and for the first time some settlement seemed feasible. The Foreign Secretary defined the views of Her Majesty's Government in two notes—one dated December 23rd, 1892, and the other on April 3rd, 1893. With regard to the Mekong he pointed out that the British Government had already acquired rights over certain districts to the east of that river, notably in the provinces of Kiang-Hung and Kiang-Chang. It was proposed, however, to cede the former to China and the latter to Siam. At the same time he objected to the proposition that the French and British Governments should assume exclusive spheres of influence, because the arrangement had, so far as he was aware, no precedent in international practice and seemed at variance with the principle of the national independence of Siam, which both Governments were anxious to preserve.

Unfortunately the time for negotiations had gone by. While diplomatists were discussing the situation at leisure, French agents on the spot were modifying it to the advantage of the Republic. In April Captain Thoreux, with a force of Annamite sharpshooters, was directed by M. de Lanessan to advance and occupy Khong, an island on the Mekong, so as to control the river. He installed himself without difficulty, but was surrounded by Siamese troops, and a column from Cochin-China had to be sent to his relief. There followed in June the death of M. Groscurin, an engineer, who, according to the French account, was murdered by a Siamese mandarin, while the Siamese declared that he had been killed in an affray provoked by his aggressive conduct. In hot haste M. Pavie, the French Consul-General at Bangkok, demanded reparation, while the French squadron concentrated off the Menam. The Siamese Government expressed its profound regret and promised to bring the criminals to justice. However, the apology was not deemed sufficient. The island of Samit in the Gulf of Siam was occupied and in July two French gunboats steamed up the Menam and anchored off the capital. The Siamese forts at the mouth of the river fired a shot or two, but only by way of protest against this violation of the treaty of 1856. Subsequently the French Government took great credit to itself because Bangkok was not bombarded, more especially as the Foreign Minister, M. Develle, declared that the Siamese had been persistently encroaching on Tonquin and Annam. However, M. Pavie was able to force a hard ultimatum on the Court, which included the

surrender of the whole left bank of the Mekong and its islands, together with a heavy indemnity. Clinging to the hope that Britain would intervene on his behalf, the King of Siam delayed his reply. The conditions were promptly made more stringent, including a temporary occupation of the port of Chantaboon, until the Siamese had evacuated their posts on the farther side of the Mekong; and a blockade was declared. Lord Rosebery thereupon emphatically declared in the House of Lords that Britain would not intervene in the dispute, nor pronounce on the merits of the quarrel. On August the 1st the king surrendered without reserve and so the blockade was averted. But a fresh instalment of humiliations awaited the unfortunate monarch. M. Pavie, not being considered sufficiently overbearing, was superseded by a special commissioner, M. le Myre de Vilers. For six weeks the squeezing process continued and the treaty and convention were not signed until the 2nd of October. By the former the Siamese (1) surrendered the whole territories on the left bank of the Mekong and the islands on the river; (2) they agreed to abandon the armed navigation of the Toule-Sap Lake, the Mekong, and their tributaries; (3) they promised not to erect any fortified post in the provinces of Battambang and Semirep or within 25 kilometres of the right bank of the Mekong; (4) they undertook to open negotiations within six months for a revision of the treaty of commerce. The convention exacted the evacuation of the posts in the surrendered territories and the trial of the authors of the incidents which had given rise to the quarrel. Chantaboon was to remain in French occupation until every article had been executed.

Thus far Lord Rosebery had withheld his hand, though Lord Dufferin had been instructed to represent to M. Develle that the independence of Siam must be respected. On October the 27th, however, he stated, in a despatch to Lord Dufferin that the integrity and independence of Siam would best be served in connection with the establishment of a neutral zone or buffer State between the possessions of Britain and France. "It appears to her Majesty's Government that it is of little use to endeavour to patch together, in a somewhat narrow and grudging spirit, a small neutral State on the Upper Mekong, unless the whole object and end of the arrangement be borne in mind, and steps be taken properly to confirm and secure the integrity and independence of Siam, which have been so freely recognised by both Governments, and without which any settlement

must necessarily be illusory and incomplete. Her Majesty's Government believe that it would be to the advantage of both countries to enter into a joint guarantee of the dominions of Siam, as these have been left by the acceptance of the recent French ultimatum and subsequent conditions." Lord Rosebery, however, declared that the question must be approached in a large and statesman-like spirit and that it was useless to wrangle over a few square miles of mountainous territory. He added: "Should these negotiations, however, unfortunately fail, and should the French Government be unable to accept the above proposal (which is offered in the most conciliatory spirit), the British Government would have to take such measures as they might consider necessary for their own protection. These it is not necessary more particularly to define. But they would, at any rate, be compelled to maintain and strengthen their hold over the State of Kiang-Chang on both sides of the Mekong, and over Kiang-Ton, which also extends for a certain distance along the left side of that river, in such manner as they might deem fitting, and, indeed, to assume a proper control of the river itself where it passes through their territories. They would also take into immediate consideration the measures necessary to preserve an independent State between the main body of the British dominions and those of France." M. Develle received these propositions in a spirit which Lord Dufferin described as highly satisfactory. However, the negotiations dragged a good deal, though eventually protocols were signed sketching out the northern neutral zone. Nevertheless, the French remained at Chantaboon, though Lord Rosebery's successor, Lord Kimberley, was constrained to remark on April 25th, 1894, that the Siamese Government had fulfilled all its obligations under the convention. Further, on August the 18th, just before the House rose, Sir Edward Grey said, that should a new phase of things arise in the relations between Siam and the French Government, it might be that the British Government would have to take up the negotiations at the point where they had been left, and the course they would pursue would not be the same as they had felt justified in pursuing in the past.

The pertinacity displayed by the French Government in regard to Siam, was due, in part, to resentment against the prolonged occupation of Egypt by Great Britain. In other respects there were causes for anxiety in that country, notably in the headstrong character of the young Khedive. On

January the 15th he dismissed Mustapha Pasha Fehmj and two other Ministers, and appointed Fakhri Pasha Premier, Boutros Pasha Minister of Finance, and Mazloun Pasha Minister of War. All three were known to be hostile to England, and Fakhri was a violent opponent of reform of every kind. A Cabinet Council was promptly summoned to Downing Street and Lord Cromer was given a free hand to deal with the situation. Barely had the French papers time to print articles rejoicing over the downfall of British influence, when the crisis began to subside. The Khedive confessed his error and, in order to save appearances, he was allowed to retain Boutros and Mazloun, while, as a compromise, Riaz Pasha was appointed Premier. However, Abbas Pasha appears to have taken these concessions as a sign of weakness and the news of his ill-will to the British speedily became known. The students rioted at Cairo and native demonstrations were held in his honour. At a fresh Cabinet Council it was decided to increase and afterwards, on Lord Cromer's advice, to double the British garrison. A regiment was ordered from Malta, another from England and a third stopped on its way from India. Thereupon all signs of active discontent disappeared.

Nevertheless, disaffection continued to simmer throughout the country. There was the old Turkish party which was anxious to invoke the authority of the Sultan. Many of the Pashas were active sympathisers with France, while the Ulema wished the land to be cleared of infidels generally. The educated youth of Egypt was strongly anti-English, so was every turbulent character, while the peasants who sympathised most with British rule were absolutely inert. Besides, Riaz Pasha, though honest according to his lights, was a distinct reactionary and had little love for the British officials. Hence these were frequently defied and thwarted by the native subordinates, notably in the Department of Justice, in which Mr. Scott's proposals met with little encouragement. Friction was frequent, though Riaz generally avoided pushing matters to an extreme. However, matters improved when the Khedive, on paying a visit to the Sultan in July, met with mighty little encouragement from his suzerain. Besides, Riaz Pasha was at length compelled to refute the calumnies of the National Party. In December, the Legislative Council, a quasi-representative body of Lord Dufferin's creation, proceeded to arraign the British Administration in violent terms. It asserted that the private

indebtedness of the peasantry amounted to £20,000,000, or £20 per household; that the army cost £34 per man, whereas £27 was a reasonable estimate; that every department was burdened with the salaries of European officials. The Council recommended their reduction, the abolition of the Prison Department, and the Slavery Suppression Department, and various minor reforms. Riaz Pasha replied by rejecting

of over £500,000. The Government proposed to reduce the land tax still further, and to abolish the Customs in small towns. An agreeable feature was the increased revenue derived from the railways, of which the Khedive opened several extensions in the course of the year. Again Cairo was to be drained and irrigation perfected. The army had acquitted itself with credit in various skirmishes with the Dervishes, though a



TOMBS OF THE MAMELUKES AND THE CITADEL, CAIRO.

(From a Photograph by Frith and Co., Reigate.)

all demands, only promising a policy of gradual reduction until "England would perform her promise of evacuation," and hinting that it could only be obtained by "a wise moderation of word and deed." Simultaneously Sir Elwin Palmer, the Financial Adviser of the Khedive, published a flat contradiction of the Council's statements as to the financial condition of the country. He pointed out, for one thing, that whenever land came into the market it was greedily bought in small quantities by the peasantry. Further, his Budget statement, published shortly afterwards, showed a realised surplus of £788,000 despite reductions of taxation, and a prospective surplus

partial repulse was experienced in January at the Ambigol Wells, where Captain Pyne of the Dorsetshire Regiment was killed. Unfortunately General Kitchener, the Sirdar, was at loggerheads with Maher Pasha, the Under-Secretary for War, on the matter of promotions, and though the latter apparently gave way, his intrigues were to bear fruit in 1894.

During Sir Gerald Portal's mission to Uganda, of which we shall give an account later, Mr. Rennell Rodd acted as his deputy at Zanzibar. The sudden death of the Sultan Seyyid Ali-bin-Said on March the 5th, inspired his son Kalid Barghash with a desire to seize the succession.

He occupied the palace, but was speedily ejected by Mr. Rodd, with the assistance of Captain Hatch, commanding the British force, and Hamid-bin-Thwain, his uncle, was proclaimed without further disturbance. The island continued to flourish under British administration, but the same remark could not be applied to the British East Africa's territory on the mainland. The Company had nearly spent its money and was anxious to be rid of a responsibility which only involved further indebtedness. However, the Imperial Government was slow to come to terms and meanwhile various revolts occurred. Thus the Somalis of Kismayu twice rebelled and on the second occasion they were joined by some deserters from the Hyderabad Contingent, who had killed the Company's representative, Mr. Hamilton. The *Widgeon* and the *Blanche*, however, soon restored order, though the second affair produced some sharp fighting. Again, though the turbulent district of Witu was placed under the Zanzibar Protectorate, an expedition had to be sent against its deposed Sultan, Fumo Omari, whose village was captured in August. In Nyassaland, the Commissioner, Mr. Johnston, continued to make head against the slave-trade by building forts to command the chief routes. He was delivered of his inveterate opponent, the chief Makanjira, who was killed in a drinking bout by his son Sarafi. Nevertheless, slaves continued to be smuggled across the Lake, and his vigorous administration, which necessitated a heavy hut-tax, exasperated the Scottish missionaries by dispersing their converts.

In West Africa the position was strengthened by the declaration of a protectorate over the Oil Rivers district, under the title of the Niger Coast Protectorate. Besides, the "hinterland" difficulty was settled by an agreement with Germany, which drew a dividing line through the Sultanate of Adamawa, leaving the capital Yola within the British sphere, to Kuka, a town on Lake Tchad. Still the constant advance of the French outposts threatened to diminish the old Crown Colonies, and it caused one most unfortunate collision. In December a force was despatched from Sierra Leone, under Colonel A. B. Ellis, consisting of 120 frontier police and 430 men of the 1st West India Regiment, to operate against the Sofas, a marauding confederacy. Unfortunately, a French party under Lieutenant Maritz, consisting of 30 Senegalese sharpshooters and 1,200 natives, was simultaneously pursuing these robbers, and, in its zeal appears to have penetrated within the British

frontier. On the night of December the 23rd, as the English force lay in camp at Weeina, it was attacked by the French, who mistook the white uniforms for the native dress. Before the blunder could be rectified, Lieutenants Liston and Waughton of the West India Regiment, and Captain Lendy of the police had been killed, and Lieutenant Maritz mortally wounded. In his last moment, the unfortunate young Frenchman confessed that he had been in the wrong. But though the fight at Weeina was an accident, the French elsewhere were not too scrupulous as to their neighbours' landmarks, and the Niger Company made some grave accusations of freebooting against an exploring party commanded by Lieutenant Mizon.

In South Africa a Ministerial crisis of little moment occurred at Cape Town in May. Mr. Merriman and Mr. Siveright resigned, because, rumour asserted, Mr. Rhodes was too deferential to the Dutch. Mr. Rhodes, however, experienced little difficulty in reconstructing his Cabinet, which was strengthened by the accession of Sir Gordon Sprigg, the former Premier. Responsible government was introduced in Natal, the differences between the Imperial and Colonial authorities having been finally adjusted. The Bill passed the Legislative Council, and the elections took place in September. As was fitting, Sir John Robinson, who had led the movement for self-government, formed the first Cabinet (October the 10th). He promptly opened negotiations with President Kruger for extension of the Natal railway into the Transvaal. The latter, however, declined to act until the Swaziland difficulty had been settled. It formed the subject of several conferences between President Kruger and Sir Henry Loch, the High Commissioner. At first a deadlock seemed inevitable, but a settlement was effected in June. Thereby the country was assigned to the South African Republic, but British residents were admitted to full citizenship. The Customs duties were to be no higher than those of the Transvaal tariff, or those of the South African Customs Union, and the Republic was not to construct a railway to the sea without the permission of the British Government. As for the natives, their privileges were amply safeguarded on paper, but they evinced the strongest objection to coming under Boer Rule. The Queen Regents and their Council objected to the Convention and it remained unexecuted, until their consent could be obtained. Meanwhile, Mr. Kruger was once more elected President of the Transvaal by a majority

of some 800 votes over General Joubert. During his canvass he made numerous promises of redress of grievances to the British population, but, returned to power, he showed little disposition to execute them.

As summer drew near it was evident that a crisis was approaching in Mashonaland. Though King Lobengula was desirous of keeping the peace, he could not restrain his young men, and the "impis" began to raid their hereditary victims the Mashonas, close to the British settlements. At last, in July, a regiment of Matabele pursued some Mashonas into Victoria and murdered them in the streets, though they did not touch the white men, but merely carried off their cattle. The police, under Captain Lendy, were called to the rescue and the "impi" retired with some loss of life, though it was not, as some hostile critics reported, ruthlessly shot down. Indeed the report of Mr. Fenton, C.M.G., which was published in October, 1894, declared that Dr. Jameson gave the Matabele fair warning, that his instructions to Captain Lendy were not only justifiable, but politic, and that the savages were neither mercilessly butchered nor killed when they asked for quarter. Lobengula was reprimanded by the High Commissioner and he replied by palliating the conduct of his braves on the ground of their youth, and claiming a right to chastise "his slaves," the Mashonas. He refused to pay compensation for the cattle stolen unless the Mashona fugitives were surrendered with their families. Sir Henry Loch became convinced "that the intention of the Matabele was actively hostile," but Lord Ripon directed him to inform the South Africa Company that "unless they are attacked, no aggressive movement is to be made without your previous knowledge and permission. If your sanction is asked for an offensive movement, communicate with me before replying." For the present, therefore, Dr. Jameson, the Commissioner in Mashonaland, was ordered to confine himself to the protection of European lives and property. Accordingly, the raids continued, and in July Dr. Jameson telegraphed that a strong Matabele "impi" was encamped close to Fort Victoria, and another on the Sabaki river, half-way between Lobengula's kraal and Fort Salisbury. The latter was capturing slaves in the Company's territory, and action was imperative. However, Lord Ripon still hesitated, and the savages continued to scour the country. At last, on October 5th, they came into collision with Imperial troops by firing upon the Bechuana-land Police as they were patrolling the Shashi

River near Maclutsie. Thereupon a general advance was ordered against the Matabele, whose king kept sending messages, now reasonable and now defiant. Mr. Rhodes, who soon repaired to Fort Salisbury, predicted that the war would be over in a month, but alarmists declared that the autumn rains would arrive before the campaign was concluded.

Dr. Jameson and Major Forbes had long since drawn up the programme of the expedition. The advance was to be in three columns, starting from Fort Salisbury, Fort Victoria, and Tuli. At first it was thought that they could push on to Buluwayo without waggons, but provision had to be made for the reserve ammunition and also for the horses' food. Besides, twelve waggons would form a small but compact laager for the protection of the camp. Major Forbes had little difficulty in raising an efficient force of volunteers, and he took besides two Maxim guns on galloping carriages, one one-pounder shell Maxim, and a Gardner. Mr. Nesbitt also recruited a contingent of natives, which proved of great usefulness in foraging and collecting cattle. Major Forbes's strength, on moving out of Fort Charter, where he picked up a valuable relay of horses, was 258 whites, 115 natives, and 242 horses. Little incident characterised the march to the Iron Hill Mine, within the Matabele boundary, where a junction was to be effected with the Victoria column commanded by Major Allan Wilson. While Major Forbes was waiting for that contingent he lost Captain Campbell, who was mortally wounded while driving in some captured cattle. On October 16th Major Wilson arrived with 414 white men, 172 horses, about 40 native drivers, and 400 Mashonas. His guns consisted of three galloping Maxims, a seven-pounder screw gun and a Hotchkiss. The two columns kept separate formation and their laagers were connected every night by a thorn hedge. They advanced to the Shangani River, destroying kraals by the way, so as to leave no Matabele in the rear. The natives, who were badly led, made the fatal mistake of not disputing the march through some wooded and broken country.

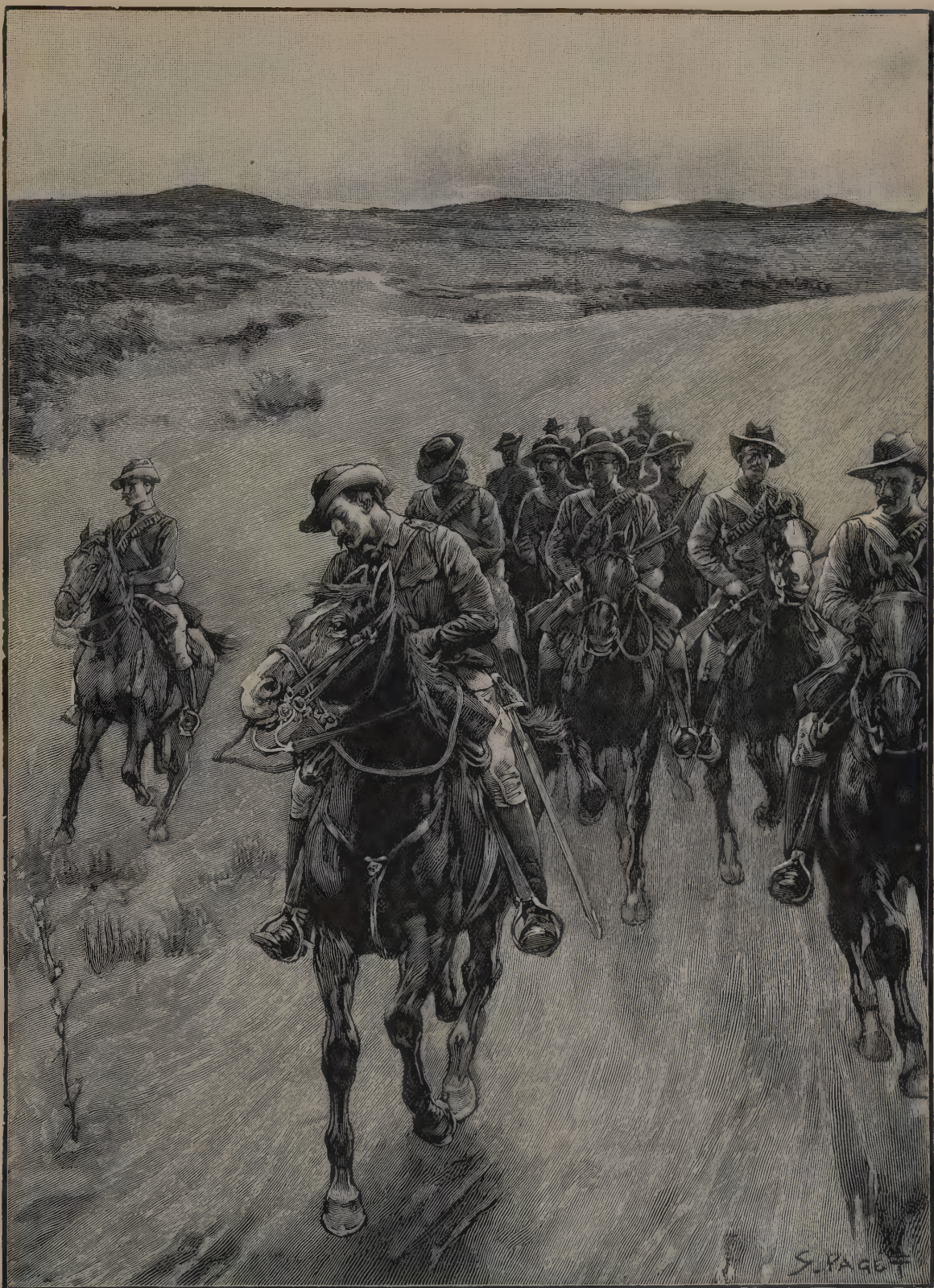
The passage was effected without difficulty, but at dawn on the 25th the Matabele attacked in force. They penetrated into the camp of the friendly natives, commanded by Mr. Qusted, and inflicted a considerable number of casualties, but were driven off in half an hour. As it grew lighter some 300 savages collected on a small hill and walked quickly down towards the camp. They were without shields, and Major Forbes believed

them to be "friendlies" until they sat down and began to fire. Three Maxims and some 200 rifles compelled them to retire very hastily over the rise. Nevertheless, they re-formed in the most plucky manner and forced the cavalry that was sent in pursuit to retire on the laager with the loss of several horses. They followed towards the waggons, but were driven back by the Maxims, while Captain Lendy did great execution with the Hotchkiss on small parties crossing the open. A third attack was not more successful and this time they fell back before the cavalry. Finally, they retired altogether and the first battle was over. Two of Lobengula's best regiments had been engaged, including some 5,000 warriors. They lost quite 500, but as their shooting was very wild and they never got near enough to hurl their spears, only one Englishman was killed and six were wounded. They had, however, stabbed some forty or fifty of Mr. Quedstedt's natives in the first surprise. Next day Captain Heany burnt a large military kraal, but had to retreat before a large body of the enemy. Another scouting party lost Captain Gwynyth Williams, whose horse being wounded became unmanageable and carried him into the midst of the Matabele. He was hunted down and, after making a most gallant stand on a rock, fell, shot through the head. The main strength of the enemy kept at a respectful distance until the 29th of October, when Lobengula resolved to make a last attempt to save his capital.

That morning the scouts discovered that the savages were thick in the bush. The laagers were barely formed when they attacked, driving in the pickets and killing a trooper. Some of the friendly natives stampeded the horses and they galloped towards the enemy, but were headed back by Sir John Willoughby and Captain Borrow when within about 1,000 yards of the advancing line. "The enemy," writes Captain Forbes in "The Downfall of Lobengula," "had been coming on in great numbers; their fire was very hot. Luckily for us it was high and for ten minutes or so I thought it quite as hot as ours. We had a Maxim, a Gardner, and the Nordenfelt gun firing all the time, besides about 150 rifles. The main attack was on our right, and though the natives came on very well to within about 300 yards and held their own there, they could not get any closer and were at last forced to retire. . . While the main attack was being conducted on our right face, several attempts were made to get round us, but in each were stopped by the Maxims, and none of the enemy, except those in the main attack, appeared

to care about leaving the bush. The fight lasted about forty minutes, and then the enemy retired, but did so in a sulky sort of way, not hurrying or taking cover, but walking quietly back until they were out of sight." Skirmishing parties were then sent out, and though Captain Bastard had to be rescued from a large force which ran out to intercept him, by shells from the seven-pounder, they succeeded in clearing the bush. The Matabele regiments engaged were the same as those which had fought in the Shangani with the addition of the Imbezu, Ingubu, and N'Gobo regiments. Of these the Imbezu, who led the attack, lost in dead and wounded nearly 500 out of a total of 700. The British casualties were four killed and six wounded. Next day the Matabele threatened the march, but did not venture to attack, and in the afternoon Captain Borrow, with an advance guard of twenty men, occupied Buluwayo. The natives, in a panic, had set fire to the place and therewith 2,000 lbs. of powder had exploded, utterly destroying the king's own house. The whole British force marched in on the 7th of November, and next day news arrived that the Tuli column under Colonel Goold-Adams was sixty miles off, and advancing slowly, as the oxen were exhausted.

Colonel Goold-Adams had encountered no very serious opposition. At the same time he had effected a valuable diversion since 8,000 Matabele under Gambo, the king's brother-in-law, were detached to watch his movements. His force consisted of 225 officers and men of the Bechuanaland Border Police, with 210 officers, five Maxims, and two seven-pounder guns. At Tuli he was joined by Commandant Raaf, a Dutchman in the service of the South Africa Company with 225 officers and men and a Maxim. He pushed forwards as fast as possible and occupied Tati settlement. There a regrettable incident occurred, which was, however, enormously exaggerated by a section of the English press. There arrived a mission from Lobengula, consisting of Mr. Dawson, a white trader of Buluwayo, and three "indunas," one of whom was Lobengula's half-brother, Ingubogubo. Unfortunately Mr. Dawson went off to get something to eat, leaving the chiefs wandering about the camp. In ignorance of the fact that they were envoys from the king, Colonel Goold-Adams ordered their arrest. They became thoroughly alarmed and two of them were shot in attempting to escape, after two guards had been stabbed. Ingubogubo made no resistance and was eventually forwarded to Cape Town. Sir Henry Loch promptly ordered an inquiry, which was conducted by Major Sawyer,



ON THE TRACK OF LOBENGULA. (See p. 550.)

his military secretary. He completely exonerated all parties concerned, tracing the affair to a series of extraordinary mischances. On October the 13th Major Goold-Adams reached the Shashi River, where he met the Bechuana King Khama, with 130 mounted men and some 1,700 foot, of whom half were armed with Martini-Henrys. Pushing forwards, Major Goold-Adams arrived at the Singuesi River on the 29th of October, and there learnt that the Matabele were immediately in front, while the hills to the northward could not be circumvented owing to lack of water. On the 1st of November some of his waggons were attacked by 600 or 700 Matabele when a mile and a half from camp, and Mr. Selous, the famous hunter, was wounded in trying to stop the rush, while Corporal Mundy was assailed. However, the mounted men turned out and covered the retreat of the waggons, and the Matabele following were dispersed by the Maxims when about 150 yards from the laager. Then the cavalry and Khama's men cleared the hills to the south, whither the enemy had retired after an hour's skirmishing. The engagement, however, exhausted Khama's military ardour and he withdrew to his own country on the plea that smallpox had broken out in his camp. Colonel Goold-Adams met with no further opposition, and, sending on Commandant Raaf with 100 men to join Major Forbes, he arrived at Buluwayo on the 12th of November.

Lobengula had fled and was believed to be on the banks of the Bubyé. Thither Dr. Jameson despatched a message, giving him two days within which to surrender. No reply was received within that period of grace, though Lobengula subsequently sent word requesting that two traders, Messrs. Asher and Fairbairn, might come and talk to him. He also sent a letter, accompanied by a present of gold-dust, which was most basely intercepted by two troopers, Daniels and Wilson. These scoundrels were eventually condemned to fourteen years' imprisonment and their abominable treachery was the cause of the one disaster of the campaign. Already Major Forbes had started in pursuit with 90 men of the Salisbury column, 60 of the Victoria column under Major Wilson, and 150 of the Tuli column, and the Bechuanaland Border Police under Commandant Raaf. They advanced to Umhlangeni, finding the kraals deserted and no "impi" in sight, and, leaving Captain Fitzgerald with 200 men in charge, reached the Bubyé on the 19th. Provisions were falling short and Commandant Raaf was most reluctant to go on. After some rather distracted councils-of-war,

Major Forbes returned to Umhlangeni, where he was joined by Captain Borrow with 16 mounted men and two days' food and thence retired on the deserted mission-station of Shiloh just before the arrival of Captain Napier with rations for 300 men for 12 days. He therefore made up his force afresh and sent back 280 men to Buluwayo. The pursuit of the king was resumed, and, though much valuable time had been lost, the patrol was soon upon the track of Lobengula's waggons, which it followed to the Shangani River. The American scouts, Burnham and Ingram, were sent out and narrowly escaped being captured. They reported that the British were liable to be attacked by 2,000 or 3,000 natives, but a slave-boy, taken later in the day, declared that the king was only just in front. "Thereupon," writes Major Forbes, "I called Major Wilson out at once, and told him that I wanted him to take his 12 best horses and push on along the spoor as fast as he could to see which way it went, returning by dark. This was about 5 o'clock, and there was about one-and-a-half hour's more daylight. I said to him that if he went fast he would be able to go five or six miles out and back."

Major Wilson at once started on his dangerous errand and several of his officers, including Captain Greenfield and Captain Kirton, received special permission to join him, together with the American scouts. About 9 o'clock two men, whose horses had knocked up, returned with the news that the party would be out all night. Two hours later Captain Napier arrived with the announcement that Major Wilson had advanced through several "sherm" (fenced camps) seeking for the king. When he reached the fifth, a number of natives appeared in the rear with rifles and the major ordered a retreat. According to the guide, Lobengula was in the next "sherm" with his waggons. Captain Napier believed that Major Wilson wished to be joined immediately by the whole force, but Major Forbes decided that the operation of crossing the river by night was too dangerous to be risked, more especially as the Matabele might attack at any moment. He therefore sent Captain Borrow across with 20 men, promising at the same time to move at daylight. However, when he reached the bank next day, the enemy attacked while the force was in a very bad position and he had to retire with five men wounded. During the engagement heavy firing was heard across the river, and, while Major Forbes was retreating, Burnham, Ingram, and a trooper rode up, and the first remarked: "I think I may say we are the sole survivors of that party."

Burnham's account was that Major Wilson had encamped that night without being attacked and that Captain Borrow and his men arrived before daylight. They decided on making a rush for the king's "sherm" and trying to secure him. They rode up, therefore, and got within a few feet when they halted and called to the king. The answer received was a heavy fire from 100 men in front and on both sides. Major Wilson replied, but had to fall back upon an ant-heap 600 or 700 yards away. There the party made a stand, but the natives began to surround it again. Major Wilson therefore retired once more and this time two horses had to carry double. Shortly afterwards he asked Burnham to try and get through to Major Forbes. Accompanied by his mate Ingram and the trooper Gowling, he started and rode through a shower of bullets to the river, which they crossed with difficulty, as it had risen during the night. The rest of the story was collected some weeks afterwards from the Matabele prisoners. Besides the two horses killed, many others were completely exhausted. As the American scout, Ingram, remarked with rugged eloquence, "Some of the best mounts might have got away, but—well, they were not the sort of men to leave their chums. No; I guess they fought it right out there where they stood." For two long hours the little band of thirty-six resisted the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, taking cover behind the dead bodies of their horses and singling out the chiefs for their aim. One by one they sank under the heavy fire from the bush, but the wounded continued to load the rifles for their companions. The Matabele charged again and again, but only to be driven back by the admirably directed fire and then a cheer was raised. At last the time came when all except one man, whose name unfortunately remains unknown, lay dead or dying. Picking up several rifles, he retreated to an ant-heap 20 yards off, and thence checked several rushes of the Matabele by his deadly marksmanship. Shot through the hips, he sank on his knees, but continued to load and fire till he succumbed to his wounds. Then the Matabele advanced, but a few of the wounded retained sufficient strength to use their revolvers. The savages were so demoralised that they fled and did not return for several hours afterwards, when not a man of the thirty-six remained alive.

This splendid deed of heroism practically concluded the campaign. The swollen state of the Shangani and the precariousness of his own position prevented Major Forbes from attempting to rescue poor Wilson's party. He retired up

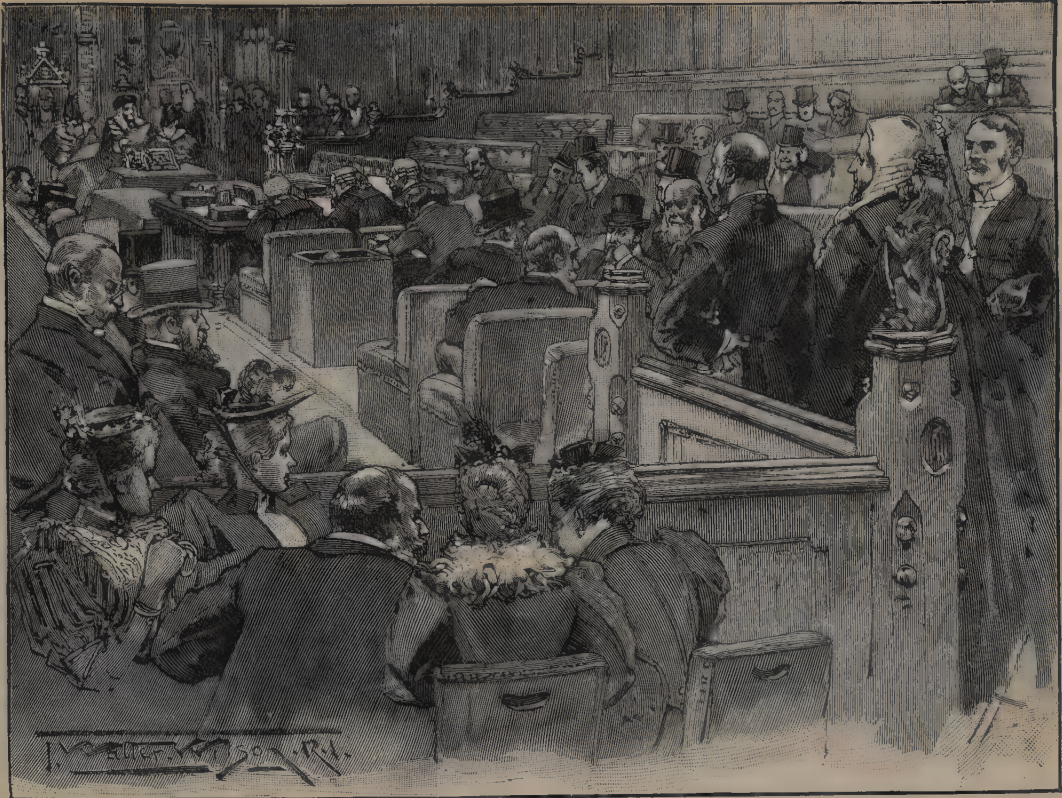
the river to Buluwayo, and suffered some privation on the way from lack of provisions. There was only one slight skirmish during the march, however, and the death of Lobengula from dysentery removed all danger of a recrudescence of the war. The Matabele chiefs "came in" and on the 21st of December the forces were disbanded after parading before Mr. Rhodes. A large number remained in Matabeleland and proceeded to peg out farms. During the autumn Session Mr. Labouchere and other Radicals had vented their animosity against the South Africa Company, Mr. Rhodes, and the war, with much vigorous invective. They met with small sympathy from Mr. Sydney Buxton, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, who, however, proclaimed, clearly enough, that Her Majesty's Government intended to keep the settlement of the country in its own hands. Several telegrams to that effect from Lord Ripon to Sir Henry Loch and an angry and rather vainglorious speech from Mr. Rhodes on his return to Cape Town seemed to point to the existence of a hitch. However that may be, the settlement was delayed until the following year, when the whole administration of Mashona land and Matabeleland was rearranged. The administrator, though nominated by the Company, was made subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, and he was to be assisted by a council of five, one of whom must be a judge. He could dissent from their advice, but in that case he must report his reasons to the Company. His regulations would have the force of law, but they must first have the approval of the High Commissioner, and the Company had power to impose taxes. In the case of natives native law was to be used, except when it was repugnant to the laws of morality. They were not to be subjected to exceptional legislation, save with regard to liquor and arms, and they were to be allowed land sufficient for their grazing and agricultural requirements, from which they were not to be removed without compensation and cattle sufficient for their needs. As a matter of course Dr. Jameson was continued as administrator, and the first Chief Justice was Mr. Joseph Vintcent, a member of an old Dutch family.

The financial collapse in Australia, which had begun in 1892, ran its course in the year under review. As we have already stated, its causes may be ascribed to the general extravagance both of the States and individuals. The panic reached its height in April and May, when some twelve houses were compelled to suspend payment. The

total liabilities of the fourteen principal banks were some £90,000,000, whereas their realisable assets were £15,000,000. Suspension, reconstruction, and the forcible conversion of depositors into debenture holders at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. not repayable for five years were the remedies usually adopted, but, as Australia was considerably over-banked, the amalgamations were not sufficiently numerous. With capital locked up, all business was at a standstill, and the calls on their shares put many families to serious straits. As for the Governments, they had to struggle with yawning deficits, the accumulated indebtedness of Victoria amounting to £11,441,000. It was partially met by Sir James Patterson's Ministry, which had ousted Mr. Shiel's Government in January, by a reduction of salaries and a graduated income-tax. In New South Wales Sir George Dibbs met the crisis by making the notes of banks legal tender to the extent of £2,000,000. A prospective deficit of £1,500,000 he proposed to extinguish somehow by additional taxes. After a visit to England, he issued a new loan of £2,500,000 at 4 per cent. His proposals, however, encountered the most violent opposition and the Legislative Council rejected his Income-tax Bill outright. On December 13th Parliament was prorogued, after several votes of censure had been carried against the Ministry. In Queensland floods, which inflicted loss estimated at £2,000,000, aggravated the situation, but the deficit only touched £111,000; in South Australia the accrued deficiency was nearly £1,000,000 and in Tasmania £300,000. West Australia, alone of the Australian colonies, had escaped, and the discovery of gold at Coolgardie caused a rush from Victoria, though the immigrants soon experienced great distress owing to want of water. In New Zealand, too, the financial position was quite satisfactory, and, though the death of Mr. Ballance necessitated a new Premier in Mr. Seddon, he adhered to his predecessor's policy of refraining from borrowing. Women's suffrage became law this year, and at the general election many of the female voters went to the poll.

The condition of Canada was a good deal more satisfactory than that of Australia, though the uncertainty as to the form that the American tariff would assume in consequence of the return of Mr. Cleveland to power at the Presidential election produced some contraction of business. The

Canadian exhibits did credit to the colony at the World's Fair held at Chicago to commemorate the discovery of America by Columbus. Also the revenue showed an increase of 1,150,000 dollars and the expenditure a reduction of 600,000 dollars. Nevertheless the Liberal party continued to agitate for Free Trade, and it won several seats at bye-elections. The tribunal of arbitration on the Behring Sea question gave its award in August, and so removed a cause of irritation between Canada and the United States. The sittings of the Court had begun at Paris on January 12th, when Baron de Courcel, the French representative, was chosen president. The other members were: for Britain, Lord Hannen and Sir John Thompson, the Canadian statesman; for the United States, Mr. Justice Harlan and Senator Morgan; for Italy, the Marquis Visconti Venosta, and for Sweden, Judge Gregers Gram. The legal arguments produced by Mr. Carter and Mr. Phelps in support of the American case, and by Sir Charles Russell and Sir Richard Webster in support of the English were extremely brilliant. The United States counsel, however, were already placed at a disadvantage by Mr. Blaine's contention that the Behring Sea was a *mare clausum*. They gradually, therefore, shifted their ground and attempted to show that the seal is a quasi-domestic animal because it is endowed with the *animus revertendi*, or desire to make a certain place its home. On the question of right the finding of the tribunal was entirely in favour of Great Britain. It laid down that Russia had only exercised control over such waters in the Behring Sea as lay within cannon-shot of the shore, and that the United States only succeeded to that privilege. Consequently the Americans had "not any right of protection or property in the fur-seals frequenting the islands of the United States in Behring Sea when such seals are found outside the ordinary three-mile limit." At the same time the regulations recommended were rather complicated, and favourable to the United States rather than Canada, more particularly that placing a sixty miles' zone round the Pribyloff Islands, within which no seals were to be killed. The arbitrators considered the fur seals to be in danger of extinction, and suggested that they should not be killed at all for two or three years. In any case there was to be a close time between May 1st and July 31st; only sailing vessels were to be employed; and the fishers were forbidden the use of firearms.



THE CEREMONY OF THE ROYAL ASSENT: THE DUTIFUL COMMONS AT THE BAR OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1894—The Parish Councils Bill in Committee—The Third Reading—A Popular Budget—The *Pall Mall Gazette's* Announcement—The Parish Councils Bill in the Lords—Lord Dudley's Amendment again—The Parish Councils Bill Re-modelled—The Employers' Liability Bill dropped—Dispute between the Lords and Commons—Mr. Gladstone's Resignation—His Last Speech—End of the Session—The Rosebery Ministry—Anarchism in England—The Foreign Office Meeting—The Queen's Speech—"The Predominant Partner"—A Government Defeat—Mr. Gladstone and Sir John Cowan—The Scottish Grand Committee—The Navy Estimates—The Budget—Its Reception—The Second Reading—The Duke of Devonshire at Buxton—Progress of the Bill—The Bill in the Lords—Measures abandoned—The Registration and Welsh Church Bills—Sir William Harcourt's Statement—The Scottish Local Government Bill—The Equalisation of Rates Bill—The Evicted Tenants Bill—The Second Reading—The Committee Stage Closed—The Bill in the Lords—Its Rejection—End of the Session—Prospects of the Ministry.

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1894, found the House of Commons still sitting with the fate of the Employers' Liability Bill hanging in the balance and the Parish Councils Bill struggling through Committee. However, Mr. Fowler's conciliatory tactics considerably accelerated the progress of the latter measure. Just before the close of the previous year he promised consideration to Sir M. Hicks-Beach's amendment, providing that Boards of Guardians should have power to increase their numbers by co-opting two members besides the

chairman and vice-chairman, and on the 1st of January Mr. Gladstone, in reply to Sir Donald Macfarlane, announced that the Government would not resort to the closure. Later in the day it became known that a compromise had been effected between the two front benches, whereby the Local Government Bill was to be quit of the House by the 19th. Sir M. Hicks-Beach's amendment was to be accepted, together with amendments by Mr. Chaplin to Mr. Fowler's Allotments clause; while parish rooms which had been maintained for forty

years by one denomination should be classed as ecclesiastical charities and exempted from the Act. Some of the Radicals took this "surrender" none too kindly, more especially when Mr. Balfour explained in the *Times* that the Opposition made no pretence to bind the action of the House of Lords. Also a section of the Conservatives was rather indignant because no attempt had been made to obtain the abandonment of the Poor Law sections. Mr. Talbot moved that they should not apply to London and the county boroughs, but he was defeated by 118 votes to 50. Mr. Fowler, however, refused to accept Sir Charles Dilke's suggestion that one-third of the Guardians need not necessarily retire triennially, until Mr. Balfour proposed "may" instead of "shall," and peace was restored. On the 4th the House disposed of the original clauses, and the additions, many of which were made at the last moment by Mr. Fowler, passed with barely a pretence at debate. November 8th was fixed for the date of the first elections, though the Local Government Board could postpone them until later should the machinery not be in readiness. Mr. Tritton's proposal that no Parish Council should be held in a place where intoxicating liquor was sold, was defeated by a narrow majority, but an amendment to that effect was accepted by Mr. Fowler on report. The Allotments clauses underwent some trifling modifications, chiefly in the direction of allowing permanent pasture to be broken up. The debate on the third reading produced little of importance beyond a defence of the Parliamentary draughtsmen from Mr. Fowler, who, said he, had been most unjustly maligned, and a declaration from Mr. Long that if the President of the Local Government Board had been left in sole charge of the measure—the allusion was of course to Sir William Harcourt's interventions—the progress would have been more rapid. The Bill was read a third time and, on the 12th, the jaded House adjourned for a month's holiday. A few days previously the Unionists had been much encouraged by the election for the Horncastle Division of Lincolnshire, where Lord Willoughby de Eresby was returned in Mr. Stanhope's room by an increased majority.

While the House of Lords was considering the Parish Councils Bill, public attention tended to shift elsewhere. Thus a good deal of interest was aroused by a memorial signed by upwards of ninety Members of Parliament and presented to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in favour of a democratic Budget, which would "adjust the burden of taxation according to the ability to bear it." In

brief, its suggestions were that the duties on tea, coffee, cocoa, and dried fruits should be abolished, and that extra revenue should be sought from a graduated income-tax, from a graduated probate-duty, and by the substitution of taxes on land-values for grants in aid of rates. As to the death-duties they should pass over estates under £500 and rise from 4 per cent. on fortunes over £4,000 and under £10,000 to 10 per cent. on everything over half-a-million. Sir William Harcourt simply promised attention to the scheme, but shortly afterwards Sir John Hibbert, the Financial Secretary of the Treasury, speaking at Oldham, expressed a strong hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would deal with the death-duties in his next Budget. This indication of the future policy detracted from the importance of a series of speeches delivered by Mr. Balfour to his constituents at Manchester, and of the denunciations of Conservative obstruction and the House of Lords in which Sir William Harcourt indulged at Derby. But a far greater sensation was created by the announcement of the *Pall Mall Gazette*—a paper which had recently passed into the possession of an American millionaire, Mr. W. W. Astor—on January 31st that Mr. Gladstone had "fully decided to resign office almost immediately," and that "this decision was due to a sense of his advanced age and to the great strain of the late arduous Session." The Prime Minister was staying at Biarritz with his family and Sir Algernon West, and to the last-named it fell to contradict the statement. He did so in a manner which caused the press, at first incredulous, to waver in extreme perplexity. Sir Algernon was authorised to say that "the statement that Mr. Gladstone has definitely decided or has decided at all on resigning office is untrue. It is true, however, that for many months past his age and the condition of his sight and hearing have in his judgment made relief from public cares desirable, and that accordingly his tenure of office has been at any moment liable to interruption from these causes—in their nature permanent." Here was a hard saying indeed, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, nothing daunted, persisted two days afterwards in its assertion that Mr. Gladstone's retirement was imminent. A few weeks were to prove the announcement, however procured, to be entirely correct.

Meanwhile, the House of Lords had got to work upon the Parish Councils Bill, and had resolved to stand by their modification of the Employers' Liability Bill. Lord Ripon had charge of the first measure owing to Lord Kimberley's absence from

illness, and his speech on the second reading was not very noteworthy. His chief point was that the Bill made no change in the Poor Law except in the election of Guardians. Lord Salisbury rejoined rather curtly that an alteration which transferred the administration of the law from the present Guardians to those chiefly appointed by the poor was very sweeping. He also objected strongly to the handing over of so many charities from the parochial officers named by the founders to an elective Parish Council, and to the powers given to the Councils to seize the land rented by the farmer and owned by the landlord, and to grant it to the labourer against the will of the two first. Having thus given the clue to the amendments which the Opposition intended to propose, Lord Salisbury turned his attention to the Employers' Liability Bill. The discussion on the Commons' reasons for disagreeing with the Lords' amendments took place on January the 29th, and was remarkable for the declarations of Mr. Gladstone's latest peers, Lord Farrer and Lord Stanmore, that they could not support the Government if it insisted on entirely forbidding "contracting out." Lord Farrer remarked that the Bill would kill every insurance fund jointly created by employers and employed and would drive the former to outside insurance. Yet every claim would be fought by the companies in the interests of their shareholders. Finally, Lord Dudley's amendment was slightly reconstructed so that any workman was free to release himself from a contracting-out agreement by giving due notice, and the employers' minimum contribution was made one-third instead of one-fourth. If the insurance fund was insufficient to provide the agreed compensation and the employer was unwilling to make up the deficiency, the contracting-out agreement would be void and the workman would have the same remedy at law as if he had not contracted out. The employer was also forbidden to make "contracting-out" a condition of engagement.

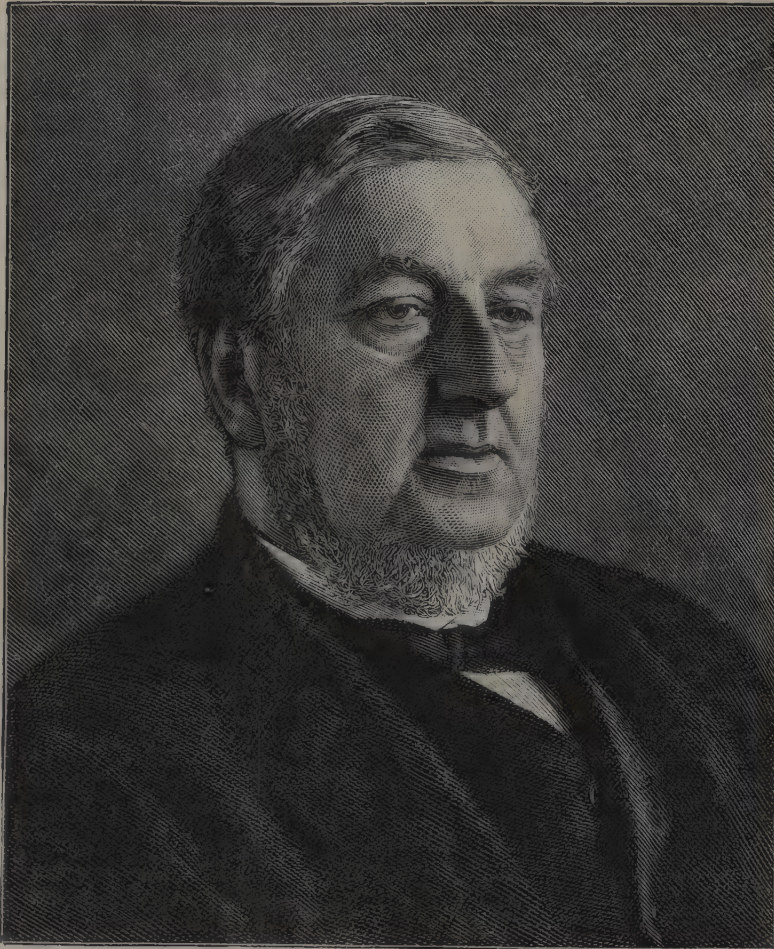
Then the Lords proceeded to amend the Local Government Bill until it became, practically speaking, a new measure. In most instances Lord Salisbury's impetuosity carried his followers with him and the majorities were large. Nevertheless a proposal of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's with the object of confining the register of voters to persons who paid the rates and of excluding those qualified, under the Parliamentary register, as lodgers or as servants, only passed by 112 votes to 89. It was vigorously opposed by the Duke of Devonshire, who pointed out that it had been debated in the

Commons and had not met with the support of any considerable number of Conservatives. On the Allotments clauses some vital changes were made. The County Council was substituted for the District Council, on the motion of Lord Winchilsea, as the authority which should inquire into the alleged difficulties of getting suitable land. Lord Salisbury also carried by 150 to 54 an amendment whereby the orders of the Local Government Board in respect to compulsory acquisition were to await the confirmation of Parliament. Further, in cases of compulsory hiring the term was not to be less than 14 years or more than 21. Finally, after several more amendments had passed, the Duke of Devonshire appealed to the Government to drop the allotments altogether and to be content for the present with setting up the Parish Councils. Lord Herschell, however, declined to accept the suggestion and not long afterwards he turned upon Lord Salisbury, who, when the question of *ex officio* Guardians came up, sneered at his method of appointing magistrates. The Lord Chancellor most warmly repudiated this indiscreet attack on his administration. When Lord Onslow, with the concurrence of Lord Salisbury, advocated the disfranchisement of those who compounded for their rates, the Duke of Devonshire strongly opposed the scheme. Lord Salisbury thereupon declared that after the Duke's speech it was hopeless to fight the battle of compounding in another place and abandoned all attempt to alter the law of rating. He also, on the appeal of Lord Derby and the Bishop of London, allowed the clause to stand whereby the Councils were forbidden to meet on licensed premises. He remarked, however, that friendly societies met in public-houses, so why should not Parish Councillors? They were selected "as a special brand of people particularly liable to succumb to temptation." On the report stage both Lord Kimberley and Lord Salisbury passed the Bill under review, the latter in a tone of exceeding pessimism. He ended, however, with a graceful compliment to Lord Kimberley's patience, management, and tact in its conduct through the House.

A meeting of the Liberal Unionists was held on February 15th at Devonshire House, and many of the speakers were evidently disposed to question the wisdom of Lord Salisbury's amendments. Indeed, when the Local Government Bill came before the Commons the Duke of Devonshire's followers voted for the most part with the Government. On the Employers' Liability Bill, however, much division of opinion was again evident. Mr.

Cobb moved an amendment on Lord Dudley's clause which would have the effect of suspending for three years the application of the Bill to existing insurance societies. It was adopted by Mr. Asquith, who, however, declined to accept any permanent exemption of insurance societies. Mr.

motion to be out of order, and Mr. Gladstone was compelled to move that the order for considering further the Employers' Liability Bill should be discharged, or, in other words, that the Bill should be abandoned. The Prime Minister was expected to make a bellicose speech, but his tone was

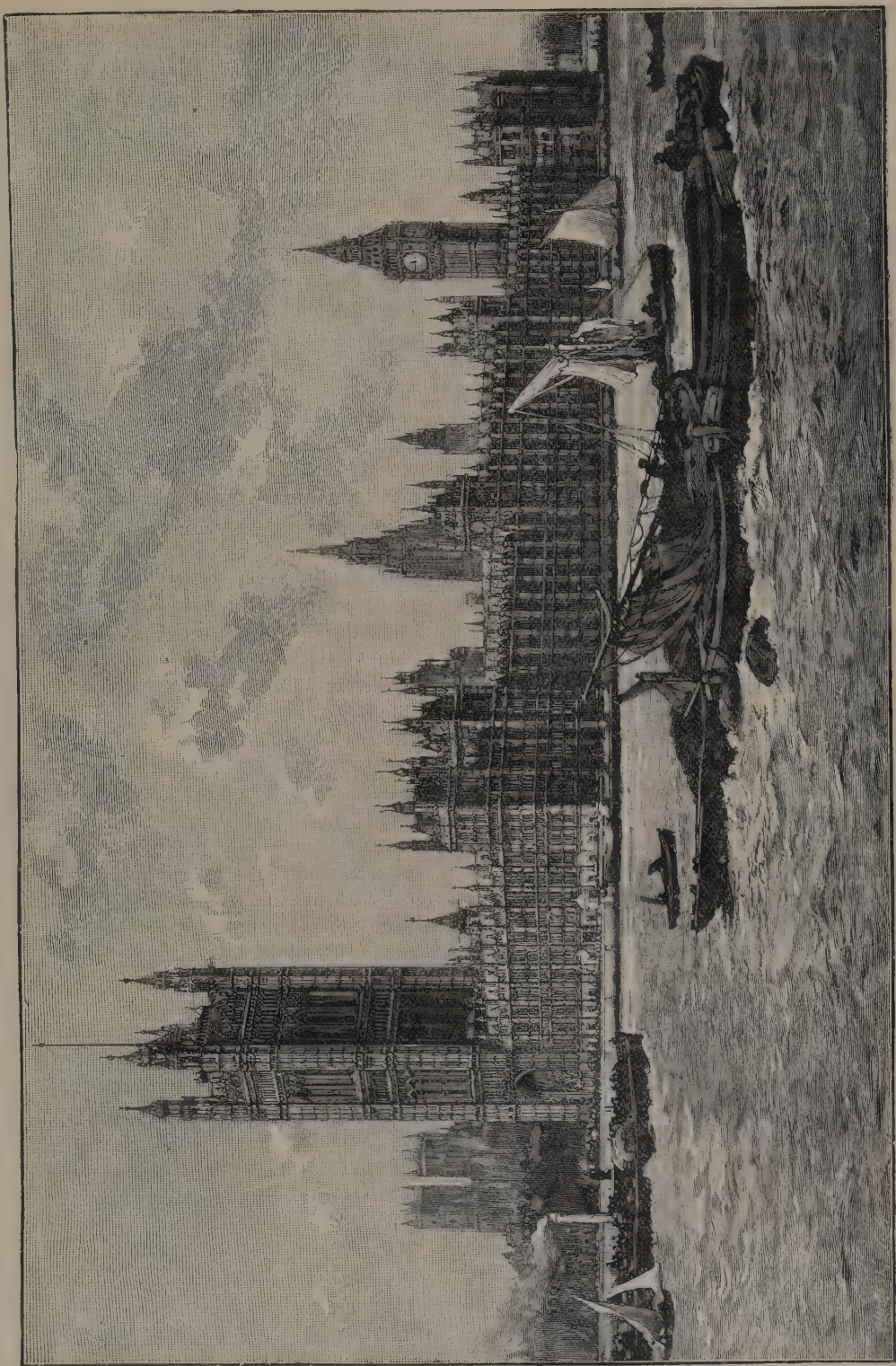


SIR WILLIAM VERNON HARCOURT.

(From a Photograph by Elliott and Fry.)

Balfour considered the concession to be ludicrously inadequate, but several of the Radicals were against any concession at all. Mr. Cobb's amendment was carried by a bare majority of two (215 to 213), and even on the question of allowing future insurance societies to contract out of the Bill, the Government majority was only 22. After this there was nothing for it but to drop the Bill. Mr. Gladstone gave notice that he would move that the Lords' reasons and Lords' amendments to the Commons' amendments to the Lords' amendments should be "set aside." The Speaker, however, ruled the

studiously conciliatory, and he almost appealed to the Opposition to resist his own proposal. Mr. Balfour, however, declared that if the Government did not wish to carry so much of the Bill as it could, the Opposition could not be expected to do other people's business. This saying Mr. Asquith interpreted to be an admission that the Bill ought to be abandoned, but Mr. Chamberlain emphatically denied that the Conservative leader's remarks could be made to bear any such construction. The Government, he said, chose to regard the nine-tenths of the Bill which it could pass of less



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON.
(From a Photograph by Frith and Co., Reigate.)

importance than the one-tenth which it could not. When the division came, the Opposition walked out and the discharge of the order of the day was voted by 225 to 6, Mr. McLaren being among the small minority. Some of the Radical party were much disgusted at this solution, and the *Daily Chronicle* challenged Mr. Gladstone to say whether he would resign the leadership owing to age and infirmities, or lead the crusade against the House of Lords with determination.

Before many days were over it became evident that the *Daily Chronicle* would be taken at its word. But for awhile rumour held its tongue and the House proceeded on February 15th to consider the Lords' amendments to the Local Government Bill. Sir William Harcourt had, on the previous day, addressed the National Liberal Federation at Portsmouth. He spoke in a tone of confidence, but though he asserted that the Lords would have to give way to the Commons, as they had often done before, he appeared to look to a spontaneous change of opinion rather than to external pressure. As for the Lords' amendments they were rejected, sometimes by large majorities and sometimes without a division, Mr. Balfour and Mr. Walter Long, who led the defence for the Opposition, being evidently nonplussed by the attitude of the Liberal Unionists. The most important debate was on Clause 14, dealing with the trustees of non-ecclesiastical charities. Mr. Rathbone complained that making the whole of them elective "would not only fail to aid but would put increasing and very serious obstacles in the way of reform." Sir Charles Dilke also declared that the unwieldy number of life-trustees provided by the Bill would militate against effective administration. Mr. Gladstone, however, treated the question as a dispute between the advocates of popular representation and the apologists for ancient privilege; and a compromise suggested by Mr. Rathbone—namely, that half the trustees should be elective—was rejected. When the House of Lords met again on the 23rd to consider the Commons' amendments to its own amendments, the Duke of Devonshire made an important speech, in which he endeavoured to define the position of the Upper House in the Legislature. He contended that its functions were twofold, the first being to suggest such alterations of Bills as might improve their working and arrest their defects. In the case of the present measure, the Lords, he considered, had done no more than their duty; but whether they should insist on these amendments after what had occurred in the other House was a question not so

much of principle as of expediency. It would, he thought, be imprudent to risk the loss of the Bill by insisting upon them. The other and more important function was to stand forward as a barrier against measures which were disapproved in principle, not only by a majority in that House, but by a majority in the country itself. Their rejection of the Home Rule Bill was a case in point, and that rejection had been accepted by a large body of the people, while it had hardly elicited a protest even from those who were in favour of the measure. Their lordships might again be called upon to perform a similar act of public duty, and it was of the utmost importance, therefore, that the House should now do nothing that might impair its strength. Lord Salisbury protested, with some warmth, that the Duke of Devonshire's contentions might be so interpreted that the House would be absolutely deprived of the power of amendment, and that it would end by forcing them to reject on the second reading Bills to which they objected only in part. He and his friends had avowed their objections to the Poor Law clauses and the rating clauses, but they were determined that the tribunal which decided whether a man's land should be taken compulsorily or not should be trustworthy, and that the charities should be safeguarded. His amendment, however, giving parishes between 200 and 500 of population the right to say whether they would have a Parish Council or not was only passed by 86 to 79. Then the Duke of Devonshire carried, without a division, an amendment placing the acquisition of land otherwise than by agreement under the control of the County Council, and another of a similar scope with regard to the hiring of land. A second amendment of Lord Salisbury's directed the arbitrator on fixing the rent of compulsorily hired land, to take into consideration the owner's loss or inconvenience. Further, Lord Salisbury reinstated Mr. Fowler's original proposal that the elective trustees of non-ecclesiastical charities should not exceed one-third of the whole, which, said he, had been abandoned by the Government in order to gratify its Radical supporters. A compromise of Lord Belper's substituting "may" for "shall" was also discussed and supported by the Duke of Devonshire.

The differences between the two Houses had thus been considerably reduced, when the House of Commons proceeded to take up the Bill again. But, meanwhile, the increasing rumours as to Mr. Gladstone had distracted all attention from the Parish Councils Bill. According to one story, he would resign the Premiership, but retain his seat

in the Cabinet. According to another, he was at hopeless variance with his colleagues on the strengthening of the navy and would retire altogether. Yet a third version asserted that his eyes alone were the cause of his approaching relinquishment of public life. On the 26th the Bill was saved from the fate of the Employers' Liability Bill. Two of the Lords' amendments were accepted by the Government—those dealing with the appeal in the case of compulsory purchase and of compulsory hiring of land—and Lord Belper's alternative with regard to ecclesiastical charities was also adopted. Lord Salisbury's amendment making Parish Councils optional in parishes with less than 500 inhabitants was, however, rejected, Mr. Chamberlain remarking that it was not worth while to pursue the controversy any further. Lord Salisbury, however, was of different mind, and insisted on raising the limit from 200 to 300, in spite of Lord Kimberley's appeal against paring down the advantages conferred by the Bill. He also remodelled the clause relating to charities by inserting a provision that where the governing body of a parochial charity, other than an ecclesiastical charity, did not include persons selected by the ratepayers or the Parish Councils, the latter body might appoint additional members of such governing body, not exceeding the numbers allowed by the Charity Commissioners. Next day, March 1st, the *Pall Mall Gazette* announced that Mr. Gladstone would place his resignation in the Queen's hands on Saturday, the 3rd, and that Her Majesty would send for Lord Rosebery.

Mr. Gladstone's last speech as Prime Minister of England was, in substance, an attack on the House of Lords. The Government, he said, must decline to be a party to a final arrangement for incorporating the two amendments in the law of the country beyond the reach of future alteration. The first thing that occurred to himself and his colleagues was that the sending, the re-sending, and the again re-sending of this particular Bill between the two Houses was an operation which had continued long enough. They had therefore resolved to adopt a decisive course and to accept the Lords' amendments under protest, with the hope that on an early opportunity they might be reversed and effaced. He censured in particular the Charities amendment as transferring to the Charity Commissioners a duty which it behoved Parliament, and Parliament alone, to deal with. Still the amendments were limited to particular provisions of the measure, and did not interfere with the great principles of local government, to

which the Bill would give effect. Besides, their abandonment would wreck the whole work of the Session. "We feel that this Bill is a Bill of such value that upon the whole, great as we admit the objections to be to the acceptance of these amendments, the objections are still greater and weightier to a course which would lead to the rejection of the Bill. We are compelled to accompany that acceptance with the sorrowful declaration that the differences, not of a temporary or casual nature merely, but differences of conviction, differences of prepossession, differences of mental habit, and differences of fundamental tendency between the House of Lords and the House of Commons have reached a development in the present year such as to create a state of things of which we are compelled to say that in our judgment it cannot continue." Amidst the loud cheers of his followers, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to remark that he would not call the situation intolerable, because that might seem a harsh and dictatorial word, but "I think honourable gentlemen opposite must feel, as I feel, that in some way or other a solution will have to be found for this tremendous contrariety and incessant conflict upon matters of high principle between the representatives of the people and those who fill a nominated Chamber. It is the authority of the nation," he continued, "that must in the last resort decide." Mr. Balfour, in a vigorous reply, said that with regard to the first part of Mr. Gladstone's speech he thought the Government had come to a very wise decision. As for the second part, it was nothing less than a declaration of war against the ancient Constitution of these realms. After a brief defence of the bi-cameral principle and of the action of the House of Lords generally, Mr. Balfour said that the idea of an agitation because charity trusts had been referred to the Charity Commission was so humorous that the Chancellor of the Exchequer alone could fittingly deal with it on a platform. As for the Prime Minister's declaration of war, those who still believed in the ancient Constitution of these realms looked forward without dismay to the fight. After some remarks from Lord R. Churchill, Mr. Storey demanded a division on the Charities amendment, but he only secured 37 supporters against 273. On March the 6th a Session of unprecedented length came to an end and therewith Mr. Gladstone's Premiership.

Lord Rosebery's succession was strongly opposed by Mr. Labouchere in *Truth*, and he declared that if he had known what was afoot he could have obtained more than 100 signatures to his protest

against a "peer Premier." A deputation also waited upon Mr. Marjoribanks, the chief Liberal whip, headed by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Storey, and protested against the selection of a member of the House of Lords as Liberal leader. However, their remonstrance was not acted upon, and Mr. Storey, who was compelled to go abroad immediately after the interview, found on his return that everything was settled. The necessary changes were, indeed, effected with surprising ease. Lord Kimberley went to the Foreign Office and Mr. Fowler became Secretary for India. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre took the Local Government Board and the Commissionership of Public Works was given to Mr. Herbert Gladstone, without a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Marjoribanks was at this juncture unexpectedly raised to the Upper House by the death of his father, Lord Tweedmouth, and he was appointed Lord Privy Seal.

The excitement of the crisis had served to turn popular attention from what might have become a serious Anarchist scare. Fresh outrages in Paris, including an explosion in the Terminus Café perpetrated by a wretch called Émile Henry, had caused the flight of many of these miscreants to England. Among them was a young man, Bourdin by name, who frequented the resorts of the fraternity in the neighbourhood of Tottenham Court Road. The police apparently regarded him as harmless, with the result that he was allowed to convey a bomb to Greenwich Park with the apparent intention of blowing up the Observatory. Unfortunately for himself, he stumbled and fell. The missile went off and eviscerated him, and he died about ten minutes afterwards without saying a word beyond "I am very cold." There was the usual outcry for repressive legislation, but Mr. Asquith declared that the Government had no power to expel foreigners and did not intend to ask for a fresh statute. He also declined, in answer to Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, to prosecute one Williams, who was in the habit of making inflammatory speeches on Tower Hill. The Home Secretary described Williams as "a contemptible ranter," and said that in the opinion of the most experienced police-officers he had no following at all. On the whole, Mr. Asquith's policy with regard to out-of-door speeches commanded approval, but his action with regard to Bourdin's funeral appeared more open to question. He did not allow the Anarchists to turn the affair into an advertisement for their creed, since a projected procession was prohibited and no orations were permitted over the grave. But they were

allowed to assemble in Fitzroy Square, where the police had some difficulty in preventing them from rough usage at the hands of the crowd. Also, though the route taken by the hearse was changed under police direction, a vigorous attempt was made to wreck its attendant mourning coach. Finally, the interment in Finchley Cemetery was quickly performed, and an Anarchist was abruptly suppressed when he tried to make a speech, and had to be saved from the spectators by the police. Later in the day some lads broke the windows of the Autonomie Club and stoned stray Anarchists. Owing to the admirable conduct of the police, the day passed off without serious disturbance, but many people complained that Bourdin's body need not have been handed to his friends at all. Be that as it may, the Autonomie Club was shortly afterwards dissolved, and a specially chosen force of detectives under Inspector Melville prevented the foreign refugees from doing any serious mischief. On April 14th they arrested an Italian, named Polti, in Farringdon Street with an uncharged bomb in his possession, and next day they laid their hands on his instigator Farnara, *alias* Carnot. Brought before Mr. Justice Hawkins, they were sentenced to ten and twenty years' imprisonment respectively. These severe punishments damped Anarchist ardour until on November the 4th a violent explosion occurred late at night in the street in Mayfair in which the Judge resided. The bomb, however, was placed before the house of his neighbour, the Hon. Reginald Brett, and it tore the street-door off its hinges, dug a hole in the doorstep and broke every window. The police were at fault and no arrests were made.

On March the 12th the Liberal party met at the Foreign Office to be addressed by the new Premier and the new leader of the House of Commons. The attendance was large, though the absence of Mr. Labouchere had a certain significance. Lord Rosebery made a brief speech, in which he referred to the disappearance of "that sublime and pathetic presence that enriched and ennobled not merely the Treasury Bench but the House of Commons itself. There is no change in measures—there is only a most disastrous change in men." Lord Rosebery paid high compliments to his colleagues, Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Morley, and declared that the Welsh Church would receive the earliest attention of the new Ministry, and that they were bound to deal with the Irish question "by every tie of honour and policy." He explained that his speech on the second reading of

the Home Rule Bill in the House of Lords had been misunderstood, but he made no attempt to unfold his real meaning. As for the House of Lords, which in a democracy like ours was "an anomaly and a danger," he had often gone farther in addressing the House of Lords itself than Mr. Gladstone in that last speech which he addressed to the House of Commons. He was not, however, disposed to think that because a man was born to a particular position, he was therefore debarred from higher opportunities of serving his country. Sir William Harcourt, who spoke at some length, declared that the Liberal party had not dropped Home Rule, nor the temperance question, nor the Newcastle programme. He went on to compare the present position of politics to a watch of which the mainspring was prevented from acting. Without indicating any precise method of dealing with the Peers, he urged the Liberal party to devote itself to that object, and to that object above all. Mr. Morley in a few emphatic sentences expressed the devotion of the party to Home Rule, and the meeting separated after Mr. Whitbread and other Members had expressed their confidence in the new leaders, and Sir William Harcourt had mentioned that the Government would demand the whole time of the House before Easter in order to get through the Ways and Means Bill.

The Queen's Speech, after touching upon foreign affairs, gave a long list of measures. The Estimates would be found to make a full and adequate provision for the defence of the Empire. The recent improvement in the state of Ireland had been continuous and marked, but the condition of a considerable body of evicted tenants required immediate attention, and a measure would be submitted with a view to a reasonable settlement of that question. The Registration was to be amended and the plural vote abolished at Parliamentary elections. Measures would be produced dealing with the Ecclesiastical Establishments in Wales and Scotland. "There will also be presented Bills having for their object the equalisation of rates in London; the establishment of a system of local government in Scotland on the same basis as that recently accorded in England and Wales; and the exercise of a direct local control over the liquor traffic. You will also be asked to consider measures for the promotion of conciliation in labour disputes, for the amendment of the Factory and Mines Acts, and for a reform of the present method of conducting inquiries into fatal accidents in Scotland." The address in the House of Lords was moved by Lord Swansea and seconded by Lord Hawkesbury.

Lord Salisbury, who followed, was in a sardonic mood, remarking that it would be as well if, in all future Queen's Speeches under Liberal Governments, the formula was inserted "Newcastle Programme as usual." He did not think the Government would make much progress in carrying out that programme and there would probably be almost as many promises next year as this. He remarked on the precedence given to Welsh Disestablishment over Scottish, which was due, of course, to Lord Rosebery's modesty about his own country. As for Irish Home Rule, it would never be carried while England was opposed to it, and he deprecated the laborious efforts of the Government to postpone a settlement of that issue by an appeal to the constituencies. Lord Rosebery retorted that the Government would never admit the right of the House of Lords to enforce a dissolution. He continued, however, in language which created great sensation throughout the country, to express himself in "entire accord" with Lord Salisbury's contention that "before Irish Home Rule is conceded by the Imperial Parliament, England, as the predominant member of the partnership of the Three Kingdoms, will have to be convinced of its justice. That may seem to be a considerable admission to make, because your lordships well know that the majority of English Members of Parliament, elected from England proper, are hostile to Home Rule. But I believe that the conviction of England in regard to Home Rule depends on one point alone, and that is the conduct of Ireland itself. I believe that if we can go on showing this comparative absence of agrarian crime; if we can point to the continued harmony of Ireland with the great Liberal party of this country; if we can go on giving proofs and pledges that Ireland is entitled to be granted that boon which she has never ceased to demand since the Act of Union was passed, I believe that the conversion of England will not be a slow or difficult process."

As not unfrequently happens, the salient phrase about "the predominant partner" attracted attention and the sentence immediately following passed unnoticed. The consequences were highly disastrous to the Government in the House of Commons. There the debate on the Address had opened very tamely, in spite of a manly speech by Mr. Fenwick as its seconder. Mr. Balfour asked questions about Siam and Uganda, and declared that if the Government intended to use money to reward the evicted tenants, who had been used as instruments in a political campaign, its proposals

would be regarded with "critical suspicion." However, Sir William Harcourt held his peace and, instead of disclosing secrets, delivered a panegyric of Mr. Gladstone. Finally, the debate resolved itself into a tedious discussion on an amendment of Mr. Howard Vincent's about trade depression and pauper aliens, which was rejected by 106 votes (86 to 192). The crisis was postponed until the following day, when Lord Randolph Churchill commented on Lord Rosebery's remarks as an attempt to cajole the House of Lords and the Unionist party. Mr. John Morley attempted to explain the Prime Minister's utterance in the sense that it would be of no use to send the Home Rule Bill up to the House of Lords again until further progress had been made in the conversion of the mind of England. Thereupon Mr. Redmond proclaimed that the recent declarations made by Ministers filled him with "dissatisfaction, disgust, and alarm." They meant, first, that Home Rule was not to be passed by the present Parliament; secondly, that the life of this Parliament was to be indefinitely prolonged. Such a state of uncertainty was intolerable to the Nationalists and he urged the Government to make a definite statement of its intentions. If the theory of an English majority was correct, the House of Lords was justified in rejecting the Home Rule Bill. The Anti-Parnellite Members did not speak, but they voted against the Government in the division which followed on Mr. Labouchere's amendment, praying the Queen that the power now possessed by the House of Lords to prevent bills from being submitted for the Royal approval should cease, and expressing the hope that Her Majesty would, if necessary, with the advice of her Ministers, secure the passing of this reform. This suggestion was briefly opposed by Sir William Harcourt on the ground that it would mean the immediate creation of 500 peers and was, therefore, quite unpractical. Then the division was taken in a thin House and, the arrangements of the Radicals being admirably laid, the Government was defeated by 2 (147 votes to 145). The House was nearly empty during the discussion of Sir George Chesney's amendment on Indian finance, negatived without a division, and Dr. Kenny's on the dynamite prisoners, negatived by 96 to 186. Then it adjourned, on the motion of Mr. Chamberlain, half-way through a discussion on an amendment of Mr. Clancy's, condemning the action of the Irish Executive in evictions, which was ultimately rejected by 351 to 12. Next day Sir William Harcourt announced that when the Address was moved it would be negatived, and a

new Address proposed, merely thanking the Queen for her Speech. This was done, but not before Colonel Saunderson had given a necessary touch of comedy to an absurd situation by proposing that the House should adjourn for twenty minutes while Sir William changed from *mufti* to Court dress.

Supply occupied the time of the House up to Easter and the Government had to exercise some pressure to get the votes passed before the close of the financial year. There were debates on dockyard wages and on naval construction, with the usual differences of opinion between experts like Sir E. Reed and Sir E. Harland and an instructive discussion raised by Sir Charles Dilke on the question of national defence. On the whole the Government seemed to be gaining strength, and a batch of bye-elections in Scotland resulted in "honours easy." Mr. Gladstone, too, published a pathetic letter to Sir John Cowan as a preparation for his departure from public life in which he spoke of the period of his political experience as one of "emancipation," and looked forward to the "period now opening as a period possibly of even greater moral dangers, and certainly a great ordeal for those classes which are now becoming largely conscious of power, and never heretofore subject to its deteriorating influences." He also expressed his conviction that until the just demands of Ireland were conceded, the British Empire would not attain the maximum of its strength, and alluded ominously to the growing discrepancy of sentiment between the two Houses. The first measure of moment emanated from Sir George Trevelyan, the Secretary for Scotland, who, on April 2nd, proposed that all Bills relating to Scotland should be referred to a Grand Committee consisting of all the Scottish Members, together with fifteen other Members, nominated by the Committee of Selection. Mr. Balfour moved an amendment declaring that the House could not sanction the proposal until it had under consideration a scheme applicable to all portions of the United Kingdom, and next day Mr. Dalziel complicated matters by carrying a resolution in favour of Home Rule for Scotland (180 votes to 170). However, no further steps were taken in that direction and, after a protracted debate, Mr. Balfour's amendment was rejected by a majority of 33 (252 to 219). After other amendments had been disposed of, Sir George Trevelyan accepted one from Mr. Renshaw, stating that the Committee of Selection in nominating the fifteen English or Irish Members should, as far as possible, make them reflect the party divisions of the whole House. Finally, the motion was carried by 25 votes (232

to 207), and the Scottish Parish Councils Bill having been introduced, the Committee set to work upon it without delay.

Thus the way was cleared for the sensational Budget which was to occupy so many weeks of discussion. Sir William Harcourt had already appropriated Tuesdays and morning sittings on Fridays, for the remainder of the Session, after a protest from Mr. Balfour. But first came the Navy Estimates, from which it appeared that the Government was prepared to spend £17,366,000 for the current year, showing an increase of £3,126,000 over the previous financial twelve-month. With this fund it was proposed to lay down seven first-class battleships of the type of the *Magnificent* and *Majestic*, six second-class cruisers of the *Talbot* type, and two sloops. The First Lord of the Admiralty added in his explanatory statement that "the new scheme of construction for 1894-5 forms a part of a complete programme which has been arranged for a term of five years. This programme has been settled after a careful review, not only of the present strength of our navy as compared with that of other Powers, but also of the number and class of ships of war which are now being built abroad." The instalment, considered as an instalment, was generally thought to be adequate both by the press and the House of Commons. In the latter the discussion turned upon the relative merits of large and small iron-clads, and upon the alarming deficiency of engine-room hands, upon which Mr. W. Allan, a Radical Member, spoke with great emphasis. Lord George Hamilton also complained that the Government had not produced the whole of its scheme.

Sir William Harcourt's Budget statement was made on April 16th and its lucidity won high praise. His actual revenue was £91,133,000, and actual expenditure £91,303,000, showing a deficit of £170,000. A comparison with the Estimates of the previous year showed that he had received £507,000 less than he had expected, but had also economised £161,000. On the existing basis of taxation the revenue for the coming year would only amount to £90,956,000, and the expenditure to £95,458,000, showing that £4,502,000 had to be raised by fresh taxation. The demands of the Admiralty were chiefly responsible for the augmented outlay. Sir William Harcourt explained that, in the first place, he would appropriate the new Sinking Fund, which process would reduce the deficit to £2,379,000, and—the secret was out at last—he would reform the death duties, alter the income-tax, and place an extra sixpence on each

gallon of spirits and each barrel of beer. These three sources he calculated to produce £1,000,000, £330,000, and £1,340,000 respectively, giving a net surplus of £291,000. The death duties, he said, would be reduced to two—an estates duty and a succession duty. The first would be graduated as follows—estates of £100 and not exceeding £500 would be charged 1 per cent. as at present; estates from £500 to £1,000, 2 per cent.; estates from £1,000 to £10,000, 3 per cent.; from £10,000 to £25,000, 4 per cent.; from £25,000 to £50,000, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and so on by steps of $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for every £25,000 till £1,000,000 was reached at 8 per cent. Next there was to be a succession duty paid on all property of whatever kind received by the successor, and graduated according to the degree of relationship. In the case of land, it would be payable in instalments, but interest would be charged until these were fully paid. Ultimately these changes would make the death duties yield £14,000,000 instead of £10,000,000. At present not more than an extra million could be expected. With regard to the income-tax, an extra 1d. would be levied, but with abatements as follow—(1) land and houses would be assessed not on the gross but on the net value—i.e. owners would be allowed to deduct 10 per cent. on land and 6 per cent. on houses; (2) small income taxpayers would be relieved by raising the limit of total exemption to £160 instead of £150, and (3) by making £160 the abatement for incomes under £400; (4) while incomes under £500 would be allowed an abatement of £100.

Even the Unionist papers acknowledged the great cleverness of the Budget, though they complained that extra burdens were being placed on land when it was practically unsaleable. They also expressed considerable doubt whether the income derived from the death duties would reach the £1,000,000 of the Chancellor's imagination. The brewing and distilling interests naturally raised a tremendous outcry, and Sir William found it advisable to conciliate the Irish Members by imposing the extra 6d. on alcohol for a year only, while he extended its operation up to August, so as to thwart those who would try to escape the duty by keeping whisky in bond. However, the fight was rapidly narrowed to the death duties, and on April the 24th the cause of the country gentlemen found its advocates in Sir M. Hicks-Beach and Mr. Chaplin. The former made a business-like speech, arguing that the new arrangement really increased the burdens on land; the latter drew a rather sentimental picture of the ruin of old county

families. Mr. Fowler replied with much cogency that out of a total of £28,000,000 raised by local taxation the purely agricultural districts only paid £2,000,000. He also proved that of the old rates on land the poor-rate had declined from 1s. 6d. in 1868 to 1s. 1½d., while the highway rate had remained nearly stationary for the century. The total of new local taxation in rural districts only amounted to 4d. in the pound. The debate on the second reading was not over until May the 10th, owing to the interpolation of other Government business. It seldom rose above the commonplace, though Mr. Balfour made a clever point or two. Thus, he urged that if graduation was to be introduced, it should touch the living rather than the dead. Under the present proposal a man might die and leave £10,000 to his son. "He is taxed at the rate of 3 per cent. A man dies with a million, and leaves precisely the same sum of £10,000 to his son or his daughter. Yet they have to pay not 3 per cent. but 8 per cent." Sir William Harcourt, in reply, wished to know why nothing had been said about the ground-landlords. "It is upon them, as they know perfectly well, that the chief burden of this taxation will fall, and therefore they put forward the case of every other class first—the yeoman farmer, the licensed victualler, the ruined brewer." The division gave the Government a rather narrow majority of 14, the Parnellites voting with the Opposition, and several Liberals connected with the brewing interest absenting themselves.

In Committee the debates were extremely technical, not to say tedious. The Bill showed signs of hasty drafting and the Attorney-General, Sir John Rigby, upon whom the burden of defence fell in the frequent absences of Sir William Harcourt, was hardly equal to the occasion. However, the Government scored a point at the outset by defeating Mr. Heneage's amendment to omit the expression "principal value" as the basis of the new estate duty by 216 votes to 189. A somewhat similar proposal of Sir R. Webster's was rejected by 231 votes to 199, and it became evident that, if the Government carried the liquor duties, the Budget was safe. The principle of graduation was accepted by a majority of over 100, Mr. Chamberlain refusing to support the malcontent Opposition. A very pessimistic speech of the Duke of Devonshire's at Buxton failed to put much heart into the Conservatives, of whom Mr. Bowles and Mr. Bartley debated each point with much knowledge but more prolixity. The Duke declared that his successor would have to revise

all his relations with his tenants. At present he devoted from 30 to 70 per cent. of the income received from his estates to objects not personal, whereas his successor would have to pay from six to twelve years' purchase to meet "the inexorable necessities of democratic finance." Subscriptions to educational and other undertakings would have to be discontinued and Chatsworth must be shut up. On June 15th Sir William Harcourt, however, went far to conciliate the landed interest by accepting an amendment from Mr. Balfour, providing—(1) that real property should be estimated at its auction value at the time of death; (2) that deductions should be made on the value of agricultural land for repairs, public burdens, and insurance; and (3) that, with regard to speculative property, 25 years' net-income should be taken as a limit that might not be exceeded. On the 26th came the division on the beer duties, when Colonel Lockwood's amendment reducing the impost to 3d. a barrel was rejected by 289 to 271. Next day, though Dr. McGregor represented Scottish discontent and Colonel Nolan Irish, the spirit duties passed by 237 to 182. The clause, however, had to be recommitted, when a majority of 13 only was secured (198 to 185). On the third reading, which was taken on July 17th, the Government secured a majority of 20 (283 to 263). Sir John Lubbock, who moved the rejection of the Bill, argued that it violated the principles of sound economy by exhausting the springs of wealth. Mr. Balfour maintained that there was no necessity for heroic finance and that Sir William's methods of collection were cumbersome. By way of reply the Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that the Budget would remove heavy burdens from the comparatively poor, that the death duties could be minimised by insurance; and he added that a man would often throw away the £1,020 thus necessitated in the case of a millionaire "over a moderate two-year-old." The Unionist papers did not fail to point out that the gibe *might* apply to Lord Rosebery, whose colt Ladas had recently won the Derby. However that might be, the Liberal M.P.'s proceeded to give a banquet in honour of Sir William Harcourt and his legal assistants, Sir John Rigby and Sir Robert Reid; while in the House of Lords the Bill passed through its stages smoothly enough, after the Dukes of Devonshire, Rutland, and Argyll had protested on behalf of the great landlords, and Lord Salisbury had declared the notion that the House of Lords cannot alter money Bills to be totally wrong. If, as had been said, the point had been decided

by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the decision was a mistake and, in any case, it could not be considered as binding.

By this time the Session was far advanced and it seemed certain that of the various Bills introduced many had no chance of passing. The second reading of Colonel Nolan's Bill for the Repeal of the Crimes Act was carried by an unexpectedly large majority of 60 (254 votes to 194), and the Unionist papers lectured the

only (292 to 278), at which point the measure was dropped. Mr. Asquith's Welsh Disestablishment Bill, which was explained on April 26th, proved a more thoroughgoing measure than the Irish Church Act. The Established Church was to cease in Wales and Monmouthshire on January 1st, 1896, when the life interests of the bishops and clergy were to be respected, but private patrons were to receive compensation not exceeding a year's value of the living, and curates were



THE CATHEDRAL, ST. DAVID'S.

(From a Photograph by Poulton and Sons, Lee.)

Opposition for its slack attendance. However, no further progress was made with the measure, and Mr. John Morley's Registration Bill was also abandoned. Its chief provisions were—(1) the reduction of the period of residence to three months; (2) registration twice a year; (3) the abolition of disqualification for rates unpaid on qualifying premises; (4) the abolition of the plural vote. Mr. Morley attempted to meet the contention that parts of the kingdom, especially Ireland, were unrepresented, by the excuse that redistribution was too large a subject to be included in the Bill. Sir Edward Clarke promptly raised the point by a resolution declining to proceed "in the absence of proposals for the redress of the large inequalities existing in the distribution of electoral power;" and, owing to Irish defections from the Ministry, he was defeated by 14

to be passed over. The episcopal and capitular property of the Church was to form a central fund held by the commissioners, and to be devoted to public purposes—a Welsh Museum or Academy, for instance. The tithe was to go to the County Councils and to be spent on social improvement; the glebe was to go to the Parish Councils and to be used for parish purposes. The fabrics of the parish churches and of the vicarages were to be handed over to the representative Church body, which was to be created by statute, but the cathedrals, bishops' palaces, and deaneries were to vest in the commissioners. On the request of the representative body the cathedrals were to be available for divine worship. The Bill was read a first time without a division, the defence of the Church being conducted chiefly by Mr. Balfour and Professor Jebb, while

Young Wales expressed itself vigorously enough through the mouth of Mr. Lloyd George. It progressed no further, and four of the Welsh Members, headed by Mr. George, went into a brief revolt in order to give vent to their disappointment. On the other side, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued an outspoken address to the clergy, and Lord Salisbury made a strong speech against Disestablishment to the Church Defence Association. Meanwhile, Sir Richard Webster had carried the third reading of his Prevention of Cruelty to Children Acts Amendment Bill, but Lord Salisbury was not equally fortunate with his Aliens Bill, introduced shortly after the murder of President Carnot, as Lord Rosebery refused to give it facilities on the ground of urgency.

On July 18th Sir William Harcourt explained what measures the Government intended to pass. They were the Evicted Tenants Bill, the London Equalisation of Rates Bill, and the Scottish Local Government Bill. He also promised to do what he could for the Miners' Eight Hours Bill. This benevolence did not help Mr. Roby's measure very much, since, although the second reading had passed by 281 to 194, Mr. D. A. Thomas carried a local option amendment to the second clause in Committee by 5 (112 to 107), and the Bill was thereupon withdrawn. The Scottish Local Government Bill had the approval of both sides of the House, more especially after it had emerged from the Grand Committee in a much improved shape. The third reading was carried without a division and it met with little opposition in the House of Lords. The Equalisation of Rates Bill was introduced by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre on the 26th in a speech which went to show that the existing system was indefensible. The poor rate was already equalised, but the unequalised rates varied greatly. They were 4s. 3d. in Bermondsey, 3s. 7d. in Bethnal Green, 4s. 2d. in Rotherhithe, and 4s. 3d. in Camberwell, against 1s. 7d. in the City, 1s. 5d. in St. George's, Hanover Square, 1s. 10d. in St. Martin's, and 10d. in St. James's, Westminster. Thus poor parishes paid three, four, or five times as much as richer parishes. Mr. Shaw-Lefevre proposed to deal only with the sanitary rate, which was to be levied as a general 6d. rate, making a common fund out of which sums in proportion to population would be paid to each parish. Sir John Lubbock and Mr. Goschen protested against this plan as being decidedly crude, more especially as it was not accompanied by a scheme to secure uniformity of valuation. Sir

Julian Goldsmid even moved that it should be referred to a Committee of London Members, plus fifteen Members added by a Committee of Selection. However, the front Opposition Bench discouraged the idea and the Bill passed its second reading without a division. Its subsequent progress was uneventful, though both Liberal and Conservative Members declined to regard it as a final instalment of reform.

Mr. John Morley's Evicted Tenants Bill was not equally fortunate. It was introduced on April 19th and proposed to create a Board of Arbitrators, whose appointment was to last for three years. In case of land which had not been re-let, the tenant was to be allowed to petition the Board for reinstatement within a year. If he had a reasonable case, the arbitrators were to issue a conditional order for reinstatement, and if the landlord did not object it was to be made absolute. If he did object, then they were to hear both parties and make a decision on one side or the other. Where the land had been occupied by another tenant, the evicted tenant might petition as before, but if the sitting tenant objected, that objection was to be a bar to the petition. If he did not object, the arbitrators were to act as if the land were in occupation of the landlord, but were to pay the sitting tenant a fitting amount of compensation. The money required for arrears and compensation was to be provided by a charge of £100,000 on the Irish Church Fund, but the official expenses were to be provided from the taxes. Some time elapsed before the second reading could be taken, and the Unionist papers began, rather prematurely, to speculate on the abandonment of the Bill. However, Mr. Justin McCarthy encouraged his supporters by declaring that the Government would pass it before Parliament was prorogued or dissolved. On the 20th of July the second reading debate began, and it showed that the Redmondites and Mr. William O'Brien were only willing to accept the Bill as an instalment of redress. Next night Mr. Chamberlain intervened with a speech in which he produced a quotation from the *Irish Independent*, wherein the measure was defined as legalising the position of those "brigands," the Irish "land-grabbers." He further declared that the Bill would convert the payment of rent into a mere act of courtesy on the part of the tenant. Mr. Morley had said that hardly a single landlord was both enlightened and humane, but were all the Irish tenants enlightened and the agitators humane? Mr. Chamberlain also pointed out that though the

State was rapidly becoming the largest land-owner in Ireland, yet the Government was trying to teach the tenant that, if he refused to pay his rent, the man who superseded him was a "legalised brigand." In a moderate speech Mr. Healy produced hard cases in which tenants had been deprived of the benefits of the Irish Land Acts. Mr. Balfour, however, though admitting that something ought to be done, contended that his figures were inaccurate. The second reading was carried by a majority of 30 (259 to 229), and when the House got into Committee Mr. Morley enlarged the scope of the measure, in order to include tenants who had never been evicted at all, but had simply emigrated to America. Next day, Sir William Harcourt announced that the stages of the Bill would be closed within seven days, unless the Opposition would agree to assign reasonable limits to the debate. Mr. Balfour hotly protested against this step, on the ground that it was totally unprecedented, whereupon Mr. Morley produced the instance of the closing of the Bill for the creation of the Parnell Commission, and Mr. Courtney lamented that the Bill could not be amended so as to become a voluntary measure. The closure was carried by 23 (217 to 240) and the Unionists ceased to take part in the discussion. All hope of a peaceful settlement was cut short by violent speeches from Mr. W. K. Redmond and Mr. William O'Brien, though Mr. Dillon, on the third reading debate, preached moderation. Mr. Morley, however, clearly indicated that it was too late to think of compromise, and the third reading was carried by 32 (199 to 167).

While denouncing the "sorry farce," Mr. Balfour declared that the Government was taking effective steps to secure the rejection of the Bill in another place. Two nights were spent over the debate in the House of Lords before it was thrown out by the huge majority of 219 (249 to 30). At the outset Lord Spencer made no offer of a compromise; and though Lord Rosebery appeared to hint at amendments, his suggestions could hardly be called definite. For some time the discussion seemed likely to be monopolised by the Opposition. The Duke of Argyll would not have been unwilling to devote public money to the settlement of a grave question, if the compulsory provisions could have been eliminated. He maintained, too, that the Bill dissociated the rental of the land from the improvement of the land, and made the landlords feel that they would never get back the money that they might devote to that purpose. Lord

Lansdowne observed that the Bill really involved a selection of the unfittest for special favour. Lord Tweedmouth, on the other side, warned the House of Lords that it was committing a mistake by going against the will of the Commons. On the second night the Duke of Devonshire remarked that the Bill would supersede a court of law founded on long tradition and principle by an arbitrary tribunal without any principles at all. It would put the new tenants, who in Ireland would always be called "land-grabbers," and the landlords on their trial before the public, and simply because they held fast to their legal rights. Lord Herschell delivered a spirited defence of the Government. He did not attempt to excuse the Plan of Campaign, but he argued that the Conservatives had condoned it by the 13th clause of the Land Act of 1891. Already they had declared themselves willing, not only to restore evicted tenants, but even to devote public money to that object. He also drew a rather nice legal parallel between the Bill and the powers of the arbitrators attached to the Railway Commission, who could "determine, without any principle laid down, questions affecting most seriously the rights of property of railway companies." Lord Salisbury declared that the landlords, under the Bill, would be as destitute of rights as the Jews of the Middle Ages, and that the powers of the court were as arbitrary as those of the Star Chamber. The planters', or land-grabbers', rights would be nominally guarded, but if a landlord "was unfortunate enough to remain on his own land," he would be peremptorily turned out. He wished also to know how tenants who had been evicted since April 17th, 1894—the limit under the measure—were to be reinstated. Was there to be an annual grant, or was provision to be made for them in the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill? He protested that in this case the House of Lords represented the will of the nation, and not a small majority of the House of Commons. Lord Rosebery's reply was chiefly distinguished by some witty banter at the expense of the Duke of Argyll.

After this the session came quickly to an end. The House of Commons was occupied with the estimates, and the Irish Members vented their indignation against the House of Lords by attempting to reduce the salaries of the permanent staff of servants. However, the vote was carried, after an all-night sitting, and Parliament was prorogued on August 25th, after Mr. Fowler had introduced the Indian Budget in an almost empty House. He made the important suggestion

that if Indian manufacturers did not object to countervailing duties which would destroy the protective element in the cotton-duties, and also assist the Indian Treasury, he saw no reason why they should not be imposed. On the Colonial vote, Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett got the worst of an encounter with Mr. Sydney Buxton over affairs in the Transvaal. The Queen's Speech dealt chiefly with foreign politics. Its two important intimations

only was the Government much stronger than at the outset of the session, but most of the individual Ministers had increased their reputations. Mr. Mundella resigned the presidency of the Board of Trade through his connection with the New Zealand Loan Company, in the difficulties of which he was involved, together with two prominent members of the Opposition, Sir James Fergusson and Sir John Gorst. His place was



THE "SHIP" TAVERN, GREENWICH, WHERE THE MINISTERIAL WHITEBAIT DINNER IS HELD.

concerned the Budget and Ireland. "I trust that the alterations which you have made in the fiscal system of the country, and to which the greater part of the session has necessarily been devoted, will have the effect of materially alleviating that portion of the burden which falls upon the less wealthy class of the population, and may redound to the contentment and prosperity of the nation at large. . . . While the general tranquillity of Ireland has been maintained in a remarkable degree, certain social and administrative duties still subsist which continue to engage the earnest attention of my Government." Just before the end of the session the Ministry had revived the old custom of a whitebait dinner at Greenwich, and they had some cause for making merry. Not

taken by Mr. Bryce, and Lord Tweedmouth became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Thereby the Cabinet was reduced to the fairly manageable number of sixteen. Mr. John Morley, too, had caused considerable stir, as chairman of the Committee on the Irish Land Acts, by abruptly refusing to take any more evidence, after a limited number of witnesses had spoken on the landlords' side. However, when the report appeared, it turned to the disadvantage of the Unionists, as, while it was praised by Mr. T. W. Russell, it was criticised by Lord Londonderry and the Duke of Argyll. Tactics similar to Mr. Morley's failed with the Commission on Agriculture, of which Mr. Shaw-Lefevre was president, as Mr. Chaplin opposed the closing of the inquiry.



BAPTISM OF PRINCE EDWARD. (See p. 569.)

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Birth of the Heir to the Throne—The Tower Bridge—The Opening Ceremony—The Manchester Ship Canal—The Opening by the Queen—The Miners' Board—The Albion Colliery Explosion—The Cab Strike—Mr. Asquith's Diplomacy—The Scottish Coal Strike—The Labour Commission—The Minority Report—Other Memoranda—Associations of Employers and Workmen—The Majority Report—Review of the Evidence—Trades Union Legislation—Conciliation and Arbitration—The Recommendations—The Leicester Election—The Norwich Congress—The Leeds Conference—The Hyde Park Demonstration—The Cheque Episode—Lord Rosebery at Bradford—A Resolution Proposed—The Glasgow Speech—Its Reception—Lord Salisbury at Edinburgh—Mr. Balfour and the Duke of Devonshire—Mr. McEwan—Party Proposals—Forfarshire and Brigg—The London Unification Report—Its Criticism—The School Board Elections—District and Parish Council Elections—Obituary of the Year—The Chelford Accident.

AN event of some importance in the history of the Empire occurred on Saturday, June the 23rd, when a son was born to the Duke and Duchess of York. On the following Thursday an address of congratulation was voted in both Houses, Lord Rosebery dwelling upon "our ancient limited historic monarchy;" and Sir William Harcourt on the loyalty entertained by the nation to the Queen, which had vastly strengthened the throne. Neither could be said to display the oratorical powers which were invariably at Mr. Gladstone's use on such occasions. The address would have

been carried unanimously had not Mr. Keir Hardie thought fit to air some very inapposite republicanism. He failed, however, to find a seconder when he tried to take a division and cut altogether a poor figure. The child was christened on the 16th of July at the White Lodge, Richmond, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The names given were Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David, the four last being, of course, taken from the patron saints of the divisions of the United Kingdom. Water from the Jordan was used on the occasion, and a

nurse carried the boy into the room and handed him to Lady Eva Greville, who handed him to the Queen, who placed him in the arms of Dr. Benson. Her Majesty's reception, both on entering and leaving Richmond, was of the most enthusiastic description.

On June 30th the Prince of Wales opened the new Tower Bridge for traffic by land and water in the name of the Queen. This structure had been built by the City of London at the cost of over a million, and its annual expense was estimated at £6,000. Its form was that of a double drawbridge, so arranged as to allow the tallest ships to pass under. Two huge arms, worked by powerful hydraulic mechanism, dropped to form the roadway, being swung from two lofty towers. The motors consisted of three single-acting cylinders, with a ram of 27 inches' stroke. They were supplied by accumulators constructed to provide a working pressure of 850 pounds to the square inch, and the accumulators in turn were fed by pumps worked by steam engines of the horizontal compound type, and of 300 horse-power. In order that the foot traffic might not be interrupted, the towers contained lifts, which conveyed passengers up to an elevated footway, situated above the masts of the tallest vessel, and 140 feet above the water level. Mr. Wolfe Barry, the architect, had constructed the real fabric almost entirely of steel, though the unsightliness of that material was hidden from the eye by handsome granite facings. The gradients of the approaches were much easier than those of London Bridge, the roadway being nearly level on the north, and only rising 1 in 40 on the south. Unfortunately, a quarrel between the City Corporation and the London County Council, owing to the insistence by the latter body on the insertion of the "betterment" principle in the Bill authorising the approaches, caused the Southwark side to remain debarred from adequate access to the bridge. As for the ceremony, it was both picturesque and stately, while the glorious sunlight touched even its most prosaic details with a glow of romance. The Prince of Wales, who acted on behalf of the Queen, left Marlborough House shortly after 11 in the morning, accompanied by the Princess, the Duke of York, the Princesses Victoria and Maud, and the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg. The royal carriages proceeded by way of Pall Mall, the Strand, Ludgate Hill, Cheapside, King William Street and Eastcheap to the Tower. The portion of the route lying within the City was profusely decorated, and the triumphal arches opposite Idol Lane

and Mark Lane Station were in excellent taste. At the Tower Wharf a pavilion had been erected for the royal party, and they were received by Sir D. Lysons, Constable of the Tower. An address from the Corporation having been read by the Recorder, the Prince declared the bridge open for land traffic and, having turned the lever of the valve communicating with the hydraulic machinery so as to raise the bascules, for river traffic also. As the gigantic arms rose for the first time, the cheers of the immense crowd drowned even the booming of the Tower guns. Simultaneously a procession of vessels of all kinds passed under the bridge. By a happy inspiration, the royal party accomplished the return journey by river, the steam-launch *Palm* conveying them to Westminster Bridge.

On the 1st of January an undertaking even more stupendous was thrown open to traffic, though the actual ceremony was postponed. This was the Manchester Ship Canal, which connected the cotton city with the sea at Eastham. All kinds of difficulties, some inevitable but others quite unforeseen, lay in the way of the undertaking; they were overcome, however, by Lancashire pluck and energy. The scheme which was first broached in 1877—though the actual idea was 180 years old—took the form of a tidal channel. However, when Mr. Daniel Adamson caused the business to be seriously taken in hand in 1882, Mr. Leader Williams's suggestion of a channel tidal up to Warrington and then rising by means of locks to the river level at Manchester was preferred. Thereby a cutting 90 feet deep at the Manchester end was avoided; besides it was an open question whether the tide would act along a long narrow channel. Owing to the opposition of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, and other vested interests, several years elapsed, and nearly a quarter of a million was spent before the Bill received the Royal Assent (August, 1885). Then there was considerable delay in raising the capital, and the Board had to be reconstructed, with Lord Egerton of Tatton as chairman, before the £10,000,000 required by the Act was collected. The first sod was cut by Lord Egerton on November 11th, 1887, and work was begun on the various sections before the end of the year. Two years later a series of misfortunes overtook the Company. The first was the death of the contractor, Mr. T. A. Walker, and a most unfortunate quarrel with his executors. The second consisted in a tremendous flood which burst over the valley and washed out



VIEW FROM THE MOUNTAIN CLOVE - MOUNT MARLBOROUGH

every cutting between Liverpool and Manchester. Thereby much delay and considerable expense were entailed upon the Company, nor did the severe winters of 1890 and 1891 mend matters. Early in the latter year the Company came to the end of its resources, but the Manchester Corporation backed the project by a generous loan of £3,000,000. Yet another £2,000,000 had to be provided from the same source, before, on November 25th, 1893, the canal could be filled with water. Altogether £15,000,000 had been expended, against the £8,000,000 of the Suez Canal. It was calculated that the earth excavated would have formed a band round the world at the equator, 3 feet broad and 4 feet high. The army of men and boys employed numbered between 15,000 and 16,000, and the plant had never been equalled on any engineering work. No less than 215 miles of railway track had to be constructed, carrying 180 locomotives and 6,000 trucks. The digging was accomplished by 97 steam-diggers and 6 steam-dredgers. Besides the excavation, five main lines of railway had to be diverted and roads innumerable to be carried over swing-bridges. Even the Bridgwater Canal was thrown over the water-way by means of a steel trough weighing 1,600 tons and turning on a pivot. There were five main locks—the largest at Eastham being 600 feet by 80 feet; numerous side locks connecting the canal with existing systems of navigation; and sluices at Irlam, as a precaution against floods, capable of raising over 200,000 gallons of water per second. Unfortunately, the traffic proved most disappointing, owing to the competition of the railways, and before the end of the year there seemed every reason to believe that the gross receipts would be under £80,000, whereas a considerably larger sum was needed to pay off the interest on the first debentures alone. Trade was steadily dwindling, because the docks were wholly insufficient, and yet half a million would be necessary to make them adequate to requirements.

The formal opening took place on May 21st, Manchester having been previously created a port. The Queen, accompanied by Prince and Princess Henry of Battenberg, broke her journey to Balmoral, and arrived at London Road Station at 4.30 p.m. Thence she drove through some seven or eight miles of the streets of Manchester and Salford, which were gaily decorated and filled with enthusiastic spectators. Two halts were made, the first at Albert Square, where the Town Clerk presented an address from the Corporation; the second at Owens College, where a similar

ceremony was performed by Doctor Ward, the Principal. The original intention had been that the Queen should proceed down the seven miles of water-way; but the canal had become so stagnant as to be dangerous to health, and the trip was confined to the first lock at Mode Wheel, along which section the water would have been carefully purified, had not a sudden rainfall rendered the process unnecessary. Her Majesty embarked on the Admiralty steam-yacht *Enchantress*, and proceeded to the lock, where, by means of a cord, she set the hydraulic machinery of the gates in motion and declared the canal open. This was the central act of the ceremony and it was accompanied by the blast of trumpets and salvoes of artillery from the racecourse. While on board she received an address from the directors, presented by Lord Egerton, and knighted the Lord Mayor of Manchester and the Mayor of Salford. The return journey was without incident and the Queen drove off through Salford. At Ordsall Park Her Majesty received the last address, that from the Corporation of Salford. The spectators throughout the day were enthusiastic in the extreme. The streets, exclusive of stands and window-space, were anticipated to hold 650,000; the Ship Canal Company's stands accommodated 15,000; and the Company's premises 300,000 more.

The labour market was slowly recovering during the summer from the disturbances of the previous year. The Board of Conciliation, established to settle the miners' strike, worked smoothly enough, except for a brief commotion caused by Lord Shand's refusal to admit the right to a "living wage" among the rules of the Board. This produced a fiery speech from Mr. Bailey, the agent for the Nottingham miners, who denounced the chairman to his supporters as "a biased, prejudiced partisan." The audience supported him by declaring Lord Shand unfit to occupy his position. Mr. Pickard, however, rebuked this intemperate language and Lord Shand did not gratify the gossips by resigning. This incident occurred in April, and in June public sympathy was attracted to the pitmen by an appalling incident at the Albion Colliery, Cilfynydd, South Wales. On the 23rd, after the ordinary miners had knocked off and the repairing shaft was at work, an explosion took place. Fortunately there were only 270 men and boys below, instead of the 1,500 who had ascended. But only fifteen were brought up alive and of them several died from the effects of their injuries. In the pit itself

some were literally blown to pieces by the explosion, but the greater part were choked by the fire-damp. The men above ground behaved admirably and volunteered in large numbers for the rescue of their comrades. An inquiry was promptly held; and though the evidence was rather inconclusive, owing to the paucity of the survivors, the inflammable character of coal-dust was the cause generally assigned for the accident.

The most unusual strike of the year was that of the London cabmen, who ceased to drive their hansoms, to the number of 5,000, on May the 15th. Their grievances against the masters consisted in over-charges, long hours, and the "privileged" cabs attached to the railway stations. They complained that they were charged from 15s. to 19s. a day, according to the season, and declared that they could not pay that sum, owing to the decrease of business. Accordingly they asked for a reduction of 3s., but were met by the retort that the margin of profit was so small that such terms could not be granted. The Cabmen's Union, of which Mr. F. White was the leading spirit, was short of funds and it could not be said that public sympathy declared itself decisively on the side of the strikers. Except in the outlying districts, the inconvenience caused was slight, as more people travelled by omnibus or in four-wheelers, and the strike was by no means universal, without counting the men who drove their own cabs. Several cases of intimidation came before the magistrates, but, on the whole, the cabmen's behaviour was most commendable. So matters drifted on into June, when the diplomacy of Mr. Asquith settled the difficulty. He brought both sides, after a long conference, within a shilling a day of each other. Then, adroitly inducing both sides to agree that his award should be final, he gave his decision that the maximum charge should be 16s. a day, declining after the London season was over to a minimum of 10s., and that yard-money should be abolished altogether. On June 14th the men returned to work, with every reason for satisfaction. It was calculated that they would gain on an average 9s. a week, while the owners hoped to recoup themselves by a stricter exaction of their dues. Towards the end of July the General Purposes Committee of the London County Council made the highly sensible recommendation that the four-mile radius, which had long become meaningless, should be abolished, and one scale of cab-fares applied to the whole county of London.

Later in the year came a coal-strike in Scotland, which after lasting for seventeen weeks ended on

October 21st. The last to return to work were the Fife men, and a fortnight previously some 28,000 men had gone back to the pits. Originally undertaken to avert a reduction in wages, the movement received little assistance from England. The men showed a disposition to break away from their leaders and in consequence recourse was had to "fierce picketing." However, defections began in Lanarkshire and Ayrshire and the end came when the miners of Fife and Clackmannan were threatened with eviction from their cottages if they did not return to work. The strike cannot be pronounced to have been other than a mistake, since not only were wages absolutely lost, but many hundreds had to be turned away because the mines were out of gear and work had gone elsewhere.

The report of the Labour Commission, which had been working since May, 1891, with commendable zeal, was expected some time before it appeared. It was known for several months that there would be a minority report and this was communicated rather irregularly to the press, without consulting the majority of the commission. Containing the views of Messrs. M. Austin, Tom Mann, W. Abraham, and J. Mawdsley, the document frankly advocated that form of Socialism called Collectivism. All Government and municipal contracts were to be abolished and the State and the cities were to become the direct employers of labour on Trades Union conditions. An Eight Hours Bill was to be passed for every manual worker, and the problem of the unemployed was to be treated in a "boldly experimental way." The Factory Acts were to be so extended that their drastic enforcement should discourage home work and industrial oppression should be "absolutely prohibited." Besides, the State or the municipalities must "provide adequate sanitary housing for the whole nation, as well as honourable maintenance for all its workers in old age." The commissioners also looked to a radical change in the organisation of labour, and saw "a complete solution of difficulties in an industrial revolution, which would assign to the captains of industry, as well as to the manual workers, their proper place as servants of the community." They regarded land nationalisation and drastic taxation as lying outside the range of the commission, but they obviously considered them as acceptable suggestions; or at any rate capital should be employed under the strict and detailed regulation of all industrial operations, so as to secure to every worker the conditions of efficient citizenship.

They admitted that rent should be paid, but ultimately to the State only, since they "were strongly opposed to the statutory creation of any new individual landowners." Sir John Gorst also published a report of his own dealing with the necessity of establishing local boards of industry, industrial tribunals, and a Minister of Industry; and Mr. Jesse Collings some observations dealing

and Sir Frederick Pollock's on the law of trade combinations.

Several of the commissioners also appended observations, touching on associations of employers and workmen. They included the Duke of Devonshire, Sir M. Hicks-Beach, Mr. Leonard Courtney, and Mr. T. Ismay. After remarking that these organisations not only originated industrial dis-



THE TOWER BRIDGE, LONDON.

with the agricultural labourers and their migration to the towns. He regarded the creation of a large class of peasant proprietors as the only remedy for the townward migration, and to that end he advocated (1) loans advanced by the State to the landowners at a low rate of interest for providing the necessary buildings for small farms; (2) the labourers should be offered facilities for purchasing their cottages, and their tenancy should not be terminated without a three months' notice, unless by mutual consent. He also urged the necessity for (3) agricultural education, and (4) prompt attention to the subjects of thrift and old age on the part of Parliament. Other interesting memoranda were Mr. George Livesey's on profit-sharing

putes, but also prevented them, the commissioners proceeded to consider how far the Trade Union Act of 1871 could be relaxed. "The object of this Act appears to have been, while freeing Trades' Unions from the last remains of their former character of criminal conspiracies, and giving full protection to their property, (1) to prevent them from having any legal rights against their members, or their members against them; and next (2) to prevent their entering into any legally enforceable contracts as bodies with each other or with outside individuals, except with regard to the management of their own funds and real estate." It was their opinion that "the extension of liberty to bodies of workmen or employers to acquire

fuller legal personality than that which they at present possess is desirable in order to afford, when both parties wish it, the means of securing the observance, at least for fixed periods, of the collective agreements which are now, as a matter of fact, made between them in so many cases. The associations which might avail themselves of the liberty might in some cases be Trades' Unions or Employers' Associations, and in other cases bodies of workmen employed in a few establishments, or even a body employed in a single establishment, according to the circumstances of each industry. We do not suggest that a scheme of legally enforceable agreements would be applicable to the circumstances of all, or even, at present, of the larger part of the industries of this country. We find, however, from the evidence that a considerable and very important part of British industry is conducted under collective agreements made in the most formal way between highly organised trade associations, and that the substitution of agreements between associations for agreements between individual employers and individual workmen is a growing practice, and one which is intimately connected with the mode and scale upon which modern industry is at present carried on." They suggested, therefore, that associations should acquire by some process of registration a corporate character sufficient for their purposes and, therefore, a new Act would be necessary. The collective agreements should specify the period for which they were intended to hold good and the period for notice of amendment or renewal. They should be registered at some central local public office and should be open to inspection to all parties concerned. The central association should be responsible for observance of the collective agreement by all its members and they should be held under contract with the association for its observance. With regard to arbitration, they considered that the limits of State interference were fixed by Mr. Mundella's Bill, namely, the promotion of voluntary institutions of conciliation and arbitration. Nevertheless, the uncertainty attending the observance of an award might be obviated, if associations of employers or workmen could "acquire legal personality sufficient to enable them to enter into collective agreements, with the legal sanction of collective liability in damages for breach of such agreements. If, under such circumstances, a body had agreed to submit future disputes on one or more subjects to arbitration, and subsequently refused to do so and resorted to a strike or lock-out,

it might be sued for damages, and the prospect of this, although it could not indeed prevent, would render less likely resort to such measures. If a strike or lock-out did take place, although it is true that any damages which could be recovered would probably not, except in the case of a small or partial conflict, be sufficient compensation, yet an action at law would render more visible the breach of contract and serve to guide public opinion." The same rules would apply to an employer who might insist upon a reduction of wages contrary to a collective agreement.

The report of the majority of the Commission began with a luminous review of the evidence, covering nearly 100 pages. If it did not make any startling addition to knowledge, at all events it marshalled the facts in useful array. "The general impression left by the information before us is that the level of wage-rates has risen considerably during the last fifty years both in respect of their nominal value and (with the exception of house rent in large towns) their power of purchasing commodities. At the same time it appears that the daily hours of labour have during the same period been in most cases shortened and the sanitary conditions of work improved." They admitted a popular prejudice against piecework, but it rested to some extent upon the fallacy that the amount of employment is fixed. Though the number of hours was an incomplete test of the hardness of work, it seemed reasonable to conclude that the general mass of skilled workmen, together with the unskilled labourers who worked with them, did not have a working-day much in excess of nine hours. On the question of overtime, the report was so cautious as to be almost obscure. "Many employers gave evidence to the effect that it is not to their own interest to employ tired men at higher pay. When possible, especially in the case of work paid by the piece or the hour, it is much more to their interest to have eight-hour shifts of labour." Apprenticeship was becoming obsolete and the difficulties attending it were most prominent in the shipbuilding and engineering industries, which more than any other were exposed to fluctuations of employment. They regretted that the evidence as to the injurious effects of certain industries and the deficiency of inspectors, had necessarily been given before the Factory and Workshops Act of 1891 could be properly tested. The "sweated industries" were caused by over-competition, both among masters and workmen. A natural remedy might possibly be found in the increase of machinery and the

consolidation of small workshops into large factories. They reviewed the suggestions that had been made for further legislation, notably Mr. Charles Booth's, for throwing the responsibility for "domestic workshops" partly on the landlord and partly on the tenant, and alluded to Mr. Asquith's recent action in requiring employers engaged in various industries to keep lists of outworkers; and his formation of committees of inspectors to investigate the evils incidental to certain trades. Accident and questions connected with employers' liability concluded this branch of the review.

Part II. dealt with Trades' Union legislation, subsequent to the Commission of 1867, and passed to consider the objects, constitution, and policy of those bodies. According to Mr. Fenwick, they included nearly 2,000,000 persons, while their annual income was placed by the Board of Trade return at close on £1,200,000. Their funds were applied either to trade objects or to friendly and benevolent purposes. They had been most successful with concentrated skilled labour. The spirit characteristic of the New Unionism seemed "to be due to the particular circumstances of unskilled or general labour, and especially to the natural difficulties which attend its organisation, but this spirit has, no doubt to some, and probably to a considerable extent, influenced or modified the views held by representatives of the skilled trades, especially with regard to the substitution in certain important matters, notably that of hours of work, of State action for independent attempts by Trades' Unions to obtain concessions from employers." Associations of employers were usually late to make their appearance and they arose for purposes of joint resistance. There was a tendency towards amalgamations and federations of Unions, whether belonging to the same or different industries. Attempts were being made to form mixed associations of employers and employed, of which the Shipping Federation was an example. The commissioners pointed out that close organisations might have various disadvantages, such as an artificial enhancement of prices, without expressing an opinion on the proximity of those dangers.

With regard to the relations between employers and employed, the evidence tended to show that in the skilled trades Unions tended towards the maintenance of harmony. In the unskilled trades a strike was complicated by the employment of "free labour." Industrial disputes turned, as a rule, upon the shares in which the receipts of a common undertaking should be divided, though men engaged in other occupations struck, without

any special grievance of their own, to support those of another trade. The evils caused by such conflicts were very real, but they might be exaggerated. The assumed loss in wages attendant on the labour disputes of 1891 was, according to Mr. Burnett, £1,500,000, or a fraction of 1 per cent. of the total paid. Picketing and intimidation were established evils and the rights of civil action appeared to be in some cases inadequate. The commissioners proceeded to enumerate and describe the methods of settling the division of receipts, without having recourse to strikes, such as (1) sliding scales, (2) wages boards, (3) profit sharing, (4) attempts to dispense with employers, (5) co-operative and distribution societies, (6) co-partnership societies. There was some difficulty in arriving at a basis for a sliding scale, but wages boards had in many instances fulfilled their purpose. "Although there seems to be good reason to hope that the principles of profit-sharing and co-operation will become more widely extended, at all events in certain classes of business, yet at present the establishments in which they have been adopted bear a very small proportion to the bulk of manufacturing industry." Joint benefit funds had undoubtedly improved the mutual relationships of employers and employed. No proof had been produced that the business skill and energy of the capitalist could be dispensed with, and for a long time to come the bulk of industry must be conducted on the present relations. "But all the evidence shows that for the last fifty years the line of general progress has been in the direction of the acquisition of a kind of limited industrial partnership on the part of the workmen."

The commissioners proceeded to analyse the evidence with regard to conciliation and arbitration. The desire for arbitration on general questions, and especially for some form of State arbitration, seemed to be strongest in poorly organised trades. On the other hand, there was not much certainty about enforcing decisions, except where organisations were strong. They reviewed the various remedies proposed, such as industrial agreements, and the legislation which had been attempted. Then followed an examination of the views on the limitation of hours of work by legislation, and they disclosed considerable difference of opinion. "Thus at the present time the great body of miners in the country is divided into two camps on the question of a legal eight hours' day; nor does there seem any immediate prospect of a reconciliation, even on the basis of

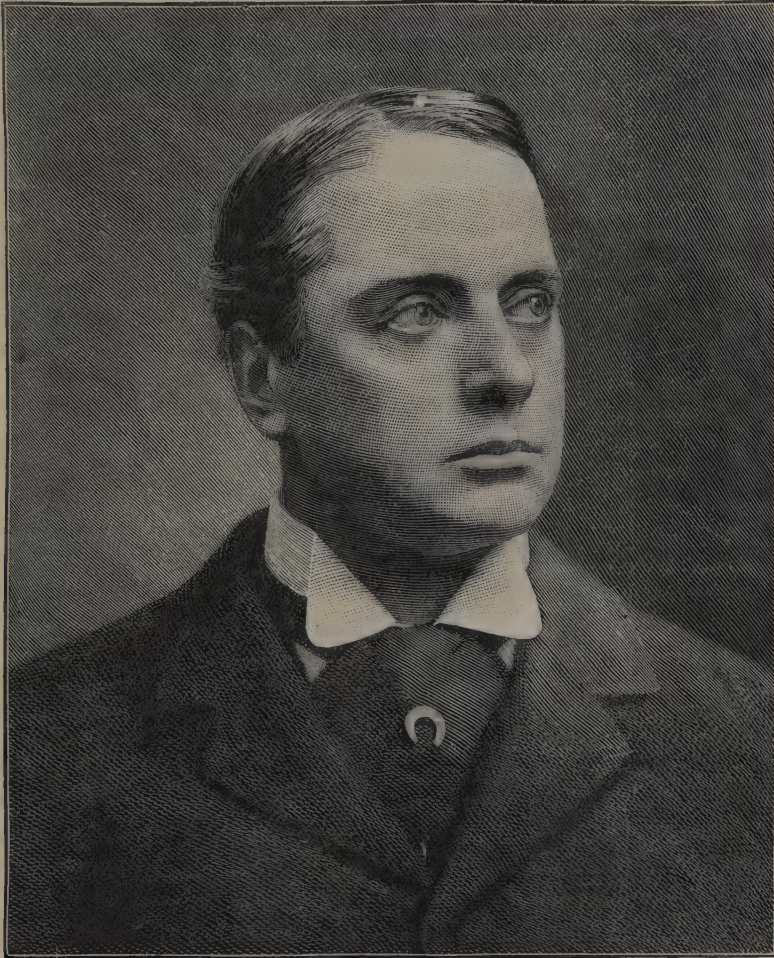
district option, seeing that the spokesman of the Miners' Federation has declared, on behalf of those whom he represents, that their object is 'a uniform eight hours' day for the underground toilers in the United Kingdom,' and that anything less would be entirely unacceptable." Irregularity of employment was the subject next considered, with proposals of a general character, including increased activity on the part of public authorities. Here the commissioners summed up with an impartiality almost more than judicial and their remarks were practically colourless. The review concluded with some remarks on the qualifications of a Labour Department and on the employment of women. Mr. Mann's desire that a Labour Department should forecast fluctuations of trade was contrasted with the opinion of Dr. Giffen, who said that people who would be most apt to be right in such predictions were generally on the Stock Exchange making fortunes for themselves, or else the facts could not be publicly stated. Women were receiving better wages than before, but they frequently worked long hours for small pay, and they did not readily combine.

The recommendations may be abridged as follows:—I. (1) Though the systematic and general establishment of special industrial tribunals for the settlement of industrial disputes seemed undesirable, yet a tentative and permissive experiment might be made in that direction. "Local representative bodies have now been constituted in every part of the country, and it would be possible to give to Town and County Councils a power of taking the initiative in the creation of special tribunals for defined districts or trades, more or less after the pattern of the French *Conseils de Prud'hommes*;" (2) the establishment of statutory boards of conciliation and arbitration was not to be commended, but it might be found expedient later to confer larger powers upon voluntary boards and industrial tribunals; (3) the Board of Trade could do much by advice and assistance to promote the more rapid and universal establishment of trade and district boards; (4) official arbitrators might be appointed and they might even be made permanent; (5) a special Labour Department appeared unnecessary, but information might be published at more frequent intervals. II. (1) The Commission flatly declined to propose limitations on wages or the hours of labour, but they thought that the powers of the Secretary of State might be extended over certain occupations which were dangerous or injurious to health, that overtime might be reduced or

altogether prohibited in certain female occupations, and that the Factory and Workshop Acts should be extended to laundries; (2) the non-unionist workers should be protected, and to that end picketing should be defined by the amendment of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875—the phrase suggested was "uses or threatens to use violence;" (3) the Factory laws needed further amendment, first, by compelling occupiers of workshops (excluding domestic workshops), and possibly of factories, to obtain a certificate from a competent public authority that the premises used were in a sanitary condition, such certificate to be withdrawn if the conditions were not complied with; secondly, by making occupiers liable, and immediate owners if penalties could not be recovered from occupiers; (3) that contractors or shopkeepers employing outworkers should keep lists of outworkers, and should be bound to take all reasonable precautions that work so given out was, if done in workshops, only done by those who had a proper certificate. It would be necessary to contemplate a temporary increase of Poor Law relief to meet the case of those thrown out of employment who were making a bare livelihood under bad conditions. The commissioners appended some special recommendations with regard to seamen and agricultural labourers. As to the first, "crimping" should be checked by amending the Merchant Shipping Act, so as to make it legal for *bonâ fide* organisations to act as agents in supplying seamen to ships. The minimum accommodation should be increased from 72 to 120 cubic feet. Allotment of wages to wives and other relatives should be made payable once a fortnight instead of once a month. Medicines should be certified by the chemist supplying them, and some qualification should be required from ships' cooks. The interests of seamen should be better represented on local marine boards, and therefore the Board of Trade should nominate persons not directly interested in shipping property. The remarks with regard to the agricultural labourer were chiefly based upon Mr. Little's report. The commissioners approved of the suggestion that the owners of all houses let at a rental of less than £10 a year should be obliged to make an annual return to the sanitary authority, stating the number of persons in each cottage, their sex, and age; whether the house is provided with a proper water-supply, and whether the premises are in good repair. Further, medical officers of health should not be allowed private practice, and therefore sanitary

districts should combine in order that an adequate salary might be offered. They should, in order to increase their independence, be appointed by the County Council, subject to the approval of the Local Government Board. "We further agree with the recommendation made by Mr. Little that

building of cottages under the Labourers' Acts might be transferred from the boards of guardians to the Local Government Board. The report concluded with the opinion that though many industrial evils could not be cured by legislation, yet natural forces were tending to



LORD ROSEBERY.

(From a Photograph by G. Jerrard, Regent Street, W.)

under legislation, applying both to England and Wales and to Scotland, loans should be advanced to landowners through the agency of a Government Department, for the purpose of building cottages at the lowest rate of interest which would secure the State from loss, such loans to be made repayable by fixed instalments of principal and interest within a certain number of years. The loans might be made subject to express conditions as to the character of the cottages, and the provision of gardens, and the maximum rent to be charged." In Ireland the power to initiate the

substitute a state of peace for one of division and conflict. "This end would not, we think, be attained through what are usually known as Socialist or Collectivist methods. The Socialist idea is that the ownership of all the means and larger instruments of production should, by a more or less gradual process, pass into the hands of State or local public authorities. Apart from the practical and equitable difficulties of the transfer, upon which we do not dwell, and from the deadening effect on industrial enterprise of the removal of the stimulus of private gain, it is not

evident how the ideal of social peace would be realised. The workman would still have to struggle for what he would consider the due remuneration of his labour, although the struggle would be with a different opponent and conducted by different methods. So far from social peace being attained by this road, it might probably only lead to new conflicts turning upon the mastership of the central or local administrative power, and arising between workmen and other members of the community, or between different classes of workmen."

These decidedly cautious observations failed, apparently, to commend themselves to the artisan electorate. The Independent Labour Party found its opportunity at Leicester, where a bye-election had been caused by the retirement of Sir James Whitehead and Mr. J. A. Picton. Its candidate, Mr. Burgess, received the support of Mr. Tom Mann, against the Liberal nominees, Mr. Broadhurst and Mr. Hazell, and the Conservative, Mr. Rolleston. The election was further memorable for the doubts thrown on the legality of the writ by Sir Henry James, who argued that, though a double return had been ordered, yet each elector could not give two votes as at the general election. The vacancies, he maintained, should be supplied by separate bye-elections for a single seat each. This uncertainty threw additional liveliness into a contest which never promised to be dull. Finally, the two Liberals appeared at the head of the poll, though Mr. Hazell had a narrow majority over Mr. Rolleston. The Labour candidate, Mr. Burgess, though at the bottom of the poll, received no less than 4,402 votes. This impatience of the recognised political parties was carried to still further lengths at the Trades Union Congress at Norwich, whither Mr. Tom Mann promptly repaired. This meeting began on September 4th by an able address by the president, Mr. Frank Delves, in which he bluntly declared that the only direction in which the ultimate solution of industrial problems could be looked for was Collectivism. "Would it not be better," he asked, "to adjust the balance of labour intelligently, to let the children keep their childhood, and to clear our shops and factories of boys and girls who now spend their youth there that, by-and-by, they may spend an equal portion of their maturity in walking the streets, vainly seeking work?" The Congress backed up its president by passing a series of sweeping resolutions, of which that advocating the nationalisation of the whole of the means of production, distribution, and exchange

was carried by 219 to 51. Its chief supporters were Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. John Burns, Mr. J. H. Wilson and Mr. Tom Mann, though Mr. Wilson acknowledged that it could not be carried into effect in four-and-twenty hours. "Black-leg" labour was to be cured by a resolution, carried unanimously, that "it should be a great offence for any employer to bring or cause to be brought to any locality extra labour, where the existing supply is sufficient for the needs of the district." On the motion of Mr. Broadhurst it was decided that the supplementary report of a section of the Labour Commission, whereby trade societies could sue and be sued in a court of law for the enforcement of agreements, "would seriously imperil the position of Trades Unions" in England; that any legislation of this character would be utterly injurious to the interests of Trades Unions and calculated to plunge them into costly and unnecessary litigation. With considerable cogency Mr. Broadhurst argued that if the suggestions of the Duke of Devonshire and his colleagues were carried out, every Trade Union in the country would be subjected to actions at law for any acts done or words said by any one of its officials or agents. It was noticed, too, that the Congress disapproved Lord Salisbury's Bill for the prohibition of alien immigration. Other resolutions passed by the Congress embraced the establishment of an eight hours' day in baking and other occupations—mining being specially excepted; the security of tenure for agricultural labourers; the increase of the number of factory inspectors; and the enforcement of the House of Commons resolution for the payment of trade rates to all workmen employed in Government factories. Finally came the ballot for the secretaryship to the Parliamentary Committee. The three candidates were Mr. Fenwick, M.P., who had held the office for four years, Mr. Sam Woods, M.P., and Mr. Tom Mann. The last was eliminated in the first ballot, but the second gave Mr. Woods a large majority over Mr. Fenwick (211 votes to 141). It was understood that the election turned on the eight hours' question, and that Mr. Fenwick was punished for supporting the local option clause. However that may be, nothing could be in better taste than the speech in which he accepted the result. It showed no sign of resentment, and simply expressed a desire that Mr. Woods should have proper assistance in labours which were becoming yearly more arduous.

For the remainder of the year, however, the agitation against the House of Lords thrust

labour questions into the background. It had begun with the Conference held at Leeds on June the 30th, with Dr. Spence Watson in the chair. There the president addressed a gathering of 2,000 delegates from all parts of the country. It was, he said, emphatically a movement of the rank and file of the Liberal party. He described the gods of the Lords as "privilege, prejudice, and party," and urged that the present situation was unbearable and that some decision upon it was absolutely necessary. He therefore moved a resolution affirming that the power now exercised by the House of Lords to mutilate and reject legislation, was inconsistent with the right of free and popular self-government and should cease to exist. The resolution was seconded by Mr. E. Harford, secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and unanimously adopted. Mr. Robson, Q.C., next moved a resolution calling upon the Government to introduce as soon as practicable during the present Parliament, a measure for the abolition of the House of Lords veto, so that a Bill passed in one Session by the Commons could be reaffirmed in the same Session or the same Parliament by the Commons without the alterations of the House of Lords, and become law, subject to the royal consent. He thought that the Bill might be left to the leaders of the Liberal party and therefore did not wish to introduce anything imperative in the resolution. It did not go far enough, however, for Mr. Labouchere, who moved an amendment declaring that the House of Lords was useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished, and calling upon the Government to bring in a Bill for the abolition of their veto during the present Session. He remarked that as the resolution stood it was not clear that they especially demanded that a Bill should be brought in giving to the House of Commons power in the same Session and in the same Parliament to carry any Bill that had been rejected by the House of Lords by a simple resolution. That was to be their irreducible *minimum*. If they who were "enders" gave up their own position and accepted a compromise, it should at least be put clearly. The chief point made by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, in seconding, was a story about a schoolboy who misquoted the text, "My house shall be called a den of thieves, but ye have made it a House of Lords." Mr. Philip Stanhope said that a stronger resolution had been carried at a conference of the National Reform Union held in London. However, the majority of the meeting seemed to be of Mr. Caine's opinion, that if they could not get

20s. in the £1 they should take 10s. on account, and the amendment was rejected on a show of hands.

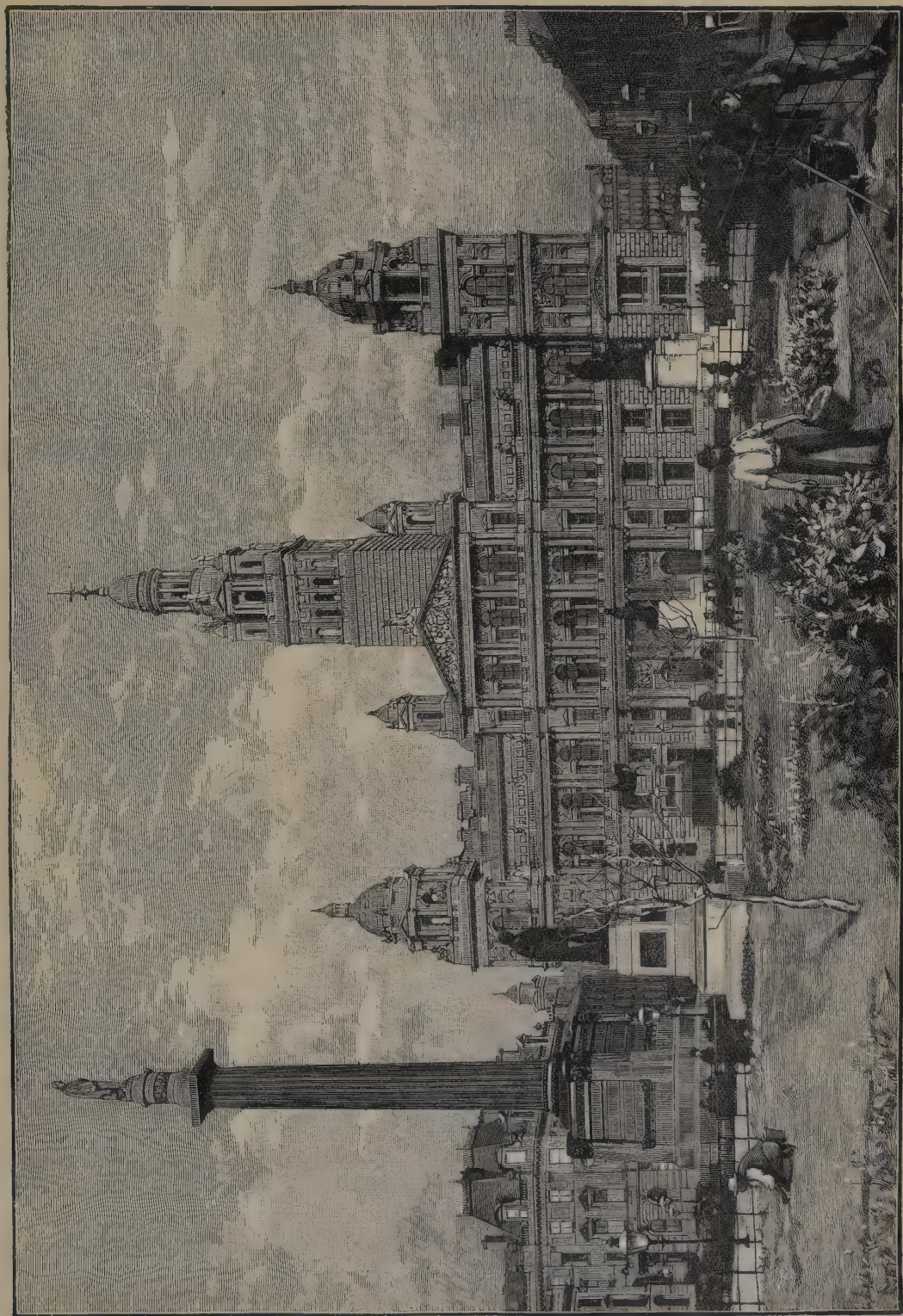
The next step was a demonstration in Hyde Park, which occurred on Sunday, August the 26th. Unfortunately for its promoters, the day selected was that following the prorogation of Parliament and no amount of persuasion could keep Members in town. In consequence the list of speakers differed widely from that originally announced and on some of the platforms the supply of oratory ran short. The *Daily Chronicle* admitted that the meeting was "not so largely attended as some gatherings of the past on the historic meeting-ground," and the *Times* estimated the number of demonstrators at not more than 5,000 or 6,000. They certainly compared very unfavourably with the Local Veto demonstration of the previous year. The chief speeches were made by Dr. Tanner and Mr. William O'Brien, of whom the former permitted himself some observations more racy than refined. Mr. William O'Brien, however, made the ingenious suggestion that the Government should introduce next year several of the measures demanded by the Newcastle Programme in the Upper House and so hasten the process of "filling up the cup" of the people's wrath against the House of Lords. He mentioned especially, a revised Employers' Liability Bill, an Irish County Councils Bill, a Bill to repeal the Coercion Act, a Miners' Eight Hours Bill, and as many other Bills as possible.

By way of interlude there came a rather curious commotion among the Anti-Parnellites, who, except for an occasional recrudescence of the *Freeman* squabble, had been comparatively successful in keeping their differences out of print. The discovery was suddenly made that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Tweedmouth had contributed £100 apiece to the Parliamentary fund in response to a circular. The Parnellites naturally made the most of the opportunity, Mr. Redmond fiercely denouncing his rivals as "a kept party which devoted all its energies to getting favours, honours, and emoluments for its friends and relations." Mr. T. D. Sullivan, Mr. Healy, and Mr. Molloy denounced the acceptance of the cheques in no measured terms and, in turn, Mr. Davitt published a long letter, in which he put some home truths to Mr. Healy. "Where," he asked, "is the difference between the methods and objects of Mr. Redmond and his friends, and the objects of Mr. Healy and his following, when we find both these apparently antagonistic sections abusing,

misrepresenting, calumniating the Irish party, its committee and chairman?" It must be confessed that the explanations of Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien, the secretary of the Irish National League of Great Britain, did not tend to elucidate the mystery. The circular as published proved to be a very business-like document signed by Mr. O'Brien, and acknowledging subscriptions from the Hon. Ashley Ponsonby, Mr. Naoroji, and other members of the Liberal party, amounting to some £200. However, the document was eventually repudiated and the money returned. Addressing the party on November the 12th, Mr. Justin McCarthy jauntily disposed of the matter as the "error of a mere clerk," and said he had every reason to believe the cheques to have been sent spontaneously by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Tweedmouth. He made some most judicious remarks about the bad effect of these public bickerings, which meant "the bankruptcy of the movement." Not only was the business disposed of and a vote of confidence passed by 38 votes to 14, but the dispute with the Parnellites about the Paris funds had been settled by negotiation. The bulk went to the evicted tenants and the remainder was understood to be devoted to Parliamentary purposes. A slight cessation of hostilities all round marked the conclusion of the year. Mr. Morley, however, attracted the wrath of the Parnellite organ after he had met a deputation from the Dublin Corporation, which petitioned him to release the dynamiters, with an uncompromising negative. The substantives and adjectives would not have attracted much attention, had not Mr. Chamberlain thought fit to "gloat over them," as Lord Tweedmouth called it, in a speech at Accrington. Both sides, meanwhile, were suffering from the abatement of subscriptions from America, and though the Parnellites threatened to force on a dissolution, it remained to be seen what purpose lay behind their swagger.

The movement against the House of Lords was rather slow to take definite shape. The first Cabinet Ministers to give it their sanction were Lord Tweedmouth and Sir George Trevelyan, and they were followed by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre and Mr. Asquith. These speeches, however, were calculated rather to prepare public opinion than to propound a definite plan. Their key-note was a sentence of the Home Secretary's, wherein he intimated that a point in constitutional development had been reached at which the great issue must be determined one way or the other. It was reserved for the Prime Minister to enunciate the

revisional programme at Bradford on October the 27th. Lord Rosebery's speech was rather puzzling in some of its admissions, though clear enough in its main argument. The next election, according to him, would be fought, not on Disestablishment, nor on Home Rule, nor the liquor traffic, but on a question which included them all—that of the House of Lords. It was not new and it was one to which throughout his political life he had attached great importance. The House of Commons had been changed three times during the last sixty years, until it had become a representative Chamber elected on a wide popular basis, while the House of Lords had remained unchanged and opposed to popular institutions. Whether at the next election there were 100 or 600 Liberals returned to the House of Commons, there would only be thirty Liberal Peers in the House of Lords. He confessed that it was a time of calmness and apathy with regard to the Peers, and at the last general election the constituencies had given the Government "no mandate" to deal with them. He also admitted that in principle he was a Second Chamber man; he was not for the uncontrolled government of a single Chamber, any more than for the uncontrolled government of a single man. But if he were bound to choose between no Second Chamber at all and a Second Chamber constituted as the House of Lords was, he would have no cause for hesitation with regard to his principle. It was, to his mind, an absolute danger, an invitation to revolution, that there should be an Assembly of that kind. In his judgment the House of Lords was no Second Chamber at all, but a permanent party organisation, controlled for party purposes and by party managers. Its existence practically implied that no Liberal legislation could be carried except by menace. The issue was the greatest which had been raised in this country since their forefathers had resisted the tyranny of Charles I. and James II., and the difficulties of dealing with it were enormous, because, except by a revolution, it was impossible to modify or abolish the powers of the House of Lords. Then came the gist of the speech—namely, the means by which the reform would be carried into effect. Lord Rosebery said that "no lesser body than the House of Commons is able to lay down in clear and unmistakable tones the shifting in the balance of the Constitution which has been produced by the great Reform Bills of 1832, of 1867, and of 1884. It is quite clear that our first step, if we propose to deal with the House of Lords—and we do propose to deal



THE MUNICIPAL BUILDINGS, GEORGE SQUARE, GLASGOW.

(From a Photograph by J. Valentine and Sons.)

with the House of Lords—is to bring the House of Commons into play; and how are we to bring the House of Commons into action? The House of Commons, in my opinion, after long consideration of this most difficult of subjects, can only proceed, in the first place, as it has always proceeded in its contests with the House of Lords—by resolution. In regard to the powers of the House of Lords over finances, they were restrained once, twice, and thrice by resolutions of the House of Commons. As regards the powers of the House of Lords to interfere with elections for the House of Commons, those have been equally restrained by resolution of the House of Commons. But the great resolution which I suppose we should have in our mind in passing the resolution which will assert the privileges of the House of Commons as against the irresponsible control of the House of Lords, as I think it is, would be the resolution of 1678 which asserts the free and uncontrollable right of the House of Commons to represent the people in matters of finance. And I suppose—of course I do not pledge myself at this moment to the exact form of resolution—but I take it that that resolution would declare in clear and unmistakable terms what I have once before said, in a phrase which I have often heard since, that the House of Commons in the partnership with the House of Lords is unmistakably the predominant partner. I hear you say: ‘But the House of Commons has passed such resolutions before.’ I think there was some little resolution of this kind passed this year, but there will be one vital and essential and pervading difference between such a resolution as I suggest and any resolution that has been passed before, because this resolution will be passed at the instance and on the responsibility of the Government itself. It will be the duty of the Government to move the House of Commons to pass such a resolution, and I cannot doubt that the House of Commons will do so. It will be the duty of the Government to move the House of Commons to pass such a resolution; and, if they do pass it, remember that never before in the history of Parliament has such a resolution, at the instance and on the responsibility of the Government, been passed in the House of Commons against the House of Lords. What will it represent? The joint demand of the executive Government of the day and of the House of Commons for the revision of the Constitution; and in that way the question will enter in itself on a new phase. That resolution will stand for ever upon the journals of the House.

No Government, however bold, however cynical it may be, that may eventually succeed ours will be bold enough or cynical enough to propose its reversal. Not all the perfumes of Araby itself will wash that resolution out of the books of the House. Not even if the verdict of the country should go against us on that resolution would, I believe, any leader of the House of Commons be bold enough to propose its reversal.” And behind the resolution, he continued, lay an appeal to the country. “We have thrown down the gauntlet, and it is for you to back us up.”

Such was Lord Rosebery’s momentous speech, and he supplemented it by another at Glasgow on November the 14th. Therein he declared that though he would be no party to leaving the country at the disposition of a single Chamber, he was altogether opposed to an hereditary and partisan Second Chamber. What the Government had to deal with was the readjustment of the relations between the two Houses, so that the popular and representative Chamber should be made predominant. They would proceed by resolution, the efficacy of which depended almost entirely upon the support that it might receive from the nation. The explanation, therefore, left matters pretty much as they were before, and it was not to be denied that the reception of the plan by the Liberal party was by no means unanimous. Radicals like Mr. Labouchere avowed themselves frank “enders,” and urged that as a Second Chamber must be revisionary, the House of Lords might be strengthened rather than weakened by alterations; and Sir Charles Dilke spoke in a similar sense at Tunstall. Nor was it exactly clear what was to follow the resolution and the dissolution. That the Unionists were not entirely satisfied with the Peers seemed proved by the fact that the *Times* hastened to produce a scheme of reform. The Conservative leaders, however, contented themselves for the most part with destructive criticism. Lord Salisbury stated his views at Edinburgh on October 30th, and in the pages of the *National Review*. At the Scottish capital he affected to consider that the Prime Minister was not serious in his proposal to suppress one of the branches of the Legislature. They must deal, however, with his portentous utterance as it presented itself. Lord Rosebery undertook something analogous to the foreign Referendum in determining what should be referred to the constituencies at the next general election. But clearness and distinctness were the essence of Referendum, and they were the two elements that

were absolutely absent from the Prime Minister's statement. He asked that a blank cheque should be given to his instruments in the House of Commons for a policy which was a string of conundrums. Lord Salisbury maintained that the House of Lords was justified in its proceedings with regard to the Home Rule Bill, the Employers' Liability Bill and the Evicted Tenants Bill, since it represented the opinion of England and Scotland. Lord Rosebery's resolution would probably be passed, but it would not possess any force, for the House of Lords would pass another resolution. Other agencies than these were needed to change the Constitution. Physical force could overthrow the House of Lords, but the country would never use it. "Do not imagine that the interests, whether secular or spiritual, whether those which support the corporate property of churches, or those which are anxious for the sanctity of contracts and the safety of private property, will submit without a struggle to have that security struck away which is the only defence between them and the caprice of a Radical majority of the House of Commons, based upon the serried battalions that come to them from Ireland. The struggle will be desperate, the struggle will be long. I have no doubt how it will terminate, but I can pardon Lord Rosebery for having a different opinion. But he will, I am sure, agree with me in this—that while this struggle lasts nothing else can be done. It is the death-blow to any proposals for legislation for the advantage and the elevation of the vast masses in this country who claim our care." Mr. Balfour followed his uncle on much the same lines at Newcastle on November 18th, only he laid greater stress, perhaps, upon the immediate wants of the working-classes. Finally, the Duke of Devonshire, speaking at Barnstaple on November 26th, dealt more particularly with the constitutional aspects of the question. He said that Lord Rosebery had yet to learn that revolutions were the outcomes of passionate feeling, of deep conviction, and of a burning sense of injustice, and could not be brought about by a few disappointed politicians. The only question on which the House of Lords had come into real conflict with the lower chamber had been that of Home Rule, and by their action they had given expression to the plain and manifest opinion of the majority of Englishmen. It formed an effective bar to the introduction of sudden and irrevocable changes into the Constitution, and at such times as the present no safeguard of this nature ought to be surrendered. Such

were the arguments with which the Unionist leaders met the proposal, and their followers only stated the same points in different words. Meanwhile, some curiosity was expressed as to the date at which the resolution would be produced. At first rumour indicated the beginning of the Session, but next the policy of the Government appeared to be to hold it *in terrorem* over the House of Commons. Finally, there came a rather curious declaration of Mr. McEwan, in a speech made at Edinburgh on December the 17th, that the Home Rule Bill was dead, and that a stronger, not a weaker, second chamber than the House of Lords had become necessary to prevent a combination of faddists from putting legislation of the most experimental kind on the Statute-book. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman retorted that Mr. McEwan was a most agreeable companion, but that he had never set up as a prophet before.

The House of Lords resolution overshadowed the rival proposals of the two parties. At Glasgow Lord Rosebery laid down the programme for the next Session, with the salutary warning that if every Liberal measure was introduced at the same time, no legislation would be carried at all. The Government was pledged to deal with Welsh Disestablishment, and he could only promise that when Parliamentary business permitted, a Scottish Disestablishment Bill similar to that introduced by Sir Charles Cameron, would be submitted. The Government also intended to bring forward the Local Veto Bill, and personally he approved of it and would include a limiting and controlling power as well as total prohibition. This list was presumably not intended to be exhaustive, since Mr. John Morley was known to have an Irish Land Bill on the stocks, and the speeches of Mr. Asquith and other Cabinet Ministers hinted at Registration and the reform of Procedure. Taken to task, however, by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress with regard to a measure for the payment of members, and returning officers' expenses, the Premier lured his hecklers into a discussion on the proper amount of salary and sent them dissatisfied away. On the other side, Mr. Chamberlain spoke in various parts of the country and, while censuring the Newcastle Programme on the ground of barrenness, extolled the merits of the old age pension scheme. At Birmingham and again at Heywood he advocated (1) moderate temperance reform; (2) sanitary improvements effected by an extension of the Artisans' Dwellings Acts; (3) advances of money in order to enable working-men to purchase their

holdings; (4) the creation of tribunals of arbitration; (5) an Employers' Liability Bill. Most of these proposals were adopted by the Conservatives in conclave at Edinburgh, and again at Newcastle. It was noticed, however, that Lord Salisbury threw cold water on the plan for enabling workmen to become owners of their homes, urging that it could only be applied locally. For the rest, the Conservatives were evidently disposed, for lack of anything better, to push women's suffrage to the front.

division of Lincolnshire, Mr. Waddy, Q.C., having accepted an appointment under the Crown. Here the Conservative candidate was Mr. J. M. Richardson, a popular cross-country rider who had twice contested the constituency. The Liberals put forward Mr. Reckitt, who had hardly so much influence as his predecessor with the Nonconformists. Owing to the liberality of Lord St. Oswald, the Church party had increased considerably throughout that part of the county; and,



MEETING OF THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL.

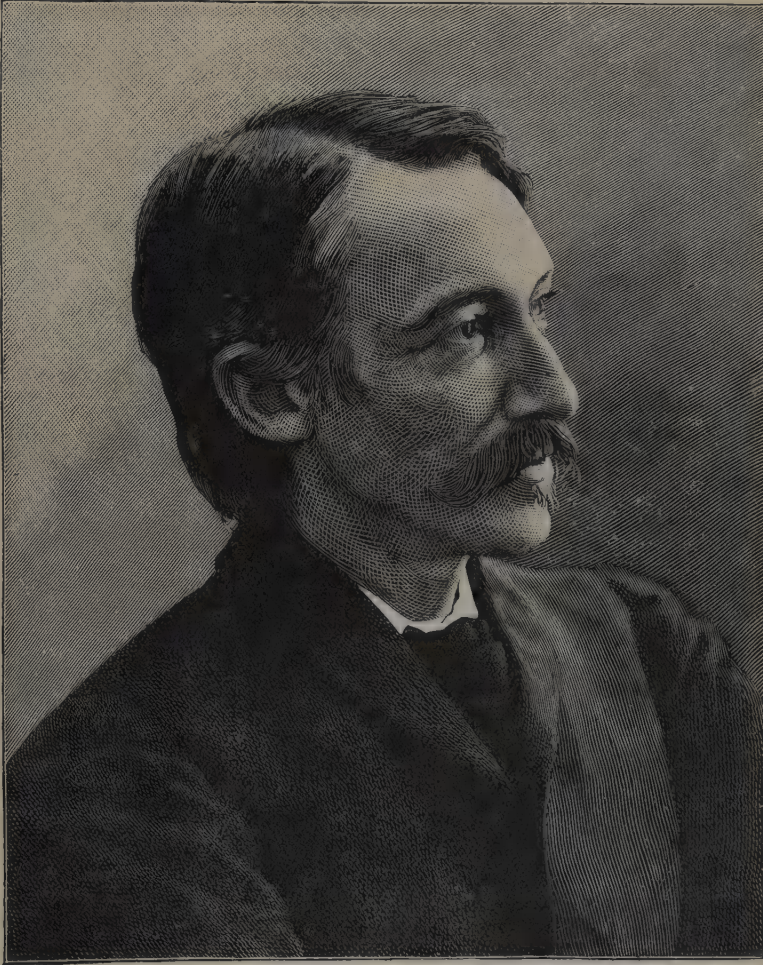
It was not until late in the autumn that two bye-elections gave two very different constituencies an opportunity of recording a verdict for or against the Government. In Forfarshire a vacancy was caused by the elevation of Sir John Rigby, the Attorney-General, to the Bench. The seat was thought to be decidedly Radical and at the general election the majority was 866. The Conservatives, however, relied on the Hon. C. M. Ramsay, who had some local influence, whereas the Liberals imported Mr. Robson, a London stockbroker. As a result Mr. Ramsay was elected by 5,145 votes against 4,857 recorded for his opponent. There followed an election in the Brigg

after a contest in which Home Rule and the House of Lords were barely considered, Mr. Richardson converted a minority of 427 into a majority of 77. The blows were severe, though Lord Rosebery may have been right in assigning them to purely local causes.

London played a considerable part in politics towards the close of the year. The report of the Unification Commission appeared on September the 29th and proved to be a most trenchant document. The commissioners alluded with regret to the withdrawal of the representatives of the Corporation from the inquiry. Starting from the assumption that London must be placed under one

government, Lord Farrer and his colleagues decided that it required town and not county government. They recommended, therefore, that the whole administrative area of the present county of London, including the City, should be called the City of London, and should be a county in itself, while the existing City should be styled "The Old

that everything possible should be done to maintain the strength and authority of the local bodies of London. They would transfer to the new Corporation the whole of the general estates of that of the old City with all the attendant liabilities, but the new Corporation should pay over to the authorities of the old City an annual



ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON. (From a Photograph by Falk, Sydney.)

City." The governing body, practically the existing County Council, reinforced by representatives of the old City, should be incorporated under the name of the "Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of London." A Lord Mayor should be elected by the Council of the new Corporation from the citizens of London, and he should be its titular chairman, though he need not necessarily be present at its meetings. He should enjoy the same offices, dignities, and privileges, as the Lord Mayor of the old City. As to the functions of the new Corporation, the commissioners thought

sum of, say, £10,500. The Sheriffs of London should be appointed by the Council of the new Corporation, and the jurisdiction of the Court of Quarter Sessions and justices of the County of London should extend into the area of the old City. The City Police should be fused with the Metropolitan Police and be under the same control. The commissioners recommended that one city or borough rate should be levied throughout London. The areas of local administration, which should each have their Mayor, should coincide with large parishes like St. Pancras or Shoreditch. The

municipal authority of the old City would have to be reconstructed.

The scheme, as was natural, came in for abundant criticism, though the unusual event of a contest for the Lord Mayoralty was assigned not to divided views, but to the desire to be the last dignitary of the old dispensation. In the end, Alderman Sir Joseph Renals easily defeated his opponent, Alderman Faudel Phillips. The Progressives of the London County Council appeared satisfied, on the whole, though they objected to the continued control of the police by the Home Office. The *Times* pointed out that the representation of the City was allotted in one respect, and elected by another, since the census was to be taken at night. Conservative journalists urged that the project was unduly confiscatory and that London was far too unwieldy to be controlled by one body. On the 7th of November Lord Salisbury addressed a meeting in the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, which had been convened by the London division of the National Union of Conservative Associations on the subject of municipal reform. His speech criticised very severely the composition of the Unification Commission and its recommendations. He was opposed to the establishment of a "mammoth Corporation," which would be an absolutely unexampled experiment, and was in favour of the creation of a number of municipalities on the model which had been found to work so successfully in other parts of England. He allowed that there must be some sort of central body; but it might be reserved for subsequent consideration, and he deprecated any attempt to degrade or depose the City Corporation, which had done excellent work. These remarks did not altogether please the *Times*, which accused Lord Salisbury of speaking from a brief supplied to him by others. Lord Rosebery, too, at Stratford made sport of Lord Salisbury's objections and said that the Marquis's ideal of a commission to report on the unification of London would be the Court of Aldermen. He, however, considered the document to be one of rare excellence and instructions had been given for a Bill on the lines of that report, which would be introduced into Parliament without delay.

There followed the elections for the school boards, which, while conducted peacefully enough in most parts of the country, engendered in London an inordinate amount of heat. For this the Moderate, or "Diggleite," majority of the Board was undoubtedly responsible. In the previous January, some of its number—chief among

whom were the Chairman, Mr. Diggle, a Church of England clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Coxhead, and Mr. Athelstan Riley—made an imaginary discovery that religious instruction was being imparted by persons holding secularist views. Accordingly they drew up a circular setting forth the minimum of Christian doctrine that should be taught in the schools. The document was innocuous in itself, but it was quite unnecessary and the teachers strongly objected to being bound by a test. Nonconformists generally imagined that Mr. Riley and his friends wished to upset the compromise established by the Education Act. Throughout the summer a storm raged over the unfortunate circular, to the considerable detriment of the Board's business. Churchmen were by no means of one mind on the subject and the Bishop of London recommended the withdrawal of the paper. Withdrawn it ultimately was, but the heart-burning continued. Shortly before the election, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a rather guarded appeal to the Church party in favour of the Moderates. The contest turned almost entirely upon the circular, though many considered that the financial policy of the old Board was decidedly open to comment, and there were charges that schools had been allowed to become unhealthy, notably those in Hunter Street. At Brondesbury, Mr. Lyulph Stanley, on behalf of the Progressive candidates, referred to the distraction of the Board by the religious controversies forced upon it. Mr. Diggle, at his meetings in the Paddington division, met with a very mixed reception. The polling took place on November the 22nd, and the results began to appear on the evening of the following day. The heaviness of the votes showed how London had been stirred and the elimination of Roman Catholic and Independent candidates how narrow the issue was. The old Board contained 34 Moderates, 19 Progressives, 1 Independent, and 1 Roman Catholic. The new was composed of 29 Moderates and 26 Progressives. Messrs. Diggle, Riley, and Coxhead retained their seats with difficulty and even more significant was the analysis of the votes. The Progressives polled 817,632 votes against 671,734 for the Moderates, 36,088 for Independent candidates, 42,951 for Roman Catholics, and 38,383 for Socialists. Evidently the Progressives had undervalued their strength, while the plural vote had acted even more capriciously than usual. At the last meeting of the old Board, Mr. Lyulph Stanley and his friends took the rather ungracious step of refusing to join in a vote of thanks to Mr. Diggle

when he vacated the chair. However, a new Chairman was elected from outside in the person of Lord George Hamilton, the Rev. T. W. Sharpe being the Progressive nominee.

The elections for the District and Parish Councils, and the corresponding bodies, the London vestries, were simplified by a circular from the Local Government Board explaining the method of procedure. They created considerable interest throughout the land, though more perhaps in the towns than in the counties. As a whole, the contests were fought on political lines in London, but class divisions appeared to operate in rural England. Owing to the withdrawal of candidates in the provinces at the last moment, there were returns without poll in 4,021 parishes out of 7,142, or 56.2 per cent. of the whole. Not many labourers were chosen for either the District or Parish Councils, except in Wales; and, as a whole, the rural population appeared rather disappointed when it discovered that the Parish Councils Act had not precisely established a Utopia. In London the vestry elections took place on the 15th of December, and those for the Boards of Guardians on the 17th. The Moderates, assisted by the newly-established London Municipal Society and the Ratepayers' Protection Association, gained the advantage. The Progressives scored in the parishes south of the Thames, but in other parts of London, and in several of the suburbs, the Moderates secured in some cases the whole representation and in others an overwhelming majority. The Moderates also held their own in the elections for the Boards of Guardians; but numerous ladies were returned and both sides stood pledged to a humane administration of the Poor Law.

The obituary of 1894 was remarkable for the deaths of many distinguished lawyers. Lord Coleridge, who passed away in June, was hardly a great Lord Chief Justice, but he had been an orator of much incisiveness and charm. Lord Hannen's mind was most acute and logical, and, pathetically enough, his end was hastened by his services to his country on the Behring Sea Tribunal. Lord Bowen was not only an able judge, but a scholar and man of letters; so too was Sir James Stephen, whose brilliant intellect underwent a rather melancholy decline. The losses in the Church of England were not especially remarkable; they included Lord Arthur Hervey, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Bishop Atlay, of Hereford, and Dr. Pelham, of Norwich,

a scholar of some pretensions. A more remarkable man than these was Professor Robertson Smith, who began as a minister of the Free Church of Scotland, and continued as a Biblical critic of European reputation. The statesman of the greatest eminence who died was Earl Grey, a veteran of high character, but belonging to a rather impracticable type of Whiggery. Lord Basing, better known as Mr. Selater-Booth, was a Conservative administrator of the useful and unobtrusive kind. Mr. John Walter had stamped his own integrity upon the *Times*, the first newspaper in the world. The army regretted the death of the aged Earl of Albemarle, whose military record embraced Waterloo. Sir Henry Layard was a rather indiscreet diplomatist, but his services to Assyriology were incomparable. A Colonial statesman of abilities and repute expired most tragically at Windsor in Sir John Thompson, the Prime Minister of Canada, a few minutes after he had been admitted to the Privy Council. Almost as sad was the death of Sir Gerald Portal, the British administrator at Zanzibar, whose health was undermined by his mission to Uganda. Science lost in Mr. G. J. Romanes a brilliant investigator of remarkably independent intellect. English prose lost three masters, James Anthony Froude, the writer of picturesque but rather inaccurate history; Walter Pater, who carried polish of style almost to an excess; and Robert Louis Stevenson, a charming novelist whom not even the climate of Samoa could long preserve to literature. English music was the poorer for the death of Madame Patey, one of the most cultivated of contraltos.

Finally the close of the year was marked by a terrible railway accident. On the night of the 23rd of December the North Western express from Manchester to Euston entered Chelford while travelling at the rate of sixty miles an hour. There some goods trucks were being shunted on the down line. One of the waggons had not cleared the points, and into it the engine crashed and turned over. The carriages, particularly those in the middle of the train, were smashed to atoms. Thirteen persons were killed on the spot and of the sixty injured several died afterwards. The finding at the inquest was so far satisfactory that no criminal negligence was substantiated. At the same time the jury declined to adopt the theory that the wagon had been blown back on the line by the force of the gale and added that railways should cease shunting on the main line when expresses were due.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

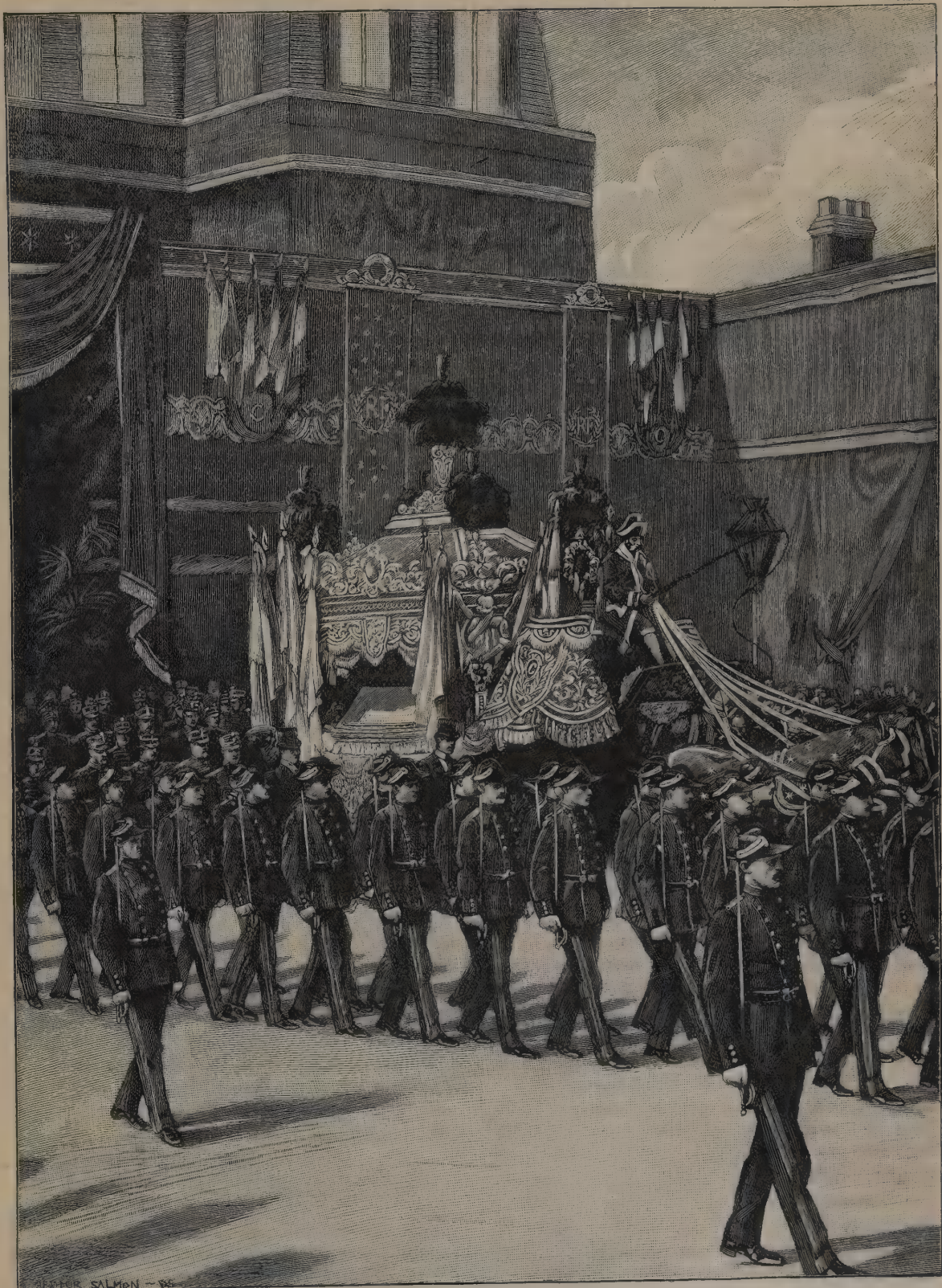
THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Anarchism in France—Murder of President Carnot—Election of M. Casimir-Perier—Captain Dreyfus—Death of Alexander III.—Succession and Marriage of Nicholas II.—The Russo-German Commercial Treaty—Resignation of Count von Caprivi—Prince Hohenlohe succeeds Him—Austria and Italy—Fall of M. Stambouloff—Rumours of Armenian Atrocities—Lord Kimberley's Action—Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden—Egypt—War between China and Japan—Sinking of the *Kowshing*—A Sensational Cabinet—British Intervention—Lord Rosebery's Explanation—China sues for Peace—Commercial Conventions—The Ameer and the Waziris—Indian Finance—The Ottawa Conference—Lord Jersey's Report—Canada—Australia—Mr. Rhodes—"Commandeering"—The Swazi—West Africa—The Portal Mission—Sir Gerald's Report—The Uganda Settlement—The Anglo-Congo Convention—The Italians at Kassala.

THE chiefs of two great European Governments died in 1894, but from very different causes. An assassin's hand laid low President Carnot, whereas the reign of Czar Alexander III. was cut short by a few weeks' illness. From the first it was evident that the drastic measures adopted by the French Minister of the Interior, M. Raynal, had not checked the Anarchist campaign. The execution of Vaillant and the wholesale arrest of revolutionists were followed on February 12th by a most wanton outrage, already alluded to, effected by a young man of education named Émile Henry, who exploded a bomb in the Terminus Café, whereby fifteen persons were more or less injured. Some stir was caused by the discovery that he had come almost straight from London and might therefore be the agent of a plot hatched in England. But though Henry gloried in his crime, he suffered the extreme penalty of the law, without betraying his accomplices. Throughout the spring and summer the Government continued to act with vigour and Anarchist attempts became rarer, though a Belgian named Pawel blew himself up while attempting to convey a bomb into the Madeleine. On June the 24th, however, the President, who was visiting Lyons in State, was mortally stabbed by a young Italian named Caserio, who was allowed to approach the carriage on the pretext of presenting a petition. M. Carnot was taken to the Prefecture, where he died within a few hours.

The French people behaved admirably under the shock. In spite of Caserio's Italian nationality and the chronic feud between the two peoples, the attitude towards Italy was most pacific, though workmen of that race were abused and hustled in some of the large towns. As for the assassin, he was duly guillotined, after he had denied that he had any accomplices and had assigned as his motive a desire to avenge Ravachol and Henry. On the following Sunday M. Carnot was honoured by a splendid public funeral, at which all the European

Governments were represented, while the wreaths sent by every town and public body in France had the most imposing effect. Queen Victoria wrote a most touching letter to Madame Carnot; and the German Emperor's generous release of two French officers, condemned to long terms of imprisonment as spies, was much appreciated. M. Carnot's successor was found in M. Casimir-Perier, who had been Premier until May and was now President of the Chamber. He secured 451 votes, against 195 given to M. Brisson, the Radical nominee, 97 to the Premier, M. Dupuy, 53 to General Fébrier, who had been nominated by the Right without his consent, and a few more. Though abused as a reactionary by the Radicals, the courage with which the new President walked about Paris almost unattended aroused general admiration. Unfortunately for the Government, the promiscuous arrests of Anarchists were followed by the convictions only of those accused of burglary and similar crimes, since the evidence against the leaders of the movement was wholly insufficient. Nor could it be said that the Republic was strengthened by the death of the Comte de Paris, which occurred at Stowe House on September the 8th, since Orleanism was already extinct. However, M. Dupuy's ministry managed to outlast the year, partly through the popular character of M. Poincaré's Budget, and partly through the distraction caused by the conviction of a staff officer, Captain Dreyfus, for betraying secrets of State to a foreign power, said to be Germany. The wretched man's Jewish origin gave a pretext for the continuance of the anti-Semite agitation. The perennial animosity against England acquired plentiful expression during the autumn, when the Republic found itself committed to an expedition against Madagascar. The Hova Government was asserted by the French press to have been instigated to repulse the special envoy, M. le Myre de Vilers, by the "Methodists"—that



FUNERAL OF PRESIDENT CARNOT: THE PROCESSION LEAVING THE ELYSÉE. (See p. 588.)

is, the English missionaries—while the *Figaro* actually published a weird story about some English sportsmen who had started with the idea of bagging stray French soldiers. It was hoped, however, that better relations would be established between France and England through the appointment of Baron de Courcel, who had acted as the dignified president of the Behring Sea Tribunal, as Ambassador to Great Britain.

The Czar had been attacked by influenza early in the year, but he appeared to have recovered and displayed his wonted activity in the affairs of State. Unhappily his sedentary habits and the cares of Empire produced complications which ultimately developed into Bright's disease. Meanwhile, summer had gone, the relations between Germany and Russia had been vastly improved by the conclusion of a commercial treaty between the two Governments, and Alexander III. was universally recognised as the chief factor in the maintenance of peace. Towards the end of September it became known that he was ill; he was hurried to Livadia in the Crimea, and there he succumbed on November the 1st. The purity of his private life and the integrity of his intentions had won for Alexander III. a respect which might not have been his had he died at the time of the Bulgarian revolution. He had besides pursued a policy of "Russifying" his vast dominions with relentless pertinacity, though with the sympathy of the nation at large. His heir, Nicholas II., succeeded to a difficult position, and his abilities were an unknown quantity, nor was much indication to be gathered from his earliest acts, since the retirement of General Gourko, the ruthless Governor of Poland, had long since been decided upon. One thing was evident, namely, the respect paid at St. Petersburg to the Prince of Wales, who had hurried to Russia with the Princess as soon as the Czar's condition became desperate. The newspapers even proceeded to manufacture a rumour of an alliance between Great Britain and Russia, but it was obviously the creation of imaginative correspondents. The fact remained that Nicholas II. showed great affection for his uncle, and that his kinship with the English royal family was strengthened by his marriage, on November 26th, with Princess Alix of Hesse, Queen Victoria's favourite granddaughter, their betrothal having been announced during the summer. Further, the Russian and British representatives were observed to be working cordially together in pressing an inquiry into the alleged Armenian atrocities upon the Porte.

The year was stormy in Germany, though it

began with a dramatic reconciliation between the Emperor and Prince Bismarck, who was received by his Sovereign at Berlin with almost royal honours. However, the ex-Chancellor's organs did not relax one bit of their hostility towards Count von Caprivi, and that hapless minister had a hard fight to carry the Bill authorising the commercial treaty with Germany through the Reichstag. In the end he succeeded, but at the cost of permanently alienating the Conservatives, who, in North Germany, were emphatically Protectionist. Their resentment was directed partly against the Poles, who, profusely complimented by the Kaiser for their support of the Bill, began to air their nationality, but chiefly against the Chancellor. At Königsberg, in September, the Emperor dropped significant hints about seditious speeches, but little notice was taken of them. Nevertheless, a curious complication at the end of October produced the resignation of Count von Caprivi. He was at issue with the Prussian Premier, Count Eulenberg as to the measures of repression to be adopted. The latter wished them to be thorough and the former to be mild. The Chancellor gained the Kaiser round to his side and Count Eulenberg decided to resign. Before quitting office, however, he played his last card by persuading the Emperor to receive a deputation of Prussian Agrarians, which was lavish in its expressions of loyalty. Count von Caprivi regarded this as a personal affront and demanded the right to make a public explanation, in which he indulged in some bitter remarks on his rival. Thereupon, Count Eulenberg retired at once and the Emperor, offended at the Chancellor's behaviour, dismissed him also. The two offices were united in one person, as in Prince Bismarck's time, their holder being Prince Hohenlohe, the Viceroy of Alsace-Lorraine, a Bavarian and Catholic, but not a Clerical, and a man of seventy-five. He was left to introduce the coercion or "indiarubber" Bills in a House in which the Government could not reckon on a stable majority, while its temper was shown by a refusal to countenance the prosecution of some Socialist deputies for declining to cheer the Emperor. That eccentric genius, meanwhile, was sending musical critics to prison who had ventured to find imperfections in his composition "The Song of Ægir."

The politics of Austria-Hungary were of little interest except from the domestic standpoint. Hardly a phrase emerged from Count Kalnoky's annual speeches to the delegations, beyond the customary assurances that the condition of Europe

was peaceful and that the minority did not intend to interfere in the Balkan Peninsula. In Austria Prince Windischgrätz succeeded in keeping his Government together, but the position of Dr. Wekerle, the Hungarian Premier, was none too secure. He carried through the Diet Bills for liberalising the marriage institutions of the country, including one authorising civil marriage. The Emperor, however, withheld his consent for fear of offending the Austrians, who were, for the most part, ardently Catholic. Thereupon, a quarrel seemed imminent between the two halves of the Monarchy, but at the last moment he gave way, and the Magyars hailed him as "the wisest of kings." Nevertheless, Dr. Wekerle resigned shortly afterwards on the ground that he could no longer claim his Sovereign's confidence, though he had the entire support of the Hungarian Liberals. He refused to disclose any secrets, however, while denying that he had any sympathy with the Kossuth party.

Meanwhile, in Italy matters were going from bad to worse. The opening of the year found Sicily simmering with insurrection and the movement spread into Central Italy. Hardly were these turmoils, which were ascribed to Socialism, suppressed by the army and police when Signor Sonnino had to produce his Budget. It increased existing taxes, laid on fresh ones, manipulated the debt in a manner barely distinguishable from repudiation, and even so a surplus was not manufactured. Signor Crispi temporarily discarded the bold financier by way of appeasing the Chamber, and the King of Italy made an almost piteous appeal to France, through a French interviewer, for an improvement of commercial relations. The old Premier escaped an Anarchist attempt at assassination in March, and his courage won him a temporary popularity. Nevertheless, the publication of documents relating to the Bank scandals in December by his predecessor Signor Giolitti served to complicate him in that unsavoury affair, and, in any case, disclosed an inordinate amount of Parliamentary corruption.

The Balkan Peninsula witnessed the fall of M. Stambouloff towards the end of May. His arrogance had become insupportable to Prince Ferdinand, and after a most undignified squabble between the two he was dismissed. His successor was M. Stoiloff, the President of the Sobranje, who continued to hold office throughout the year, though he was driven, after a brief resignation, to reconstruct his Ministry in December. The Balkan States were, however, less troubled than had been

their fate in former years, and the same remark applied to the Turkish Empire until the winter drew near. Then ugly stories became rife of renewed atrocities in Armenia and these assumed consistency in December. On the 4th, the leading article in the *Times* began: "It is impossible, we fear, to escape from the conclusion that there is a substantial basis of fact for the rumours, on which we commented a fortnight ago, of atrocities perpetrated by Turkish troops on the Christian inhabitants of Armenia." The memorial from the Armenian Patriotic Association setting forth the alleged excesses was a highly coloured document, depending on an anonymous letter from Bitlis. It was met by an official report from the Turkish Government, admitting disturbances, but throwing the whole blame upon the Armenians. Nevertheless, the *Times* published independent evidence, tending to show that the official version was open to disbelief. Grave loss of life had certainly occurred in the Sassoun district, which was situated in Kurdistan. There the Armenians were ground between the upper and nether millstones of the Turks and Kurds. They were so robbed by the latter that they could not pay taxes to the former. Accordingly, they were invaded by Turkish irregulars, whom they repulsed; but there speedily arrived reinforcements of regulars under the command of Zekki Pasha, the Mushir of Erzinghian. He ordered the troops to commit wholesale barbarities and even threatened to fire upon them when they hesitated. They obeyed and the whole group of villages was given over to massacre and outrage. Worse still, it was asserted that the Chief Civil Officer, the Mutessarif, protested against the lawless cruelties ordered by Zekki Pasha, that he was removed from his appointment, and that the criminal was rewarded by an Imperial decoration.

Lord Kimberley promptly addressed a stern remonstrance to the Turkish Government, insisting that an inquiry should be held, and that Great Britain should be represented at the inquiry. His views were cordially supported by the French and Russian Foreign Offices, and eventually Mr. Shipley, an official in the Consular service, was appointed the British delegate. Nevertheless, Lord Kimberley had prolonged interviews with the Turkish Ambassador, Rustem Pasha, and there was a Ministerial crisis at Constantinople before the Sultan could be induced to consent to the instructions which the three Powers regarded as absolutely indispensable to an impartial inquiry. The German Ambassador was neutral, and

Austria was reported to be much alarmed at the possible reopening of the Eastern question. However, the delegates on the Commission were ultimately empowered, not only to suggest questions to be put to witnesses, but also to examine the *procès-verbaux*. Vigorous though the Foreign Secretary's action had been, he did not move fast enough for the Armenian sympathisers in Great Britain, who held numerous meetings, at which any continuance of Turkish misgovernment was hotly repudiated. Finally, a deputation of the National Church of Armenia in Paris and London, introduced by Mr. F. S. Stevenson, waited on Mr. Gladstone at Hawarden on his 86th birthday, and drew him from a retirement which had been unbroken, except for a speech at a meeting held in memory of Sir Andrew Clark, and a letter or two on public affairs. After a chalice had been presented for the use of the church, Mr. Gladstone addressed his audience in a vigorous speech. He requested a suspension of judgment and confidence in the Government, which would assuredly do its duty. Nevertheless, he expressed his opinion of the Porte in no measured terms. "The history of Turkey," he said, "has been a sad and painful history. That race has not been without its remarkable and even, in some cases, fine qualities, but from too many points of view it has been a scourge to the world; made use of, no doubt, by a wise Providence for the sins of the world." And he continued: "If allegations such as these are established, it will stand as if it were written with letters of iron on the records of the world that such a Government as that which can countenance and cover the perpetration of such outrages is a disgrace in the first place to Mahomet, the Prophet whom it professes to follow, that it is a disgrace to civilisation at large, and that it is a curse to mankind."

In Egypt, another nominal province of the Turkish Empire, the year began with yet a fresh outburst on the part of the young Khedive. While on a tour of inspection of the frontier forces he indulged in some very severe strictures of their discipline, disparaging the British officers at the expense of the Egyptians. General Kitchener, the Sirdar, promptly resigned, but he was ultimately induced to reconsider his decision. With the full support of the Foreign Office, Lord Cromer proceeded to take strong measures. He demanded and obtained a proclamation from the Khedive expressing his full satisfaction with the army, and the dismissal of Maher Pasha, the Under-Secretary of War. His Highness reluctantly complied and

matters assumed their usual course, until a rather obscure Cabinet crisis produced the resignation of Riaz Pasha in April, and he was succeeded by Nubar Pasha, with Mustapha Pasha Fehmy as Minister of War. This proceeding was generally supposed to be due to Lord Cromer, rather than to the Khedive, and the latter was unusually quiet during the summer and autumn. He paid a visit to Constantinople, but the Sultan did not give him much countenance, and his projected European tour, which was to have embraced London and Paris, was curtailed into a trip to Geneva. Meanwhile the French journals in Egypt kept up a continual attack upon the British officials, and when one expired from too much moderation, another took up the cry with increased virulence. Nevertheless, the Government acted firmly, and in September several Pashas, including the President of the Legislative Council, Ali Pasha, were arrested on a charge of slave-dealing and tried by court-martial. Unfortunately the evidence proved unconvincing and though the agents were convicted the *grandees* escaped. However, when the Legislative Council proceeded to bring its usual random accusations against the Budget, it was curtly informed by Nubar Pasha that it was not worth attention, and it thereupon tendered a humble apology. Nevertheless, when Nubar Pasha met with an accident on Christmas Eve, the Khedive appointed as Premier Negueb Pasha, who was notorious for his hostility to Lord Cromer and the British administration.

The calm of the East was broken by a war between China and Japan, but we are concerned with it only in so far as it affected Great Britain. Its cause was really the inability of the Mikado and his Premier, Count Ito, to keep the Japanese Parliament in order. Accordingly they resorted, as other Governments had done, to a foreign war, and picked a quarrel with the Court of Peking over the outstanding question of the suzerainty over Korea. That unfortunate peninsula was in a state of insurrection; nevertheless the rebels were not in the least anxious for Japanese intervention. However, Count Ito's plans were laid with consummate skill, and the blindness of the Chinese rendered hostilities inevitable. By the middle of July the Japanese men-of-war were in Korean waters, and the port of Chemulpo and Seoul, the capital of Korea, were occupied by Japanese garrisons. On the 26th the Chinese transport *Kowshing*, commanded by an Englishman and of English ownership, was sunk by a Japanese cruiser with 1,100 men. The English press was much

excited until Mr. Westlake, Q.C., and Professor Holland proved conclusively that no breach of neutrality had been committed. In September two decisive events occurred: the capture of Ping Yang on the 16th, and the battle of the Yalu, which practically destroyed the Chinese fleet, on the 18th. Then followed a sensational Cabinet Council, on October the 4th, which, at first interpreted to mean a desire to warn the French off

quarrel premature. It must be confessed that the Premier's explanation, as delivered at Sheffield on October the 25th, was rather difficult to follow. He began by the remark that the French Government and our own had not so much as mentioned Madagascar for two years. Then came the announcement that China had asked him to communicate to Japan the terms that she was willing to propose. To this he consented, fearing the anarchy



BATTLE OF THE YALU: CHINESE WARSHIP "KING-YUEN" ON FIRE AND SINKING (p. 593).

Madagascar, ultimately resolved itself into preparations for the protection of British interests in the Treaty Ports and at Peking. Accordingly Admiral Fremantle's squadron in the North Pacific was strengthened and arrangements were made for drawing troops from India. Neither the Chancellor of the Exchequer nor the Secretary for India was present at the Cabinet and the scare was felt to have been rather unnecessary. It also appeared shortly afterwards that Lord Kimberley had rather prematurely attempted something very like mediation. Though Lord Rosebery warmly denied that the Government had been met with what the *Times* called a "rebuff," the Powers evidently considered any attempt to compose the

that would follow the overthrow of the Chinese Government, but in order to increase the weight of his intervention, and to save the pride of Japan, he consulted "one or two" of the Powers. They considered that the time had not yet arrived and so declined the overture. He added in the same breath that all the Powers suspected Great Britain and that he would have been most blameworthy if he had endeavoured to act alone. Significantly enough the foreign correspondents announced that refusals had been sent by the Foreign Offices of Germany, France, Russia, and the United States, though Italy seemed favourable to the idea. The wisdom of the foreign Governments was shown by the fact that Port Arthur, the Portsmouth of

China, did not fall until the 21st of November, and even then the Chinese could not bring themselves to send duly-qualified envoys to sue for peace. Informal negotiations seemed to be in progress through Mr. Gresham, the United States Secretary of State, but the Japanese would tolerate no intermediaries and towards the end of December the Court of Peking bowed to the inevitable.

Its goodwill to the belligerents was proved by the fact that the British Government concluded, during the year, important conventions with both of them. The treaty with the Japanese practically opened the whole country to British trade and capital, while the Foreign Office surrendered in return the principle of consular jurisdiction over British subjects charged with offences against the natives. The arrangement with China opened a trade route to the Province of Yunnan by way of Bhamo and Manwyne, in return for rectifications of frontier, including the surrender of the Province of Kiang-Hung, and the right to navigate the Irrawaddy. As usual, the concessions were made in a very grudging fashion, and experts like Mr. Holt Hallett declared that the road selected was impracticable except by mules, and unsuited for the construction of a possible railway. However that might be, Lord Rosebery was able to announce at the Guildhall banquet that "we had, as nearly as possible, he hoped and believed, terminated the long-standing difficulty with regard to the limitation of our sphere in Central Asia, which removed, he hoped, almost the last dangerous question that arose between us and Russia." This welcome news, the details of which were not published, corresponded with the satisfactory condition of the Indian frontier. During the autumn the Ameer was dangerously ill, and his death was even reported in a Punjab paper. However, Mr. George Curzon, M.P., who was travelling in Afghanistan, was able to report in December that the health of Abdurrahman had much improved. Unfortunately the rearrangement of spheres of influence consequent upon Sir Mortimer Durand's mission was not achieved without a frontier expedition. The Waziris, now become subjects of the Indian Empire, were very troublesome during the summer, and when the British Commission attempted to demarcate the boundary it was vigorously attacked at Wano. Colonel Turner's escort beat the tribesmen off after some stiff fighting, and Sir William Lockhart promptly went to the front with forces which had been concentrated at Dera Ismail Khan. Within the Empire the religious animosities of the previous twelvemonth had mostly subsided,

though the *Spectator* came rather hastily to the conclusion that a new Mutiny was imminent, when the mango trees throughout Behar were found to be smeared with wool and hair. Eventually the phenomenon was traced partly to animals and partly to a desire to advertise a holy shrine. In the autumn Lord Elgin made a tour through the north and west, and received the chiefs of the Punjab at a splendid durbar held at Lahore. Finance, however, continued to perplex the Government, and Mr. Westlake was driven to reimpose the import duties. Previously an influential deputation from Lancashire had waited upon Lord Kimberley and insisted upon the exception of cotton. This interference, which the Secretary of State did not attempt to palliate, except on the ground of expediency, acted most disastrously on the revenue, which exhibited a big prospective deficit. Lord Lansdowne, in July, suggested a countervailing excise duty as the way out of the difficulty, and the idea was accepted by Mr. Fowler, who, as we have already mentioned, had succeeded Lord Kimberley at the India Office, on introducing the Indian Budget. Bills, accordingly, were passed by the Viceroy's Council in December imposing a 5 per cent. duty upon imported cotton goods, and a countervail on the finer counts manufactured in India. Lancashire was none the best pleased, nor were the Bombay mill-owners, but the compromise was generally regarded as sound and sensible.

The leading event in the history of the self-governing colonies was the conference which met at Ottawa on the 28th of June and sat until the 9th of July. It was partly a sequel to the London Conference of 1887, and partly due to the exertions of Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, the Canadian Minister of Finance, who visited Australia with the object of establishing closer commercial connections between the two countries. Distinguished representatives were sent from each colony, with the exception of Natal and Newfoundland, while Lord Jersey, ex-Governor of New South Wales, was present with a watching brief, as it were, on behalf of the Imperial Government. The presence of delegates from the Cape, including the Chief Justice, Sir Henry de Villiers, was much appreciated; and the allusions to Mr. Cecil Rhodes' development of South Africa were followed by sustained cheering. The Premier of the Dominion, Sir John Thompson, declared that the Canadian people would await the decisions of the conference with "passionate sentiment;" and one of the Australian delegates, Sir Henry Wrixon, declared that the spectacle of a united Canada had done much to advance Australian

Parkway House, Croydon



Federation. Lord Jersey's able report, which appeared in December, at once summarised the resolutions and passed, them under instructive review. The most startling was that advocating the preferential treatment of colonial goods by Great Britain against those of foreign countries. This resolution was passed by 5 votes to 3, but at the same time the delegates admitted that the difficulties were considerable; and Lord Jersey dismissed the plan as impracticable while the proportions of foreign and colonial trade remained as at present, and the dependencies showed no real intention to reduce their tariffs. He was, however, in favour of granting to the colonies all possible freedom with regard to arrangements to be made between themselves, and he pointed out that if Great Britain desired to profit by any future *minimum* tariffs the preventive clauses in the Belgian and German treaties of 1862 and 1865 would have to be denounced. Lord Jersey, however, clearly considered that the establishment of improved communications between the various parts of the Empire was of more immediate consequence. He spoke out strongly both for Mr. Huddart's scheme of a mail line between Great Britain and Australia *via* Canada, and for the Pacific cable advocated by Mr. Sandford Fleming. At the same time he issued the salutary warning that the former would serve rather to promote commerce between England and Canada and Canada and Australia, than a through trade between the two extremes. The long land journey would act as a deterrent, without even taking into account the fact that bulk would have to be broken twice. Nevertheless, a weekly service was worth having, and Lord Jersey considered that the financial obstacles were inconsiderable. The request of the promoters of the line was for £75,000 from the Imperial Government. He argued that part of the £104,000 at present paid to the New York lines might be diverted; that the mails might be alternated with the Cunard and White Star lines, in which case no less than £52,000 would be available; while the remainder might be provided by the Admiralty subvention to the steamers as armed cruisers. Lord Jersey maintained that an addition to the subventioned steamers on the Pacific would be especially valuable, and he wound up that portion of his report by declaring that Great Britain would thus have done her part in forging a strong link in the chain of Imperial communications. Lord Jersey was equally precise in the advantages of the Pacific cable. He was unable to understand "how two different routes, one eastern and

the other western, could fail at critical moments to be more useful than one." The acquirement of a landing station on one of the lesser Hawaiian Islands, Necker Island for example, was essential, and the engineering difficulties were not insuperable, since greater depths had already been spanned by the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company. In default of detailed information, Lord Jersey could only say that in the general opinion of the Conference, the undertaking, with proper safeguards, would entail little or no risk upon the contributing States. He considered that it was best left to private enterprise, and remarked that admirable as had been the service rendered by the Eastern Extension Company, it could not claim a monopoly. The desire of the Cape to be ultimately connected by cable with Australia was mentioned with sympathy. Lord Jersey concluded with a pronouncement that the two proposals of the Ottawa Conference—namely, the extension of the facilities already granted to international trade and the creation of a new mail service and the Pacific cable—were "sound, practical, and full of great Imperial advantages." The Canadian House of Assembly had unanimously passed a resolution, approving the grant of a provisional contract to Mr. Huddart, whereby the Government agreed to subsidise him to the extent of £175,000 a year. Tenders were also accepted from six cable manufacturers to lay and maintain the Pacific line at a cost of less than £2,000,000.

The domestic history of Canada was largely affected by the delay in passing the Tariff Bill through the United States Legislature. Mr. Wilson's measure, originally a departure from McKinleyism in the direction of Free Trade, was so altered by the Senate that it finally became little better than a modification of the McKinley list. This rebuff to President Cleveland was followed by the November elections, when the large Republican majorities seemed to show that the States preferred thoroughgoing Protection to timid compromises on that principle. In the circumstances, the Tariff Revision Bill which was introduced in the Dominion Parliament in March, assumed, of necessity, a rather tentative character. *Ad valorem* duties were substituted for a mixed system of specific and *ad valorem* duties; and reductions were effected on many articles, benefit being given, as far as possible, to British goods. Nevertheless, the high rate of Customs duties still maintained was far from satisfying the Opposition, and its leader, Mr. Laurier, made a campaign through the Western Provinces with the cry of

"Taxation for revenue purposes only." The agitation for reduced duties, reciprocity with the United States, and administrative economy continued throughout the summer; but the Government, thanks to Sir John Thompson, was exceptionally strong. When the latter's sad death was announced, Lord Aberdeen sent for Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, who had little difficulty in reconstructing the Cabinet. His Ministry was announced on December the 19th, and he became Sir Mackenzie on January the 1st, 1895. Nevertheless, the Conservative party had suffered not a little from Sir John Thompson's loss, and the approaching general election seemed rather doubtful. The sympathies of the Canadians for the West Indies found expression in the advocacy of the establishment of telegraphic communications in the papers; for the people of Newfoundland they could do little, since the misfortunes of these last were largely of their own seeking. In the beginning of the year the elections of Sir William Whiteway and his colleagues were invalidated on account of political corruption. Conflicts between the Governor, Sir Terence O'Brien, and the Legislature paralysed public business, and in the winter a financial and commercial crisis arose which brought the colony within a little of bankruptcy, and application for assistance had to be made to the Imperial Government.

In Australia Federation remained in abeyance while the Governments were setting their houses in order. The operation was effected with the greatest difficulty in Victoria, where, too, the reconstructed banks had a very uphill fight. The Budget statement of the Patterson Ministry, made on the 31st of July, announced a deficit for the year of £665,000, with an accumulated deficit of an alarming character. This was to be met by an income tax and a general lowering of Customs duties and a reduction of salaries. Unfortunately the "drag-net," or list of exceptions by which the second proposal was accompanied, made it practically useless, and the other devices irritated nearly every interest in the colony. Sir James Patterson was defeated on a vote of want of confidence, and the dissolution was followed by the dismal defeat of his Government. Mr. Turner, the leader of the Opposition, then introduced his panacea in the shape of a Taxation Bill, pressing heavily on incomes and on improved land values. So extreme were his proposals that two of his colleagues resigned; the measure, however, passed the Lower House before the year closed. In New South Wales Sir George Dibbs continued to maintain his

ground until July, owing largely to a Budget which was more ingenious than frank. The general elections, however, resulted in his overthrow, and most people expected that Sir Henry Parkes would be summoned. However, the Governor, Sir Robert Duff, with some discernment, though with a slight lack of humour, considered his mock retirement from public life as genuine, and sent for Mr. Robert Reid, the working leader of the Opposition. He formed a new Cabinet, chiefly out of Sir Henry Parkes's former adherents, and promptly issued a circular to the other Governments, inviting the consideration of Australian Federation. It was decided eventually that a Conference of Premiers should meet at Hobart Town on the 29th of January. Mr. Reid's fiscal policy was far less Protectionist than that of his predecessors, and his final statement went to the root of the matter. He acknowledged a deficit of £1,465,000, and determined to cut down Civil Service expenditure, and tax land and incomes. In Tasmania, too, Mr. Dodson's Government succumbed on its financial proposals, and was succeeded by Sir Edward Braddon, at the head of a much stronger combination. South Australia and West Australia both had surpluses, and in consequence no Ministerial change was incurred; while Sir John Forrest was doing his utmost to render habitable the waterless gold-fields of Coolgardie. In Queensland Mr. Nelson just managed to make both ends meet, by resisting the Opposition attempt to double the salaries of members of the Legislature; but he was much perplexed by a recrudescence of the sheep-shearers' strike, accompanied by incendiarism and other outrages, which had to be met by the local imposition of martial law. In New Zealand a surplus of nearly £300,000 was manufactured by the Colonial Treasurer, Mr. Ward, by a process which some of his critics called hocus-pocus, and he proceeded to guarantee banks of issue with the object of supplying cheap money to the farmers in a manner which made economists shake their heads. The aspirations of the colony found expression in an offer to take over Samoa from the unworkable triple control of Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, but the German Government replied with a flat refusal. The incident was further rendered remarkable by Lord Rosebery's assertion that it never occurred, and his consequent attempt to take the *Times* to task. Finding himself misinformed, however, he handsomely withdrew the statement.

In South Africa, Mr. Rhodes continued his triumphant career in spite of Mr. Labouchere.

His rather petulant temper found expression in a vainglorious speech made on the occasion of Lord Ripon's rejection of his offer to insert in the deed of settlement of the British South Africa Company a clause providing that British imported goods should never be subject, in the new territory

different spirit, the newly constituted Government of Natal was restricting the franchise of the Hindoo and Malay settlers. On November the 16th Mr. Rhodes and Dr. Jameson arrived in England, and during their stay the former was sworn of the Privy Council, while the latter was created a C.B.



THE RIGHT HON. CECIL RHODES.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Bassano, Old Bond Street, W.)

of Matabeleland, to duties higher than those imposed by the South African Customs Union. He explained that, as the States of South Africa south of the Zambesi would ultimately be united in one system, large markets would be opened to British manufacturers. Lord Ripon's refusal was based mainly upon want of precedent, and Mr. Rhodes thereupon treated the Cape Assembly to a tirade against the shortsightedness of British statesmanship. Meanwhile he was carrying the Glen Grey Act with the object of substituting individual for private ownership, while, in a rather

Negotiations with Her Majesty's Government resulted in the direct administration by the British South Africa Company of that portion of its territory north of the Zambesi which had previously been under the control of Mr. H. H. Johnston, the Commissioner. The rest of Nyassaland was kept distinct as a Crown Colony. Mr. Rhodes was, at the same time, perfecting the Beira railway, the imperfections of which had caused not a little inconvenience to the Mashonaland settlements, and pushing on his trans-African telegraph. It had already reached Blantyre,

and arrangements were being made for its continuance to the southern shore of Tanganyika.

President Kruger continued in a very obdurate mood throughout the twelvemonth. The Netherlands Company had already constructed a railway from Delagoa Bay to Pretoria, and hence he was able to keep both the Cape and Natal at arms' length, to their no small mortification. However, provisional arrangements were ultimately concluded and the three Governments paused to take breath. The dissatisfaction of the non-Dutch or *uillander* population was, however, a good deal more serious. Its pretext was the "commandeering" or impressment of certain colonists to serve against a chief, Malaboch by name. They objected, however, not so much to military service as to their continued deprivation of the franchise. Mass meetings were held and their tempers were very warlike, until Sir Henry Loch hurried from the Cape, and by some most judicious speeches calmed the irritation. The Transvaal Executive promised not to continue the "commandeering" but said nothing about the bestowal of civic liberties. Its impracticability was largely caused by the delay in settling the Swazi question, owing to the refusal of the native Queens to accept the convention. A deputation of chiefs, accompanied by an interpreter, visited England in the autumn, went to Windsor Castle, and was entertained by conjurers and organ-grinders. It obtained, however, no support from Lord Ripon, nor did the advocacy of the Swazi cause by Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett do much for an expedition which was, in any case, too late. The grateful chiefs dubbed him Silomo, meaning "the popular one, the fearless one, the courageous one," but Sir Evelyn Wood largely disproved his facts. The outcome was a prolongation of the convention with the Boer Government for six months, until the Swazi Queens had decided to embrace the inevitable.

West Africa was the scene of several expeditions, though none on the scale of the French, which resulted in the occupation of Timbuctoo. On March the 9th Fodi Silah, a chief whose marauding operations extended over British and French territory on the Gambia, was compelled to submit to the capture of his stronghold, Gonjar. He had previously surprised and defeated a weak force of Blue-jackets. However, the combination of the Naval Brigade with a force of West Indian soldiers under Major Madden proved too much for him. The capital was surrendered without a blow; on the following day Fodi Silah fled from Soniany, whither he had retreated, and was

eventually captured by the French police. In September came the chastisement of Nana, a chief in the Niger Coast Protectorate, who had endeavoured to stop the trade from the interior. A pinnace sent to reconnoitre was fired upon, the engines were stopped, and both engineers hit. Had it not been for the bravery of one of the wounded men, who set the engines going, the launch must have been taken. An expedition composed of Blue-jackets with a native contingent was sent to turn Nana's position. It had to cut its way through dense jungle, covering a series of quagmires. One of the sailors actually carried the seven-pounder on his back, after planks had been laid down to prevent him from falling into the water. Nana, taken by surprise, fled, leaving a battery of guns in the hands of the British. Next day his village was stormed, his guns were spiked, and he was not long about "coming in." Between these two brilliant affairs came the rout of the slave-dealing Sofas, who had indirectly been the cause of the blunder at Weeina. A well-equipped force under Colonel A. B. Ellis met with little resistance and the savages were driven far into the interior. The victory was, however, rather discounted by the death of its gallant commander from fever, shortly after his return to Sierra Leone. Meanwhile, the Niger Company alone of the chartered undertakings was paying a dividend, though it had to meet Sir Charles Dilke's charges that it throve by a close monopoly and the drink traffic. Sir Edward Grey's reply extenuated the accusations, without disproving them as completely as might have been desired.

The chief development, however, occurred in East Africa, through the settlement of the Uganda difficulty. Unfortunately the Chartered Company was unable to come to terms with the Government in spite of its almost piteous request to be bought out. A rather confused statement of affairs seemed to show that £430,000 had been spent, most of which was supposed to be available as assets, and £300,000 would be accepted, of which £200,000 was due from the Sultan of Zanzibar, while the Treasury would have to meet the rest. However, the declaration of a Protectorate over Uganda was not long in following Sir G. Portal's return to England, which was attended, as we have already mentioned, by his sad and sudden death. Dealing retrospectively with his mission, we may say that it was successful without being particularly eventful. He started on January the 18th, 1893, with a caravan of porters and 200 Zanzibari soldiers, having as his staff Colonel

Rhodes, D.S.O., a brother of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, Brigade-Major Owen, his own brother Captain Raymond Portal, Lieut. Arthur, Lieut. C. Villiers, Mr. Ernest Berkeley of the consular service, Dr. R. Moffat and Mr. Foaker of the British East Africa Company. The main body was dispatched under Lieut. Arthur to Kikuyu, while Sir Gerald, who had to wait for some of his officers, followed by forced marches. Except for want of water, he met with few obstacles, for though the Wakamba were on the war-path against the Masai, they did not attack the expedition. He found Kikuyu in a state of siege, though the natives, terrified by the arrival of so many men, were glad to make peace on February the 3rd. The beginning of March found the caravan in the fertile Kavirondo district, and the Nile was crossed on the 12th. Pushing rapidly forwards, Sir Gerald arrived at Kampala on the 17th, the very day mentioned in his telegram sent from the coast. The party was soon installed in Captain Lugard's old fort, and Mwanga received Sir Gerald with much politeness. Major Owen and Captain Portal were at once dispatched to enlist the Soudanese and to bring them back from the outlying forts, where they were under no discipline at all. This mission they safely accomplished, but on the return journey Captain Portal succumbed to fever. He was brought into camp, but only to die on the 27th of May. "He was far and away the best of all here," wrote his brother, "and would really have made his mark and got deserved distinction." Meanwhile, Sir Gerald had brought the Catholic and Protestant Bishops together and induced them to accept his decision. A redistribution of offices and territory was arranged among the natives, as Captain Lugard's awards had given some dissatisfaction, and definite spheres of influence were set apart for the two religions. Mr. Ernest Berkeley went to Usoga with instructions to report on the state of the country, collect taxes, and make friends with the chiefs. The Union Jack had been hoisted at Kampala, and the Company's stores taken over from Captain Williams, who departed, leaving Captain Macdonald in charge. On the 29th Sir Gerald told the Mohammedans, in Mwanga's presence, that they could have no more territory, but must obey the King, and, the treaty having been signed, he left Kampala on the following day. They had not proceeded far when there arrived an urgent message from Captain Macdonald, saying that Selim Bey, the commander of the Soudanese, was mutinously inclined and there were fears of

his joining the Mohammedans. Lieut. Villiers was promptly dispatched with all speed to Kampala, but Sir Gerald was delayed by the alarming illness of Colonel Rhodes. However, Captain Macdonald speedily suppressed the mutiny, and handed over to Sir Gerald both Selim Bey and Mbogo, Mwanga's brother, the leader of the Mohammedan faction. Selim, however, died of heart-disease near Lake Narvasha. Arrived at Kikuyu, Sir Gerald determined on exploring the Tana river to discover how far it was navigable. The road proved extremely difficult and the stream most circuitous. On the 30th of September they reached Homeye after suffering some privations, and there some canoes should have been waiting. However, the boatmen had quietly gone down stream as soon as the expedition became overdue. Sir Gerald, therefore, had to take to wretched "dug-outs," which frequently upset, with the result that he lost the whole of his possessions. Eventually he reached Zanzibar on October the 22nd and started for England on the 4th of November.

Sir Gerald Portal's report, a most able document, appeared on the 9th of April. He decided emphatically in favour of the retention of Uganda, chiefly on the ground that retirement could not be adopted without breach of faith. Natives of all creeds, including the king, considered that their treaties with the East Africa Company were treaties with the British Government, and if they were repudiated "the trust of these peoples in English promises and English credit, which has hitherto formed a marked contrast with their opinions of other European countries, would be so completely broken that any future extension of British private enterprise or trade in these regions will be impossible except by a force of arms until confidence may be restored in a future generation." Besides, it would be followed by a war between Protestants and Catholics, while both would be attacked by the Mohammedan slave-raiders, and there might even ensue a crusade of the Christians against the creed of Islam in Central Africa. Further, the kingdom was important as the "key of the whole of the Nile Valley and the richest parts of South Africa." Sir Gerald then proceeded to examine four plans of government, and rejected the idea of using the British East Africa Company, because it had failed to pacify the country, though he admitted that the acquisition was its work. He refused to rule through Zanzibar, because that arrangement would mean the extension of Mohammedan law and the constant

arrival of Zanzibari caravans. The creation of Uganda into a colony would be far too expensive. He preferred a Protectorate governed by the king, who in turn would be under the control of a commissioner. A force of 500 Soudanese would be sufficient for the latter's protection. Sir Gerald considered a railway from the coast to be an integral part of his scheme, though it need not at first be constructed farther than Kikuyu, whence caravans could easily reach Lake Victoria and thus there would be steam communication with Uganda. He reckoned the whole cost, including the railway, at £50,000 a year, though it would be gradually reduced by import duties and traffic receipts.

The policy of the Government was announced on June the 1st, when it was found to be in the nature of a compromise. Uganda was to be retained as a Protectorate, exercised by a commissioner or Resident, who was to advise King Mwanga. This Protectorate was to be confined to Uganda proper, that is to say it would exclude Usoga, Unyoro, Toru, and Koki. The commissioner was to endeavour to enter into friendly relations with the chiefs of the territories for the maintenance of peace, the suppression of the slave trade, and the promotion of British commerce. The country between Lake Victoria and the coast was not to be placed under the commissioner, but under a sub-commissioner, whose primary duty it would be to take charge of communications. These communications were not to include a railway, since, said Lord Kimberley, matters were not sufficiently matured for the Government to propose expenditure of public money for that purpose. Sir Edward Grey mentioned that the sub-commissioner would probably be placed not under the commissioner of Uganda, but under the British representative at Zanzibar; and Lord Kimberley added that the question whether the East Africa Company's charter should be revoked would have to come on for serious consideration; but an agreement must first be arranged with the Sultan of Zanzibar as to the strip of coast territory which he proposed to reacquire from the Company. This settlement received some strong criticism, chiefly because the Government hesitated to undertake the railway, though, as Lord Salisbury sardonically remarked, Ministers were not affluent at that moment. Mr. Chamberlain also commented upon the jumble of administrations created, enumerating no less than six conflicting authorities. Captain Lugard, too, in a letter to the *Times* had urged that the people of Uganda

and Unyoro were of the same race, and should be placed under the same rule. Indeed, news had already arrived that Colonel Colville, the acting administrator, had been compelled to lead the Soudanese on an expedition against Kabba Rega, who had been raiding for slaves, and, after several battles, had reduced him to a dependent of Mwanga. He also despatched Major Owen to Wadelai, where the British flag was hoisted without any resistance. The Government, however, did not countenance these annexations, but proceeded, with unnecessary deliberation, to forward supplies to Uganda.

Lord Kimberley, in fact, had already decided upon handing over Wadelai and Lado to the King of the Belgians. The Anglo-Congo Convention, as published in May, was a complicated document, providing that in return for territorial concessions from the Free State in the direction of Nyassaland, and the lease of a strip of country against the German frontier for the purpose of constructing a road and a telegraph-line, King Leopold was to be ceded, for the remainder of his reign, one half of Equatoria and definitely, as Sovereign of the Free State, the region of the Bahr-el-Ghazal between the 25th and 30th degrees E. up to the 10th parallel N. Lord Kimberley's intention was obviously to help Mr. Rhodes's trans-continental telegraph scheme and to erect a buffer between the Nile Valley and the advancing French. Unfortunately he reckoned without French and German susceptibilities, and both Governments, availing themselves of the fact that the Free State was not an independent colony but a guaranteed creation of European diplomacy, proceeded to repudiate the Convention. M. Hanotaux, the French Foreign Minister, by playing upon King Leopold's fears, made him surrender a good slice of his own acquisitions, while the German Government complained so lustily that Lord Kimberley conceded Article III., which provided for the right of way. Nevertheless, the German press continued to abuse the British Government, and in December the *Cologne Gazette* distinguished itself by the virulence of its invective. Against this animosity the goodwill of the Italian Government was a poor set-off. However, the Foreign Office countenanced the occupation of Harar, and in August there came the brilliant capture of Kassala by General Baratieri from the Dervishes. This acquisition was also recognised by Lord Kimberley, on the understanding that it was to be temporary and that the rights of the Khedive would not be compromised.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA (*continued*).

Opening of 1895—Mr. Healy's Demonstration—Address of Irish-Americans to Mr. Gladstone—Hints of the Coming Session—A Worthless Rumour—London Reform—The Harmony of the Unionists—The National Liberal Federation—Sir William Harcourt at Derby—The Evesham Election—Death of Lord Randolph Churchill—The Queen's Speech—The Debate on the Address—Mr. Jeffreys' Amendment—Mr. John Redmond's Amendment—Wrongs of the People of India—Irish Grievances—Mr. Chamberlain's Amendment—The Division and Disposal of the Address.

THE year 1895 opened quietly enough, so far as English and Scottish politics were concerned. In Ireland the controversy about Lord Tweedmouth's cheque had not spent itself, and Mr. Healy, in an emphatic speech at Louth, appeared to threaten a secession from the anti-Parnellite party and the formation of a new faction upon a clerical basis. However, a few days afterwards he explained that he had been misunderstood and intended no separate appeal to the constituencies. Nevertheless, the Irish politicians in London seemed to recognise a certain gravity in the crisis. On the 7th Mr. Gladstone, who was on his way to the Riviera, was presented with an address by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., on behalf of the Irish-Americans. In reply, Mr. Gladstone desired to emphasise two facts with the utmost distinctness—first, that his own interest in the Nationalist cause would continue unabated so long as he had life; and secondly, that the chances of Ireland attaining her political rights would never be really so bright as they should be until all Nationalists were united. So strongly did he feel on this subject that he earnestly hoped that some means would be found by which the different sections of the Irish party might be brought together, and he suggested that possibly the powerful friends of the movement in America might initiate an appeal for reunion. Meanwhile, the mystery as to the cheques deepened, since Mr. J. F. X. O'Brien's elucidation at St. Pancras was declared by him to have been mis-reported.

In England the first politician of importance to break silence was Mr. Bryce, who, on January the 4th, delivered a defence of the Administration at Darwen; while Mr. T. E. Ellis, simultaneously addressing his constituents, declared that the principal measure of the Session would be the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, and that the Welsh people would fight for a Welsh Parliament. A Cabinet Council held on the 10th was preceded by a rumour, published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* "for what it was worth," to the effect that Sir William Harcourt had resigned, but the informant of the paper proved to be mistaken. Later, the

Chancellor of the Exchequer trounced at Derby the "minds of the baser sort, which maliciously invented fables of dissensions in the Cabinet," in his most vigorous style. In fact, there appeared to be no basis whatever for the stories about quarrels over the Navy Estimates and "surprise dissolutions" which were flying about; and, for the time, national politics gave way to municipal. The Corporation published its plan of London reform, which aimed at the creation of more or less independent municipalities; while the committee of the Metropolitan Union of Conservative Associations published its programme, and Lord George Hamilton passed it under enthusiastic review. However, the document, which was largely borrowed from the Progressives, was at once repudiated by the Moderate members of the London County Council, and thus the preparations for the election in March became rather confused. On the 16th Mr. Balfour addressed his constituents at Manchester, and predicted that a general election was close at hand. If the verdict went against the Government, could it be doubted that the Unionist party, cemented by years of conflict, in prosperity and adversity, would work together in more complete harmony and coherence even than in the past? This hint appeared to confirm the current report that the Liberal Unionists would take office in the event of a Liberal defeat. And Mr. Balfour went on to say that the party was better qualified to deal with social legislation than any that had ever existed in this country. Meanwhile, the National Liberal Federation had assembled at Cardiff, and had enthusiastically adopted a programme which placed Welsh Disestablishment in the foreground, and alluded to the abolition of the veto power of the Upper House as one of the issues which "loomed behind." Mr. Bryce prepared the way for the Prime Minister by declaring that Mr. Balfour's criticisms were merely general censure, and by urging the necessity of disestablishing the Welsh Church and of dealing with the obstructive powers of the House of Lords. Lord Rosebery followed, on the 19th, with an

address of which the gist was that the Government meant business, and would therefore include in the Queen's Speech only those measures which had a chance of passing. Among those he included the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, the popular control of the liquor traffic, the payment of Members, and one man one vote. The House of Lords was the supreme question of the hour, and it might be asked why the Government did not propose to submit its resolution to Parliament at the beginning of the Session. The reason was that such a step would necessitate an immediate dissolution, and before that happened, he wished to see something done for the people. Next day he asserted that the prospect of a dissolution was not immediate, and he appealed to the party for unity on the ground that it might be more difficult to recover from a severe blow at the next election than from former reverses. On the 23rd Sir William Harcourt paid a visit to his constituents under the depressing influence of the return of Colonel Long, the Conservative candidate for the Evesham Division of Worcestershire, by an increase of 590 votes on the poll. It had, however, no effect on his spirits, since he declaimed against the Opposition with his usual vigour. He took strong exception to Mr. Balfour's statement that he was opposed to the creation of an adequate navy. On the contrary, he had provided the money, in spite of the "noisy braggarts," who had factiously opposed every means of defraying the immense expenditure for which they had clamoured. He declared that of all the falsehoods which had been circulated, the most stupid was that which imputed to the Government a desire to play false to the Temperance party. On the contrary, the cure of drunkenness was the greatest of all social reforms, and to assist in its accomplishment would be to him a rich and great reward at the end of his political life. He concluded with a stirring attack on the House of Lords, and ridiculed the saying of "his good friend and ex-Whig," Sir Henry James, that the resolution would be like a comic scene on the boards. Finally, there came the declarations of Mr. Morley and Mr. Asquith at Newcastle on January the 30th. The first denied that the Liberal party had receded from Home Rule, and he indicated that the Irish Land Bill would be based partly on the recommendations of the committee, and partly on Mr. Parnell's measure of 1883. The Home Secretary promised, in addition to the Bills that had been enumerated by Lord Rosebery and Sir William Harcourt, a Factory Bill, a Coal Mines Bill, and a Truck Bill.

Two days earlier Lord Randolph Churchill had passed away. During the previous Session he had given painful evidence of impaired powers and a voyage round the world only resulted in his returning a helpless paralytic. His case was hopeless from the first, though death was staved off for a while by a series of rallies. Statesmen of all parties attended the memorial service in Westminster Abbey and his loss was the subject of general regret. His career was a brilliant failure, owing to his lack of stability and impatience of control. But though he created for himself a reputation only to dissipate it again, he educated his party quite as truly as did Mr. Disraeli. With considerable insight into the requirements of the times, he gave the Conservative party a constructive policy instead of a profession of negations. He was also far more industrious than was generally supposed and, on occasions—the creation of the Parnell Commission, for example—his advice was the outcome of a ripe sagacity.

The Session opened on February the 5th, when the Queen's Speech proved to be comparatively brief. The references to foreign affairs included allusions to the war between China and Japan and the reported excesses of the Turkish troops in Asia Minor. Turning to domestic matters, the document took note of the fact that offences against the law in Ireland had sunk to the lowest level hitherto marked in official records. For that country a Land Bill and an Evicted Tenants Bill were promised; for Wales, a Disestablishment Bill. The other legislative proposals were a Local Veto Bill, a Bill for the Abolition of Plural Voting, a Bill for the Payment of the Charges of Returning Officers at Elections, a London Unification Bill, a Light Railways Bill, a Bill for the Promotion of Conciliation in Trade Disputes, and a Factory Bill. Scotland was to receive a measure for the completion of Local Government and a Crofters Bill. A stormy opening of the Session was expected, as a discussion of the Tweedmouth cheque was threatened by the Opposition. However, the authorities considered the topic to be out of order and the only unusual event was Lord Herschell's explanation of his conduct with regard to Justice Vaughan Williams, whom he had transferred from hearing cases under the Winding-up of Companies Act. He indignantly denied that the step had anything to do with the New Zealand Loan Company's liquidation, or that he had tried to screen any person or persons. The change was simply devised to facilitate public business. After Lord Welby had moved and Lord Battersea had

seconded the Address, Lord Salisbury declined to criticise foreign affairs on grounds of public expediency; warned Lord Rosebery that the diminution of offences in Ireland could not be traced to the mere sunshine of Mr. Morley's presence; scoffed at the inadequacy of the proposals for the relief of agriculture, and then came to his main point—the omission of all allusion to the resolution on the House of Lords in the Queen's Speech. If the Premier had a constitutional revolution in his programme, why was it not placed first in the list? Lord Rosebery replied that there was no precedent for intimating in the Speech from the Throne that a resolution would be introduced in the other House, and vigorously defended himself from the charges of inconsistency and vacillation. He also denied that Lord Salisbury had any right to treat the proposal in the Queen's Speech as not seriously intended, since while a majority existed it was a majority. In the Commons, after Sir William Harcourt had promised Sir Henry James a committee to consider the Leicester return, the debate travelled on much the same lines. Mr. Balfour was more sympathetic than his uncle towards the Light Railways Bill, though he hoped that it would not entail a fresh burden on the rates. But he reflected on the omission of the expenditure on the navy from the Queen's Speech; and as to the programme generally he declared that it was a farce and certainly not the agenda paper of a business Assembly. The Local Veto Bill could not pass, while to proceed with the Welsh Church Bill would be like "ploughing the sands." Sir William Harcourt followed Mr. Balfour with a feeling allusion to the death of Lord Randolph Churchill; and disposed of the omission of the navy with the remark that the Government would loyally carry out the undertakings of last year. As for Irish land, the Government reserved its decision as to the introduction of one or two Bills. He stoutly declared that the measures mentioned in the Queen's Speech would be pressed forwards, but he acknowledged that the present discussion was "upon preliminaries," since Mr. Balfour had intimated that an amendment would be moved by a prominent member of the Opposition which would test the existence of the Government.

The speakers that followed were hardly noteworthy, nor did much profit arise from the earlier amendments. Mr. Buxton disarmed Mr. Howard Vincent by promising that the resolutions of the Ottawa Conference would be considered and carried out, in one respect, during the present Session. Next day Sir E. Ashmead-Bartlett initiated a

rather fruitless talk on the Swazis, and, on Mr. Jeffreys' amendment, first dealing with agricultural depression, and then widened to include the textile industries and the unemployed, Mr. Chaplin and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre fought their old battle over again. Then followed a rambling discussion, leavened with bimetallism, and finally concentrating itself on the unemployed, which question the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to refer to a Select Committee. Mr. Keir Hardie declared that he was not satisfied, and Mr. Goschen, resuming the debate, recurred to the grievances of agriculture. He drew attention to the fact that out of the £4,000,000 given by the Budget of the previous year in relief of rates, only one-fifth went to the agricultural interest. Local taxation deserved to be lightened, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had disturbed the *status quo* by his Budget and old methods were no longer applicable. Sir William Harcourt was sarcastic on the modification which the amendment had undergone: in fact, it was a net made large enough to include all the loose fishes. He remarked that if the Government was to be held responsible for the distress in all trades it must be obvious that the Government itself must be the only trader. As for Mr. Chaplin, his avowed object was to raise prices, but the speaker, so far from seeing them raised, believed that the cheapness of commodities was an immense blessing to the people of England. Mr. Balfour retorted that he doubted if the ruined farmers and manufacturers would find much amusement in the coruscations of wit with which the speaker had enlivened the debate. Without being a Protectionist, he expressed his belief that we were face to face with a financial, agricultural, and commercial crisis, which required us to consider afresh all the circumstances affecting our social condition. The division resulted in the defeat of Mr. Jeffreys' amendment by a narrow majority of 12 (273 to 261), the Parnellites voting with the Opposition and one or two Liberals being absent unpaired.

The Government fared rather better on the next amendment, that of Mr. John Redmond, calling for an immediate dissolution, that the question of Home Rule might be submitted to the electors of the United Kingdom, which was thrown out by 20 (256 votes to 236). The Parnellite leader indulged in a good deal of historical retrospect, but eventually came to his chief argument, namely, that the agitation against the House of Lords would mean the indefinite postponement of the great Irish question, whereas,

if there was a clear declaration of opinion in favour of Home Rule, his belief was that the Lords would yield. Mr. Morley censured Mr. Redmond's amendment as the most fatal blow that could have been dealt at the cause of Irish self-government. He accused the Parnellites of a political paradox in trying to eject the Government with the assistance of the party which regarded Home Rule as treason to the Constitution. The Chief Secretary hinted that Mr. Redmond had confederates, and wanted to know if his amendment had been doctored by the leader of the Opposition. Mr. Redmond denied that it had been doctored by anybody and subsequently Mr. Balfour hotly repudiated the suggestion. The leader of the Opposition, however, announced that he should vote for the amendment because he wanted a dissolution; and Colonel Saunderson announced that the Irish Unionists would take the same course. Mr. Healy, whom the ballot for the Anti-Parnellite Parliamentary Committee had recently placed at the bottom of the poll, pointed out that the defeat of the Government would mean the loss of the Irish Land Bill. Next day (February the 12th) a diversion was effected by Mr. Naoroji and Sir William Wedderburn, who expatiated with some vehemence on the wrongs of India. They were answered with remarkable spirit by Mr. Henry Fowler, who while promising a Committee or Commission to inquire into home charges, censured any attempt to overhaul the general policy of the Indian Government as impracticable and useless. He was especially severe upon Sir William Wedderburn's remark that the Indian Finance Minister had "misappropriated the famine fund." The amendment was withdrawn, after Sir Richard Temple had pointed out that the population of India was increasing with remarkable rapidity; that it was sending £150,000,000 sterling to foreign countries, and underselling the British farmer in his own market. Then followed a debate on Irish distress raised by Colonel Nolan, whose amendment was defeated by 200 votes to 13 after Mr. Morley had explained the steps adopted by the Irish Government in instituting relief works. He would expend £80,000 at the outset, and more if necessary. Then followed Mr. Clancy with an

amendment praying for the release of prisoners convicted under the Treason Felony Act. Mr. Asquith, however, was not to be moved, merely promising that the prisoners should not be treated with exceptional severity. Mr. Morley repudiated the construction placed on his declaration of 1888 by Sir Edward Clarke, who declared that it was calculated to produce the expectation of an amnesty; and Mr. Healy expressed his pain at the "Tory rancour" of the Member for Devonport. Mr. Sexton persisted in adjourning the debate in spite of Sir William Harcourt's appeal, and though defeated he gained his point under the rules of the House. It was not until the 15th that the amendment moved by Mr. Chamberlain on behalf of the Opposition was reached. Its text ran: "That it is contrary to the public interest that, under the guidance of Her Majesty's advisers, the time of Parliament should be occupied in a discussion of measures which, according to their own statements, there is no prospect of passing into law, whilst proposals involving great constitutional changes have been announced on which the judgment of Parliament should be taken without delay." The debate which ensued was not remarkable for novelty of argument. Mr. Chamberlain accused the Government of clinging to office, and of having tried three policies before resorting to that of "filling up the cup." Mr. Asquith replied that so long as the Ministry retained the confidence of the constituencies its duty was to pursue its task. Mr. Labouchere, in a humorous speech, declared that he would vote for the Government, though he desired a speedy dissolution. He urged the pushing forwards of "one man one vote." On Monday the 18th, at 12.30 p.m., came the division, after Sir William Harcourt had ridiculed the dilatory tactics of the Opposition and Mr. Balfour had retorted that the speech of the Leader of the House was absolutely irrelevant. The Government had a majority of 14 (297 votes to 283), but when Sir William Harcourt moved that the main question be now put, the figure, owing to Radical defections, sank to 8 (279 votes to 271). But next night there came tidings of encouragement to the Ministry, for Sir Weetman Pearson had that day succeeded in wresting Colchester from the Conservatives.

INDEX.

Abbas Pasha, Khedive of Egypt, 489, 544.
 Abu Klea, Battle of, 50.
 Abyssinia and Egypt, 60.
 Afghanistan and Russia, 30, 63, 78, 80, 122, 123; affairs in, 174, 489, 539, 594.
 Africa, East, Affairs in, 491—495, 546, 598.
 Africa, European Powers in, 88; partition of, 126; discoveries in, 269; civilisation of, 409—415; spread of English influence in, 443; affairs in, 443, 444, 490.
 Africa, South, England and Germany in, 29, 30; affairs in, 33, 171, 172, 334, 335, 365, 490, 546, 596; British Colonists in, 124; and the Queen's Jubilee, 171; increase of population in the Colonies, 182; revenue, etc., 198; religion, 260.
 Age of Consent Bill, India, 444.
 Agrarian agitation, Ireland, 398.
 Agricultural congress at Ely, 459; conference, 483; Union, 499.
 Agricultural Holdings Bill, 463.
 Agricultural labourers and the Liberals, 437.
 Agricultural population, Victorian era, 186.
 Agriculture, Board of, Bill, 348.
 Agriculture, State of, 230—234.
 Albany, Duke of, death, 27.
 Albert Victor, Prince, 23, 120.
 Albion Colliery explosion, 571.
 Alexander III., of Russia, death, 590.
 Alexander, Prince of Bulgaria, 83, 129, 131.
 Allotments Act, 151; Amendment Bill, 392.
 America, United States of, Irish dynamiters in, 21; rejects Extradition Convention, 124; the Fisheries Question, 171; and Canada, 334, 454, 497; the Sackville incident, 334; affairs in, 365; McKinley tariff, 415; election of President Cleveland, 497; Tariff Bill, 595.
 Amusements, Victorian era, 306—308.
 Anarchist outrages, 498, 538, 560, 588.
 Angra-Pequena, 29.
 Annexations: German and British, 29; Russian, 30.
 Archaeology, Victorian era, 277.
 Architects, Royal Institute of Naval, 208.
 Architecture, Victorian era, 300—302.
 Arctic exploration, Victorian era, 269.
 Argyll, Duke of, Home Rule debate, 520.
 Armenia, Affairs in, 362, 419; insurrection, 539; massacres, 591.
 Armour and guns, Naval, 208—210.
 Army, The, 235—237; and Navy, state of, 416, 438; estimates, 25, 64, 392, 423, 465; reforms, in India, 415.
 Art and artists, Victorian era, 295—300.
 Artillery, Naval, Victorian era, 208—210.
 Ashbourne Act, 68.
 Asquith, Mr., 475; Home Secretary, 478; Home Rule Bill debate, 510; and mob orators, 560; cab strike, 572.
 Assynt, Disturbances in, 159.
 Aston Park riot, 17, 18.
 Astronomy, Victorian era, 262.
 Athletics, Victorian era, 306.
 Atlantic cable, The, 212.
 Australasia: increase of population, 180; trade, revenue and debts, 196; education, 249; religious progress, 259.
 Australia, Affairs in, 32, 87, 124, 170, 331—333, 416, 419, 495, 596; Centennial Exhibition, 331; strike in, 417; and Imperial Federation, 451; financial crisis, 551, 552.
 Australia, West, 363; constitution for, 416.
 Austria, Affairs in, 338, 538, 590.
 Baccarat scandal, The, 428, 429.
 Baker, Sir Samuel, 36; death, 537.
 Balfour, Miss, and Irish distress, 422.
 Balfour, Mr. Arthur, 67; on Home Rule, 90; Irish Secretary, 140; Irish Coercion Bill, 144, 145—148; on Home Rule, 164; his Irish administration arraigned and defended, 310—312; defends Crimes Act, 320; on separate legislatures, 358; on Land Purchase Bill, 327, 390; tour in

Ireland, 399; relief of Irish distress, 404; Irish Land Bill, 424; Local Government Bill, 432, 460; leader of House of Commons, 434, 459; on the Newcastle Programme, 435; Home Rule debate, 504, 511; increase of the navy, 536; on House of Lords, 583; votes with the Redmondites, 604.
 Balkan Peninsula, Affairs in, 82, 127, 128, 539.
 Bank failures, Australia, 496.
 Baring financial crisis, 407.
 Baring, Sir Evelyn, 40, 44.
 Basutoland annexed, 33.
 Batoum and the Berlin Treaty, 130.
 Beatrice, Princess, marriage, 67.
 Bechuanaland, Affairs in, 33; annexed, 88.
 Beer and spirit duties assigned, 392.
 Behring Sea fisheries, 87; settlement, 552.
 Belfast, Riots in, 111; Unionists in, 471.
 Bengali Rent Bill, 31.
 Berber, Fall of, 40.
 Beresford, Lord Charles, 51, 535.
 Bessemer steel, 217, 218.
 Bethel, Mr., Murder of, 34.
 Bimetallism Conference, 483, 487.
 Biography, Victorian era, 277.
 Biology, Victorian era, 266.
 Birkbeck Bank, Run on the, 486.
 Bisley Rifle Association meeting, 395.
 Bismarck, Prince, 27, 28, 76, 338, 418.
 Black Mountain expedition, 337, 447.
 Boers, The, 33, 88, 89, 125, 171, 443.
 Bombay, Religious riots at, 541.
 Booth, Mr., Darkest England, 406, 485.
 Borneo, North, Protectorate, 333.
 Botany in Victorian era, 265.
 Boulanger, General, 126, 175, 339, 360.
 Boundary Commission, Afghan, 123.
 Box Tunnel, The, construction, 203.
 Bradlaugh, Mr., 20, 68, 92; death, 438.
 Bridges, Railway, 202.
 Bright, Mr., 62; on Home Rule Bill, 106, 110; correspondence with Mr. Gladstone, 147; on Plan of Campaign, 310; death and character, 358.
 Britannia Bridge, 202.
 British East Africa Company, 491—495, 546; South Africa Company, 365, 414.
 British Empire, Population, 180.
 Brunel, Isambard, 199. (See Railways, etc.)
 Brussels Conference, 409.
 Budgets, 25, 64, 65, 68, 143, 315, 346, 392, 425, 466, 507, 563.
 Bulgaria, 83, 130—135, 174, 340, 419.
 Buller, Sir Redvers, 40, 56.
 Burma, Upper, Annexation of, 86, 336; affairs in, 123, 174, 415, 539.
 Burns, Mr. John, 396, 434.
 Burt, Mr., Trades Union Congress, 432.
 Burton, Sir Richard, death, 409.
 Cadogan, Lord, Land Bill, 148, 150, 151.
 Cairns, Lord, on Franchise Bill, 7; death, 75.
 Calico printing, 224.
 Cameroons, The, 76.
 Campaign, Plan of, 310.
 Campbell-Bannerman, naval estimates, 26.
 Canada, Affairs in, 32, 123, 333, 363, 415, 452, 496, 552, 594; Riel rebellion, 86; Queen's jubilee, 171; the Fisheries Question, 171; increase of population, 182; trade, revenue, and debts, 198; education in, 249; religion, 259; McKinley tariff, 415.
 Cape Colony, Affairs in, 490.
 Cardwell, Lord, 121; army reforms, 236.
 Caricaturists, Victorian era, 296.
 Carnarvon, Lord, on Colonial defences, 26; viceroy of Ireland, 67; Parnell interview, 67—70; resigns, 92; death, 409.
 Carnot, President, assassination, 588.
 Catholic schools, State aid to, 387.
 Cattle, etc., and foods, Victorian era, 231.
 Censure, Votes of, 2, 3, 4, 44, 63, 423.
 Challenger expedition, 271.

Chamberlain, Mr. Joseph, on the franchise and redistribution, 2; the Liberal programme, 62; on Home Rule, 74; resigns office, 98; debate on Home Rule, 103; on Land Purchase Bill, 105; visit to Ulster, 162; on Irish Affairs, 344; and Lord R. Churchill, 351; on Home Rule, 356; on Newcastle Programme, 435; old age pensions, 453, 459; leader of Liberal Unionists, 460; on Irish Local Government Bill, 461—462; election address, 472; in debate, 477; labour programme, 480; Home Rule debate, 504, 510; Employers' Liability Bill, 534; new programme, 583; attacks the Rosebery Government, 604.
 Chaplin, Mr., 459, 463.
 Charges and Allegations Bill, 323.
 Chefoo Convention, 84.
 Chelford railway accident, 587.
 Chemistry, Victorian era, 264.
 Childers, Mr., Budget, 25, 65.
 Child-marriage in India, 444.
 Children, Prevention of cruelty to, 348, 566.
 Children's Jubilee festival, 155.
 China and France, 28, 84; outrages on Europeans in, 451; war with Japan, 592.
 Chinese immigration, Australia, 331.
 Cholera in Russia, 497; in Britain, 526.
 Church Congress at Rhyl, 435.
 Church of England, Victorian era, 249—251.
 Churchill, Lord Randolph, 6; on Government's policy, 66; on the Home Rule scheme, 96; at Ulster, 96; on Home Rule, 103; election manifesto, 109; is Chancellor of the Exchequer, 114; new programme, 118; resigns, 119; Parnell Commission, 322; Welsh Disestablishment, 356; Home Rule debate, 504, 511; death of, 602.
 Clarence, Duke of, in India, 415; death, 456.
 Clarke, Sir E., on Home Rule, 503.
 Clergy Discipline Bill, 464.
 Cleveland, President, U.S., election, 497.
 Closure, The, 142.
 Coal Industry, Victorian era, 194, 214—216.
 Coal Mines Regulation Act, 151.
 Coaling stations, Defences of, 168.
 Coercion Bill threatened, 140; Ireland, 143.
 Colleges, 243; Training, for teachers, 238.
 Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 122; delegates presented to the Queen, 152.
 Colonial Conferences, 167—170, 594.
 Colonial defences, 26, 32, 168.
 Colonies, Growth of, Victorian era, 180; education in, 249; religion in, 259, 260.
 Commerce, Victorian era, 190.
 Commercial Treaty with Spain, 135.
 Commons' Enclosure Act, 521.
 Conciliation, Board of, 530, 571.
 Conferences: Egyptian affairs, 44; the Round Table, 138; International Labour, 418; Ottawa, 594.
 Congoland, 30; Free State, 409.
 Connaught, Duke of, 521.
 Conventions, Anglo-French, etc., 410; Imperial Federation, 451.
 Convocation, Revival of, 251.
 Cordite scandal, 521.
 Cotton Industry, Victorian era, 220—223.
 Cotton spinners, strike, 450, 526, 527.
 Costume, Victorian era, 302—305.
 Counties, Population of, Victorian era, 183.
 County Councils, 317—319; elections for, 341, 468. (See Local Government Bill.)
 Credit, Votes of, 64, 65, 79.
 Cretan rebellion, 362.
 Crime, Decrease of, 240.
 Crimes Act, 93, 144, 310, 311; discussion, 319; administration of, 346; suspended, 430; Repeal Bill, 565. (See Coercion.)
 Criminal Law Amendment Bill, 69; and Procedure Bill, Ireland, 143.
 Crofters, Scottish, 23, 75, 159; Bill, 95.
 Cronstadt, French squadron at, 439.
 Cross, Lord, factory legislation, 224.

Customs Union, South Africa, 334; League (Triple Alliance), 440.

Dalhousie, Lord, Scottish secretary, 98.

Dardanelles, Russia and the, 440.

"Darkest England," 406; the scheme, 435.

Death duties, 315, 563.

Debts, National and local, Victorian era, 189.

Defences, Colonial, 168; National, 316, 342, 344.

Democratic budget, 554.

Derby, Lord, 32; death, 536.

Devonshire, Duke of, Home Rule debate, 519; on House of Lords, 583. (See Hartington.)

Dhuleep Singh, 122; death, 537.

Dillon, Mr., 118, 398, 399.

Discovery and travel, Victorian era, 269.

Disestablishment, Church, 256-258, 326, 356, 466; Welsh Bill, 565.

Dissenters, Victorian era, 253-254.

Distress, Irish, Relief of, 404, 422, 423.

District Councils. (See Parish Councils.)

Divorce, O'Shea v. O'Shea and Parnell, 401.

Dockers' strikes, 354, 396, 434.

Dongola, 40; evacuation of, 58.

Drama, The, Victorian era, 290.

Dress and fashion, Victorian era, 302-305.

Dufferin, Lord, Viceroy of India, 31, 84; jubilee speech, 173; resigns viceroyalty, 336.

Dynamite faction, The, 21; explosions, 22; outrages, 62; in Dublin, 480, 535.

Edinburgh, Duke of, annuity question, 535.

Education: overpressure in, 24; progress of, Victorian era, 237-249; the estimates, 337; intermediate, Wales, 348; Technical, Bill, England, 348; assisted, 356; free, 426-428; Bill, Ireland, 463; Bill, Scotland, 464.

Egypt: Government policy in, 2, 3, 10; affairs in, 35, 43-46, 77, 78, 92, 126, 172, 335, 336, 360, 415, 442, 443, 489, 544, 592; Khalifa's insurrection, 361; British occupation of, 441; politicians on, 459, 460; death of the Khedive, 489. (See Abbas Pasha, Gordon, Khartoum.)

Eight hours' day discussions, 353, 386; demonstration, 396; party leaders on, 399; Question, 466; Bill, 566.

Elections, General, 70-74, 111, 471, 473-475.

Electoral facts, Gladstone's, 432.

Electricity, progress, Victorian era, 264.

Elgin, Lord, Viceroy of India, 542.

El Teb, Baker's defeat at, 39.

Emigration, Victorian era, 178, 179.

Enin Pasha relief expedition, 411-413.

Employers' Liability Bill, 404, 533, 534, 555.

Engineering, Railway, Victorian era, 202.

Engines, Railway, Victorian era, 203.

Engraving, etc., Victorian era, 296.

Ennis, Affray at, 361.

Equalisation of Rates Bill, 566.

Evicted Tenants Commission, 479, 482; debate, 506; Bill, 566.

Evictions, Ireland, 116, 159, 343.

Evolution, Doctrine of, 266.

Exhibition, Colonial and Indian, 122; Centennial, Australia, 351.

Exploration and travel, Victorian era, 269.

Exports, etc., Victorian era, 190, 193, 194.

Extradition Convention, U.S. rejects, 124.

Facsimile letters (Parnell) 373-374, 337.

Factory and Workshops Act, 224; Bill, 423.

Famine, Cotton, 222; India threatened, 444.

Farming, Victorian era, 231.

Fashion and dress, Victorian era, 302-305.

Featherstone riots, 528; Report, 531.

Federation of Colonies (see Colonial Conferences); Bill, 87; Conference, Australia, 416; Imperial, 451.

Female fashions, Victorian era, 303-305.

Fife, Duchess of, marriage, 350.

Finance, Irish, 100; Indian, 367, 444, 541.

Financial crisis, Baring's, 407; condition of India, 444; disasters in Australia, 496.

Fisheries, Behring Sea, 87, 552; Canada, 123, 171; dispute, 455.

Flax industry, Victorian era, 226.

Flowers, Masque of, 155.

Food, Prices of, etc., 188; imports, 188, 191.

Forster, Mr., death of, 121; his Education Act, 239.

Fort Bridge, Opening of, 407.

Fortifications, Victorian era, 235.

Fourth Party, and Sir S. Northcote, 67.

Fowler, Mr., 459; Parish Councils Bill, 531.

France and Germany, 28, 338; and China, 28, 84; and New Hebrides, 124; affairs

in, 126, 175, 338, 360, 418, 498, 537, 538, 588; and Egypt, 127; and Russia, 439, 537; and Siam, 542-544.

Franchise Bill, The new, 1, 4-8; agitation, 11-17; second reading, 18; extension

to women, 466. (See Women's suffrage.)

Frederick, Emperor, 338; Empress, 439.

Free education, 426-428.

Free Trade and Imperial Federation, 450.

Gemaizek, Battle of, 335.

Geography, Victorian era, 269.

Geology, Victorian era, 266.

Germany and France, 27; colonial policy, 28, 76; in Africa, 88, 335; and Britain, colonial relations, 125, 126; military septennate, 126.

Army Bill, 174; Bill, 174; in, 338, 418, 498, 539, 590; deaths of William I. and Frederick, 338; William II. succeeds, 396; Bismarck, 418.

Giffen, Mr., on Home Rule scheme, 91.

Gladstone, Mr. W. E., introduces Franchise Bill, 4; on the House of Lords, 7, 8, 531, 559; Franchise and Redistribution Bill, 15; Midlothian campaign, 15, 16; on Gordon's mission, 37; his Government defeated, 66; election manifesto, 71; on Russian annexations, 79; his Home Rule scheme, 90; becomes Prime Minister, 94; Home Rule Bill, 97; Land Purchase Bill (Ireland), 104; Home Rule debate, 107, 108; pamphlet on Irish Question, 118; Round Table Conference, 138; Crimes Bill, 145, 148; on boycotting, 160; on Mitchelstown massacre, 160; his programme, 163; on Home Rule, 164; advises in Trafalgar Square meetings, 164; on the administration of the Crimes Act, 311; on Irish affairs, 324; on Welsh affairs, 326; on death of Emperor Frederick, 339; golden wedding, 352; on Crimes Act, 386; on Parnell Commission Report, 388; on Eight Hours Controversy, 399; campaign in Scotland, 399; and Parnell, 400; conversation on Home Rule, 402; on McKinley tariff, 416; electoral facts, 432; on Newcastle Programme, 434; on Irish Local Government Bill, 462; election address, 472; new Ministry, 478; on Welsh affairs, 482; introduces Home Rule Bill, 503, 504; Home Rule debate, 509, 511; state of the Navy, 535; retirement, 554, 558, 562; Armenian atrocities, 592; address from the Irish-Americans, 601.

Gold, Appreciation of, 483.

Gordon, General, in the Sudan, 3, 36; his mission, 36; his plans, 41; his last days, 51-56. (See Khartoum.)

Goschen, Mr., Chancellor of Exchequer, 120, 136, 137; National Debt Conversion Bill, 314; budgets, 315, 392, 425, 466; on Unionist Foreign policy, 359; currency scheme, 435; Home Rule debate, 511.

Goschenites, The, 88.

Graham, General, 29; at El Teb, 39, 58.

Grants, (see Education); Royal, 350.

Granville, Lord, 76; death, 438.

Great Eastern steamship, Career of, 205, 206.

Greece and Turkey, 127, 128.

Grenadier Guards, mutiny, 391.

Gweedore prisoners, Release of, 480.

Hamilton, Lord G., state of Navy, 535, 536.

Harcourt, Sir William, on Newcastle Programme, 433; Chancellor of Exchequer, 478; budget, 507, 563; reported resignation, 601; at Derby, 602; on the india-rubber amendment to the Address, 603.

Hardware goods, exports, Victorian era, 195.

Hartington, Lord, on the Franchise, 11; on the Army estimates, 25; on Home Rule, 103, 107, 110; and the Conservative Government, 114; Round Table Conference, 139; Commission on National Defences, 392; becomes Duke of Devonshire, 437. (See Devonshire.)

Health of towns, Victorian era, 187.

Heligoland ceded to Germany, 410.

Henderson, Sir E. (Police), resigns, 95.

Hennessy, Sir J. Pope, 125; death, 438.

Herschell, Lord, and Mr. Justice Vaughan Williams, 603.

Hicks-Beach, Sir M., budget, 68; Home Rule debate, 501.

Historical research, Victorian era, 275-277.

Home Rule for Ireland, 72, 90; Gladstone's plan, 74, 96; opinions of prominent Liberals, 74; the Bill, 97-104; Cabinet

resignations, 106; debate on second reading, 106; discussions on, 163, 356; Parnell, Gladstone, and Morley conversations on, 402; Unionist leaders on, 421; politicians on, 460; and the Liberal party, 467; the "Home Rule election," 473-475; Salisbury and others on, 482; rumours, 501; the Bill introduced and debate, 503, 504; meetings, speeches, and deputations, 507, 508; second reading debate, 509-512; division, 512; in committee, 512-519; in the Lords, 519-521. Houghton, Lord, 478, 479.

Howe, H.M.S., Grounding of, 535.

Hunza-Nagar expedition, 445-447.

Hyde Park, Reform demonstration in, 11.

Idesleigh, Earl of, 67, 97; death, 136, 140.

Illiterate voters, 456.

Illustrated magazines, etc., Victorian era, 291.

Immigrants, Foreign, 178, 179.

Imperial Federation Conference, 31, 330.

Imperial Institute, Queen at, 157.

Imperial revenue, Victorian era, 190.

Imports of food, Victorian era, 188, 191.

Income Tax, Revised, 563.

India, Affairs in, 31, 122, 336, 337, 367, 415, 444, 487, 539; Russian aggressions, 84; budget, 84; jubilee celebration in, 173; increase of population, 180; revenue of, 195; education in, 248; religion in, 259; army reforms, 415; Indian Councils Act, 464, 488; finance, 487, 541, 537, 594; opium traffic, 489.

Indian National Congress, 444.

Industrial legislation, Victorian era, 223, 224.

Influenza epidemic, 385.

Intermediate education, 242.

International Labour Conference, 418.

Ireland: On state of, 21, 139; Prince of Wales visits, 67; Ashbourne Act and Labourers' Bill, 68; outrages in, 70; results of General Election, 73, 113; Land Purchase Bill, 104; riots in, 111; Tenants' Relief Bill, 115; evictions in, 116, 159, 343; Lord Carnarvon's Land Bill, 148, 150, 151; licensing system, 149; Land Commission report, 148-150; National League proclaimed, 159, 160; Mitchelstown massacre, 160; Liberal Unionist leaders in, 162; population of, 177; agricultural population of, 186; education in, 242; universities, 247; religious progress, 256; Irish Church disestablished, 256-258; Balfour's Land Purchase Bill, 32, 390; Crimes Act, 342, 346; railway strikes, 397; agrarian agitation, 398; threatened failure of potato crop, 399; Land Bill, 404; Seed Potatoes Bill, 404; Balfour's Land Bill, 421-425; improved state of, 430; Parnell's leadership, death, 431; Poor Law Amendment and Labourers' Allotments Bills introduced, 465; state of, 470; General Election in, 474. (See Irish Home Rule, Parnell, etc.)

Irish delegates against Home Rule, 512.

Irish distress fund, Distribution of, 422, 423.

Irish Education Bill, 463; Local Government Bill, 467.

Irish M.P.'s, Arrests of, 312, 313, 322, 397; in prison, 342, 421.

Irish prisoners, Debate on, release of, 502.

Irish Question, Gladstone's pamphlet, 118.

Iron, coal, and steel industries, Victorian era, 194, 216-219.

Italy, Affairs in, 175, 337, 338, 418, 537, 590.

"Jack the Ripper," 326.

Jackson, Mr., Irish Secretary, 463.

Jackson, Mr. F. J., in East Africa, 492-495.

James, Sir Henry, Parnell Commission, 380.

Japan, war with China, 592.

Journalism, Victorian era, 291, 292.

Jubilee, The Queen's, 152; honours, 155; in Canada, 171; in South Africa, 171; in India, 173.

Jubilee slavery abolition, 31; the Pope's, 538.

Jute manufacture, Victorian era, 227.

Kaulbars, General, Mission of, 193-194.

Kaye-Shuttleworth, Sir James, 238.

Khalifa's insurrection, 361.

Khartoum, 36; Gordon's position at, 40-43, 46; siege of, 40, 46; relief expedition for, 47; fall of, 51-55; fall announced, 62.

Khelat, Khan of, deposed, 539.

Kidderminster riots, 23.

Kilkenny election, 405; riots, 405.

Kotkai, Battle of, 337.

- Labouchere, Mr., 386, 478, 551, 559, 582.
Labour Conference, 353; International, 418;
Royal Commission, 423, and Report, 572
—578; the Independent Labour party,
499, 578; Commissioner of, 500.
Labourers, Agricultural, Victorian era, 234.
Labourers' Bill, 68.
Lamas, Expedition against, 336.
Land Bills. (See Ireland.)
Land legislation, Victorian era, 233.
Landlords, Irish, and Lord Salisbury, 310.
Lansdowne, Lord, Viceroy of India, 336, 542.
Le Caron, Major, Parnell Commission, 371.
Leeds Conference, 579.
Lewis, Isle of, Disturbances in, 159.
Liberal Unionist leaders in Ireland, 162.
Liberator Building Society, 486.
Licensing system, Ireland, 149; Bill, 393.
Linen industry, Victorian era, 226.
Literature, Victorian era, 274, 291.
Liverpool Navigation and Commercial
Exhibition, 120; Jubilee Exhibition
opened, 133.
Livingstone, Dr., discoveries, etc., 270.
Lobengula, 547; death, 551.
Local Government Bill, England, 311, 316;
for Ireland, 321, 432, 460, 467; extension
of, 459; for Scotland, 347.
Local indebtedness, Victorian era, 189.
Local Taxation Bill, 393; Relief Bill, 464.
Local Veto Bill and demonstrations, 506.
London, population, Victorian era, 183, 186.
London Unification Report, 584—586.
Louise of Wales, Princess, marriage, 350.
Lowe, Mr., Revised Education Code, 239.
Lugard, Captain, in Uganda, 492—495.

Maamtrasna murders, debate, 23, 69.
McCarthy, Mr., and Parnell, 401—404.
Machinery, Agricultural, Victorian era, 232.
McKinley tariff, 415.
Madagascar, Affairs in, 28; French in, 588.
Magazines and reviews, Victorian era, 291.
Magistrates, Appointment of, 535.
Mahdi, The, 35; death, 60.
Mahdists, The, 335.
"Maiden Tribute," The, 69.
Manchester ship canal opened, 571.
Manifesto, National Liberal Federation, on
Home Rule Bill, 521.
Manipuris, Expedition against, 447—451.
Manners and Customs, Victorian era, 305.
Manning, Cardinal, 355; death, 458.
Manufactured goods imported, Victorian
era, 192; exported, 194, 195.
Marriage of Princess Beatrice, 67; of
Princess Louise of Wales, 350; of the
Duke of York, 522, 523.
Mashonaland, 334, 365, 490, 547.
Matabele war, 547—551.
Mathematics in the Victorian era, 265.
Matthews, Mr., Home Secretary, 151; and
Mr. Monro, 394; Factory and Work-
shops Bill, 423.
Mauritius, Affairs in, 125.
Mechanical Science, Victorian era, 199—214.
Medical Colleges, 243. (See Education.)
Medical Relief Bill, 69.
Medicine, etc., Victorian era, 271—273.
Mercantile navy, Victorian era, 204—207.
Merchandise Marks Acts, 428.
Merchant Shipping Bill, 25.
Merv, Russia annexes, 30.
Midlothian campaign (Gladstone), 15, 472.
Milan, Prince, King of Serbia, 83.
Military Exhibition, 395.
Miners' Conference, 353; Eight Hours Bill,
466, 512, 566.
Mints, Indian, Closing of, 542.
Missionaries in China, Outrages on, 451.
Mitchelstown massacre, 160.
Mohammedan riots, India, 539.
Monetary Conference, International, 487.
Monro, Mr. (Police), resigns, 394.
Montefiore, Sir Moses, death, 75.
Moonlighting outrages, 370. (See Parnell
Commission.)
Morier incident, The, 359; death of Sir
Robert, 536.
Morley, Mr. John, on Franchise Bill, 12;
on Home Rule, 74; Round Table Con-
ference, 138; Irish Coercion Bill, 143;
Crimes Bill, 146; his vote of censure,
321; Radical programme, 328—330; on
Irish affairs, 344; Parnell and the Home
Rule conversation, 402; on Home Rule
prospects, 421; on Balfour's administra-
tion, 423; his Newcastle Programme,
432; on progress of Liberal party, 467;
his election address, 472; Irish Secre-
tary, 478; on Evicted Tenants' Com-
mission, 482; Home Rule debate, 511.
Morocco, Affairs in, 490.
Moussa Bey, trial, 362.
Mundella, Mr., resignation of, 568.
Municipal Reform Bill (London), 6.
Music, Victorian era, 293.
Music Halls and L.C.C., 468.

Nasmith's steam-hammer, 218, 219.
Nation, Progress of the, Victorian era, 177.
National and local indebtedness, 169.
National Conference, India, 174.
National Debt Conversion Bill, 314.
National defences, 342—344.
National League proclaimed, 159, 160.
National Liberal Federation: manifestoes,
114, 521, 601; resolutions of, 433.
National Rifle Association at Bisley, 395.
Naval Defences Bill, 168, 344.
Naval estimates, 26, 65, 466, 563.
Naval reviews, 158, 352; manoeuvres, 395.
Navigation and Commercial Exhibition at
Liverpool, 120.
Navy, State of the, 26, 234, ships of the,
Victorian era, 207—211; increase of the,
demanded, 535.
New Guinea, Annexation of, 124.
New Hebrides, 124, 170.
New South Wales and French convicts, 170;
affairs, 552.
New Tipperary, 398.
New Unionism, The, 432.
New Zealand: trade, revenue, and debts,
196; and Imperial Federation, 452;
affairs in, 496.
Newcastle Programme, The, 432, 433.
Newfoundland, Affairs in, 454.
Newman, John Henry, death, 409.
Newspaper Press, The, Victorian era, 292.
Nicholas II., Emperor of Russia, 590.
Niger Company, 171; Coast Protectorate,
546.
Nisero, Case of the, 31.
Northcote, Sir Stafford, on the Franchise,
16; on Egyptian policy, 62, 63. (See
Bradlaugh, Fourth Party, Idlesleigh.)
Norwich congress, 578.
Nyassaland Expedition, 491.

Oaths Bill, 314.
Obituary, 27, 75, 121, 166, 330, 358, 359, 409,
438, 486, 536, 587.
Obstruction, Parliamentary, 395, 506, 512.
Ocean telegraphs, Victorian era, 211.
O'Donnell v. Walter, libel action, 322.
Ohrwalder, Father, on Gordon's mission,
38; his narrative, 55.
Old age pensions, 458, 459.
Omdurman, Fall of, 53.
Omnibus men, Strike of, 432.
One man one vote, 429.
Opium traffic, The, 489.
Orange demonstrations, 20.
"Origin of Species," Darwin's, 266.
O'Shea, Captain: Parnell Commission, 369;
v. O'Shea and Parnell, 401.
Osman Digna, 39, 59—60, 335, 442.
Ottawa conference, 594.
Outdianos on Italian affairs, 360.
Over-sea colony, "General" Booth's, 485.
Oxford and Cambridge boat-race, 307.
Oxford movement, 250.

Pacific, British acquisitions in the, 333.
Painters, Victorian era, 295—300.
Pamirs, Russia in the, 445, 489, 539.
Panama scandals, 498, 538.
Papal rescript, The, 319.
Parish Councils Bill, 504, 531, 553, 558;
elections, 587.
Parkes, Sir Henry: Chinese immigration,
331; Colonial Conference, 363; federa-
tion, 416.
Parliamentary obstruction, 395, 506, 512.
Parnell Commission, 368—384, 388—390.
Parnell, Mr.: interview with Lord Carnar-
von, 69, 70; Irish revolt against, 96;
debate on Home Rule, 102; Tenants'
Relief Bill, 115; Crimes Bill, 145; on
Crimes Act, 312; Land Laws Amend-
ment Bill, 319; the forged letters, 322;
the Commission, 322, 346, 350; receives
freedom of Edinburgh, 352; on the
Commission, 358; his examination, 375,
376; obtains damages, 381; the O'Shea
divorce, 401; the Gladstone and Morley
conversation on Home Rule, 402; and
the Irish leadership, 419—421, 431;
campaign in Ireland, 422; death, 431.

"Parnellism and Crime," 146, 322.
Parnellites and anti-Parnellites, 470, 579, 601.
Partition of Africa, 410.
Pauperism, 183, 240, 241.
Payment of Members of Parliament, 466.
Peel, Mr. Arthur, Speaker, 5, 114, 475.
Peers, agitation, reform, etc., 11, 314, 531,
534, 579, 580, 584, 601.
Penjdeh, Russia annexes, 79.
Pensions, Old age, 458, 459.
People's Palace opened, 120, 153.
Periodical literature, Victorian era, 291.
Philology, Victorian era, 279.
Philosophy, Victorian era, 274.
Photography, Victorian era, 263.
Pig-iron, Production of, 217, 218.
Pigott, Richard, and Parnell forgeries, 350,
374, 375.
Plan of Campaign, 116, 139, 140, 397; and
the Pope, 319.
Plays, Victorian era, 290.
Poetry, Victorian era, 284—288.
Police Bill, 394; strike, 394.
Political economy, Victorian era, 278.
Pondoland, Annexation of, 88.
Pope, The, and the Plan of Campaign, 319;
Leo XIII.'s jubilee, 538.
Population, Victorian era, of Great Britain,
177; of the Empire, 180; of the Colonies,
180; distribution, 182; towns, 182, 184.
Portal, Sir Gerald, mission to Uganda, 495;
Report, 599.
Portugal, Dispute with, 366, 414.
Portuguese claims in Africa, 366; treaty, 443.
Post Office employes, 394; strike, 423.
Postal service, Victorian era, 211.
"Predominant Partner," The, 561.
Prendergast, General, in Upper Burma, 86.
Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, 296—298.
Press, London and Provincial, on Home
Rule Bill, 104.
Prize-fighting, Victorian era, 305.
Procedure Bill, Scottish, Private, 421.
Procedure in House of Commons, 142; rules,
314. (See Closure.)
Processions, Party, in Ireland, 20.
Programmes: Various political, 356, 357, 601;
of Liberal party, 467; of the Conserva-
tives, 470; Mr. Chamberlain's labour, 480.
Progress of the nation, Victorian era, 177.
Psychology, Victorian era, 274.
Public Health (London) Act, 428.
Publicans, Compensation to, 393, 394.

Queensland, 87; and her Governor, 331;
affairs in, 496; floods, 552.

Rabbit pest, Australia, 331.
Radicals and Home Rule, 91.
Raikes, Mr., 394; death, 431, 438.
Railway extension, South Africa, 334.
Railway mania, The, 201.
Railway servants' strikes, 397, 408.
Railways, Victorian era, in Britain, 199.
Ratepayers Defence Association, 142.
Raw material imports, Victorian era, 191.
Redistribution Bill, 2, 9, 10, 16, 19, 63, 64.
Redmond, Mr., 431, 562.
Reform demonstration in Hyde Park, 11.
Reformatory schools, 240, 241.
Registration Bills, 64, 466, 504, 565.
Religion, Progress of, Victorian era, 249.
Religious difficulty (see Education); tests
(see Universities).
Revenue, Victorian era, Imperial, 190;
India, 195; Colonial, etc., 196, 198.
Revised Code. (See Education.)
Rhodes, Mr. Cecil, 88, 414, 546, 551, 596.
Riel rebellion, Canada, 86.
Rifle Association, The National, 235.
Riots of unemployed at West End, 95; in
Belfast, 111; in Trafalgar Square, 166;
at Southampton, 396; Tipperary, 398;
in the House of Commons, 517; Feather-
stone, 528; in India, 541.
Ripon, Lord, Viceroy of India, resigns, 31.
Ritchie, Mr., Local Government Bill, 316.
Ritualist movement, 251.
Roberts, Sir Frederick, 122.
Rosebery, Lord, reform of House of Lords,
10, 561, 580; Foreign Secretary, 94, 478;
on Imperial Federation, 330; on Home
Rule, 520, 560; arbitrates on Coal Strike,
530; Prime Minister, 559; the resolu-
tion in the Lords, 602, 603.
Round Table Conference, 138, 139.
Royal grants, 350.
Ruskin, Mr., art criticism, 296.
Russell, Mr. T. W., Evicted Tenants Com-
mission, 506.

Russell, S. R. C. (afterwards Lord Chief Justice) Parnell Commission, 376.
 Russia: Difficulties with, 64; in Asia, 64, 78-81, 459; Afghan Boundary Commission, 123; and the Principalities, 130-134; threatens Turkey, 130; Kaulbars' mission, 133, 134; and France, 439; affairs in, 497, 537, 538, 590; squadron at Toulon, 537.
 Sackville incident (U.S.A.), 334.
 Salisbury, Lord: Franchise and Redistribution, 2, 7, 8, 13; on Government's Egyptian policy, 63; forms a Ministry, 67; the Afghan frontier, 81; Egyptian affairs, 3; and Ulster Loyalists, 91; an election speech, 71; his Government defeated, 94; on Home Rule Bill, 107; is Prime Minister, his Cabinet, 113; on the state of Ireland, 143; on the Crimes Bill, 145, 147; on Irish Parliamentary tactics, 163; address at Colonial Conference, 167; on European peace, 176; on the unemployed, 309; Irish landlords, 310; and Mr. Naoroji, 328; on female suffrage, 429; on foreign affairs, 439; local government, 459; election manifesto, 471; the new Parliament, 475; his Government defeated, 477; Home Rule debate, 520; strengthening the Navy, 531; on House of Lords, 582.
 Salt manufacture, Victorian era, 229.
 Saultire, The town of, 228.
 Salvation Army, Rise of the, 255.
 Samow, Affairs in, 76, 363.
 Sarawak, Protectorate proclaimed, 333.
 Savings Banks deposits, Victorian era, 188.
 Schnaebel affair, The, 175.
 Scholarship, Victorian era, 280.
 School boards, 239; elections, 586.
 Scientific discoveries, Victorian era, 261.
 Scotland, Secretary of State for, created, 69; Home Rule for, 118, 562; Crofters, 159; agricultural population, Victorian era, 186; education, 242 (see Education); religious progress, 255; University Bill, 347; Prince of Wales opens Forth Bridge, 407; Local Taxation Relief Bill, 464; Grand Committee, 582; Local Government Bill, 566.
 Scottish Education Bill, 464.
 Scottish Private Procedure Bill, 421.
 Scottish Universities, 246; Bill, 347.
 Sculpture, Victorian era, 300.
 Sea, Waste of life at, 25.
 Seed Potatoes Bill, 404.
 Servia, war with Bulgaria, 89.
 Servile labour in Australia, 87.
 Sewing machine, The, 229.
 Sexton, Mr., Home Rule debate, 511.
 Shaftesbury, Lord, death, 75; his factory legislation, 224.
 Shah of Persia visits England, 352.
 Shaw-Lefevre, Mr., Postmaster-General, 61.
 Sherbrooke, Lord, death, 486.
 Shipbuilding, Victorian era, 204.
 Shoddy and mungo, Manufacture of, 223.
 Shop Hours' Bill, 465.
 Siam and France, 542-544.
 Siemens' steel, Manufacture of, 219.
 Signalling, Railway, 204.
 Silk manufacture, Victorian era, 226.
 Simmons, Sir L., Minister to Vatican, 418.
 Singers and musicians, Victorian era, 291.
 Sinkat, Fall of, 39.
 Skye, Disturbances in, 159.
 Slave trade, Suppression of, 335, 365.
 Slavery, Jubilee of abolition of, 31; in Africa, 409.
 Slumming, 23.
 Smith, Mr. W. H.: Irish Secretary, 92; First Lord of Admiralty, 136; Leader House of Commons, 395; death, 434.
 Social Democratic Federation, 119.
 Social problems and the Tories, 481.
 Social questions, Mr. Morley on, 432.
 Socialism, Victorian era, 309.
 Society newspapers, Victorian era, 292.
 Soudan, War in (see Gordon, Khartoum); affairs in, 35, 59, 60.

South Africa Company, 334.
 Spain, Commercial treaty with, 135.
 Spectrum analysis, 262.
 Spinning, etc., machines, Victorian era, 222.
 Spithead, Naval reviews at, 158, 352.
 Stanley, Mr. H. M., returns from Africa, 395; and Emin Pasha, 411-413.
 Stansfeld, Mr., 98.
 Steam-hammer, The, 218-219.
 Steamships, Victorian era, Mercantile, 204-207; naval, 207-210.
 Steel and iron industries, Victorian era, 216-219.
 Stewart, Colonel, 36, 42; death, 48.
 Strikes, 75, 354, 394, 396, 397, 408, 417, 423, 432, 434, 480, 526-528, 572.
 Suakim, 39; Suakim-Berber railway, 58.
 Submerged Tenth, The, 486.
 Suburbs of London, Population of, 186.
 Suez Canal neutralised, 172.
 Sugar Bill, The dear, 348.
 Sumatra, Quarrel with, 31.
 Surgery, etc., Victorian era, 271-273.
 Suspensory Bill (Welsh Church), 504.
 Swaziland, Affairs in, 415, 546.
 Tamai, Battle of, 40.
 Tay Bridge, The, 202.
 Tea duty reduced, 392.
 Technical Education Bill, 348.
 Telegraphy, Victorian era, 211.
 Telephone, Victorian era, 212.
 Temperance demonstration against Licensing Bill, 393; Local Veto Bill, 506.
 Tenants' Relief Bill, Ireland, 115.
 Tenmyson, Lord, 281-286; death, 486.
 Tewfik, Khedive of Egypt, death, 489.
 Textile manufactures, Victorian era, 220.
 Theebaw, King of Burma, deposed, 86.
 Thompson, Archbishop, death, 409.
 "Three acres and a cow," 23.
 Tibet, Campaign in, 336.
 Timbuctoo, Occupation of, 598.
 Times, The: "Parnellism and Crime," 146; libel action, 322; facsimile letter, 387; apology to Parnell, 381.
 Tipperary, New and Old, riots, etc., 398.
 Tithe agitation, Wales, 158; Bill, 391, 404, 421.
 Tokar, Osman Digma defeated at, 442.
 Toski, Battle of, 362.
 Tower Bridge opened, 570.
 Tower of London, Dynamite outrage at, 62.
 Toynbee Hall, 23.
 "Tracts for the Times," 250.
 Trade Marks Act, 151.
 Trades-Unionism, Victorian era, 223.
 Trades-Union Congress, 352, 396, 432, 480.
 Trafalgar Square, Unemployed in, 95; right of meeting in, 119, 164, 166, 309, 483.
 Training ships, 234.
 Tramways, Victorian era, 204.
 Transvaal, Affairs in, 334.
 Travel and discovery, Victorian era, 269; books of travel, 279.
 Trench, Archbishop, death, 121.
 Trevelyan, Sir G.: Irish Secretary, 21; on Home Rule scheme, 91; resigns, 98; Home Rule debate, 102; Round Table Conference, 138, 139; Scottish Secretary, 562.
 Triple Alliance, The, 360, 439.
 Tryon, Admiral, death, 525, 526.
 Turkey and the Bulgarians, 82; and Greece, 127, 128; and the Principalities, 130; affairs in, 497, 539.
 Uganda, Affairs in, 491-495, 598-600.
 Ulster, Mr. Chamberlain's visit to, 162; and Home Rule, 467; Unionist demonstration, 471, 508; deputation to Mr. Gladstone, 508.
 Underground railway, London, Construction of the, 203; dynamite outrage on, 62.
 Unemployed, The meetings of, 75, 164, 165; riots, 95; the problem of the, 309, 485.
 Unification of London, Report, 584-586.
 Unionism, Trades, Platform of the new, 396.
 Unionists, The, at Her Majesty's Theatre, 106; leaders on Home Rule, 421.

Universities, Victorian era, 243.
 University Bill (Scotland), 347.
 Victoria (Australia), affairs, 496.
 Victoria, Foundering of the, and court martial, 525, 526.
 Victoria, Queen: offers Mr. Gladstone an earldom, 67; marriage of Princess Beatrice, 67; opening of Parliament, 92; opens Navigation Exhibition at Liverpool, 120; opens Colonial and Indian Exhibition, 122; the Queen's Jubilee, 152-158; receives Colonial delegates, 152; People's Palace opened, 153; ceremony at Westminster Abbey, 153-155; children's jubilee festival, 155; jubilee honours, 155; masque of flowers, 155; volunteer review at Buckingham Palace, 157; lays foundation stone of Imperial Institute, 157; review of troops at Aldershot, 158; naval review at Spithead, 158; deaths of the German emperors, 338; accession of William II. of Germany, 338; marriage of Princess Louise, 350; Royal Grants, 350; the Shah of Persia's visit, 352; William II. of Germany visits England, 352, 396, 429; reviews at Spithead and Aldershot, 352; interview with Mr. H. M. Stanley, 395; illness and death of Duke of Clarence, 456; opening of Parliament, 501; marriage of Duke of York, 522, 523; baptism of Prince Edward, 569; opens Manchester ship canal, 571.
 Volunteer reviews, 157, 352.
 Volunteers, The Rifle, Formation of, 235.
 Wages, Victorian era, 187.
 Wales demands Land Bill, 119; tithe agitation, 158; disestablishment, 326, 423, 435, 504, 506; Bill, 565; intermediate education, 348; railway strikes, 397; Temperance Bill, 423; Church Defence, 506.
 Wales, Prince of, on Housing London Poor, 32; slavery jubilee, 31; visit to Ireland, 67; at the People's Palace, 120; opens Military Exhibition, 395; at Bisley, 395; opens Forth Bridge, 407; bacarat scandal, 428; opens Tower Bridge, 570.
 Wales, Princess of, at Bisley, 395.
 Warren, Sir Charles, in Africa, 88; chief of police, 95; resigns, 326.
 Washerwomen in Hyde Park, 423.
 Wealth, National, Victorian era, 187-189.
 Webster, Sir R., Parnell Commission, 369.
 Weena, Collision with French at, 540.
 Welsh nationality, Bright and Gladstone correspondence, 147.
 West Indies, trade, Victorian era, 198.
 Wheel and Van Tax, 315.
 Wheelahan, Constable, Murder of, 160.
 Whitechapel tragedies, 326.
 William I., German Emperor, death, 338.
 William II., German Emperor, 338, 352, 396, 429, 430.
 Wilson, Major, Death of, 550.
 Witu expedition, 410.
 Wolsley, Lord, on Egypt, 47, 59; on the army, 516; on national defences, 342.
 Women, Amusements of, Victorian era, 308. (See Dress and Fashion.)
 Women's suffrage, 7, 420; extension of franchise to, 466, 532; in Australia, 552.
 Wool manufacture, Victorian era, 227.
 Working Classes, Housing the, Royal Commission, 10, 23; Bill, 69.
 World's Fair, Chicago, 552.
 Wuntho expedition, 444.
 York, Duke of, marriage, 522, 523; birth of son, 569.
 Young Australian party, 32.
 Zanzibar and Germany, 88.
 Zebehr Pasha, 36, 37, 42.
 Zetland, Lady, and Irish distress, 422.
 Zhoib Valley, Annexation of, 415.
 Zululand, Affairs, 34; protectorate, 125, 171.

